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THE ANNALS  
OF  
THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BY  
CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON.

ABRIDGED AND CONTINUED  
BY SAMUEL IRENÆUS PRIME,  
SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

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## P R E F A C E .

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IN the literature of this country, although it has been so often felt and regretted, a more observable deficiency does not exist, than that of there being *no* history of the English Bible. It may have been imagined, that such a narrative could embrace no heart-stirring incidents, or incidents laid as the foundation of a great design, no frequent peril of life, no hair-breadth escapes, nor, especially, any of those transactions in which the vital interests of this nation have been involved. No mistake could have been greater, but whatever has been the cause, the defect is notorious.

The Sacred Volume, indeed, carries internal evidence of its divine origin, and that in abundance ; but still, with reference to the Bible now being used daily, no questions can be more natural than these—When was this volume first translated from the original, and put into print ? Who was the man that labored night and day to accomplish this ? Like his Divine Master, was he betrayed unto death ? If so, who betrayed him ? What became of his betrayers ? Or, was there any one man who befriended him, in his last days, or final trial ? And since all this, and much more, did take place abroad ; in the first transmission, in the secret and singular conveyance of the heavenly treasure to our shores, what were the distinct tokens of a superintending Providence to be observed and adored ? What were the notable circumstances connected with its earliest triumphs over the prejudice and passion of our common nature ? Or, in short, *how* has this Sacred Volume, revised, and re-revised, after three hundred years, come down into our hands ? And yet, up to the present moment, should any individual apply to his Christian teacher, or any child to his Parent, and put these and other deeply-interesting questions, no definite answer can be returned ; nor is there a single publication, which, if it lead not astray, will not leave the inquisitive reader nearly as far from satisfaction as when he began. If a Translator, in whose train all others have followed, must be allowed to rank far above all mere Reformers, it is strange if, on such a subject, historians generally should have slumbered or slept ; yet the histories of Halle and Foxe, of Stowe and Strype, of Burnet and Collier, of Turner and Lingard, or Soame, as well as the history of Translations by Lewis, Herbert, or Dibdin, with the Biblical literature of Townley, of Cotton, or of Horne, may all be read, and they must be, when such a

period is explored ; but from all these sources put together, still the reader can form no conception of what actually took place, with regard to the Scriptures. The incidental circumstances mentioned are not only few in number, but scarcely one of them appears in its true light or appropriate connection. Many, and by far the most curious and productive incidents, have remained in utter oblivion.

To many, no doubt, it might seem too bold, were we at once to affirm that the English Bible is at present in the act of being perused *from the rising to the setting sun*. The assertion might appear little else than a figure of speech, or an event to be anticipated ; and yet this is no more than the *half* of the truth. The English Bible, at this moment, is the *only* version in existence on which *the sun never sets*. We know full well that it is actually in use on the banks of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, as well as at Sidney, Port Philip, and Hobart Town ; but before his evening rays have left the spires of Quebec or Montreal, his morning beams have already shone for hours upon the shores of Australia and New Zealand. And if it be reading by so many of our language in Canada, while the sun is sinking on Lake Ontario ; in the eastern world, where he has risen in his glory on the banks of the Ganges, to the self-same Sacred Volume, many, who are no less our countrymen, have already turned. Yet are all these but as branches from one parent stock, under whose shade this version, corrected and recorrected, has been reading by myriads for three hundred years.

The Scriptures in English *manuscript*, the revival of Letters, as well as the Invention of Printing, preceded, by many years, any application of that noble art to our English version. But the entire period may be, or rather ought to be, regarded as containing a series of events, *preliminary* to that memorable occurrence, and, therefore, though but slightly sketched, they require to be noticed in the light of a deliberate, yet appropriate introduction. This, accordingly, has been attempted, as due to the history following.

In point of time, the history of our English Scriptures, from the date of their first appearing in print, will be found to take precedence of all the Institutions, Establishments, or local interests, within our shores. No section of Christians, it will be seen, of whatever name, can possess any title to rank itself as having been essential, either to the progress or to the general prevalence of the English Scriptures, much less to their original introduction. This is an undertaking which has been uniformly conducted above their sphere of judgment. Should this general prevalence turn out to have been almost equally independent of the civil power, from Henry the Eighth down to Charles the Second, or rather to the present hour, it will form altogether by far the most singular fact, as such, in the annals of the kingdom. It is a feature in the history of our Bible, claiming supreme attention from the existing age.



Upon the whole, the present forms a department in past history, with which every Minister of the truth, and every parent, ought to have been familiar long ago. As it regards instruction, as well as ground for new reflections, it will be found to occupy a course or channel peculiar to itself. Perhaps the fifth book in our New Testament Scriptures, may in part explain its character. Men, indeed, have entitled that book “the Acts of the Apostles;” but it is in reality a history of the way and manner in which “the Word of the Lord *grew and multiplied*,”—the Apostles themselves, whether as individuals or as a body, being treated in perfect subordination to the grand or leading design. In some faint resemblance to this manner, so ought the history of the Divine Word, in our native tongue, to have been attempted long since; leaving men and things, whether great characters or national events, in the subordinate places which have actually belonged to them. At the same time, such men and such events, viewed as they have now been, sometimes in contrast, and at other times in connection with the progress of Divine Revelation itself, lend a peculiar zest or life to the entire narrative.

This history may, and it will furnish motives to action, such as can be drawn from no other retrospect. It forms a key, if not the only one, to our highest imperative obligations; and it may well be pondered, as the path by which Jehovah led our forefathers, in a way of his own devising, with more than “the pillar of a clond by day, and a pillar of fire by night.” In this view, the history, though never written before, and therefore not understood, can never be out of date. It involves the commencement and continuance of a cause, which is but pursuing its course in our own day, not only to a wider extent, but with greater energy than ever before, and yet to be pursued with greater still.

EDINBURGH, 19th February, 1845.



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# INTRODUCTION.

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BRIEF SURVEY OF THE AGES WHICH PRECEDED ANY PRINTING OF THE SCRIPTURES IN THE ENGLISH TONGUE—INCLUDING THE REVIVAL AND TRIUMPH OF CLASSICAL LEARNING AND THE ARTS, CONTRASTED WITH THE TIMES OF WICKLIFFE, WITH HIS VERSION OF THE ENTIRE SACRED VOLUME, AND ITS EFFECTS—THE INVENTION OF PRINTING, ITS RAPID PROGRESS TO PERFECTION, AND THE POINT TO WHICH THE EUROPEAN NATIONS, BUT MORE ESPECIALLY ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, HAD BEEN BROUGHT, BEFORE EVER THIS INVALUABLE ART WAS APPLIED TO ANY VERSION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY THE PEOPLE.

THE darkest hour in the night of Europe, is an era respecting which historians are not even yet agreed. It has been regarded by many as being in the tenth century. One or two other writers consider the seventh or eighth century to be the lowest in point of depression, or the *nadir* of the human mind; and they suppose that its movement in advance began with Charlemagne, while England can never forget her own Alfred the Great. A few moderns, too fastidious, or by no means so affected by the gloom and barbarity of the middle ages, profess to be tender of allowance as to the *extent* of this darkness, and would fondly persuade us to adopt a more cheerful retrospect. But speaking, generally, with reference to the people at large, the entire period, from the fifth or sixth to the fourteenth century, presents, at the best, but a tedious and dreary interval in the history of the human mind. Individual scholars, indeed, like stars which shed their light on the surrounding gloom, there ever were; and wherever there existed any marked regard for Sacred Writ, in the vernacular tongue, there the life-spark of Christianity was preserved. The Albigenses, the Waldenses, and other parties, might be adduced in proof; the persecution and dispersion of whom, had considerable influence in diffusing the light which its enemies labored to extinguish.

It was not, however, till after a long and profound sleep throughout the dreams and visions of the middle ages, that the human mind was at last effectually roused to action; and in none of the countries throughout Europe more decidedly than in Italy and England. But still, for some great moral purpose, worthy of infinite wisdom, and to be afterwards disclosed, that mind, throughout all these western kingdoms, was first to be permitted to discover what was the utmost vigor of its native strength.

First came the age of the chisel, and the painter's pencil, and the pen, not to say of the music of the human voice. Those stu-

pendous fabrics, which began to be erected from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, in which the massive dulness of the Lombards was giving way to the influence of the Saracens of Spain, still stand out in proof, that many hands were already busy, under the guidance of some presiding ingenious mind. Literature and the fine arts, more especially classical learning, painting, and sculpture, were then to enjoy that triumph, the spoils of which now adorn the walls of every palace, as well as the cabinets and libraries, the galleries and public rooms, of every city in Europe. This triumph, too, must take place in ITALY, or in the very seat of that extraordinary power which had ruled for ages, with unmeasured sway, over all the west; for, throughout the long preceding night, it could never be said that Rome herself had been either asleep or inactive.

### THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

In England, at the commencement of this century, poor King John was actually promising to make his kingdom tributary to the Pontiff, with a proffer of not less than a thousand merks, or a sum equal to £20,000 now, over and above the old tribute: and although the Barons soon after wrested Magna Charta from him, to show how low the kingdom had sunk, we find the Pontiff, at this same John's *request*, annulling the proceedings. The great charters, it is true, were confirmed by his successor, Henry III.; but the power of Rome was growing every day during his fifty-six years' reign. It was then that the Pontiff was exclaiming—"Truly, England is our garden of delight! It is an unexhausted well! and where so much abounds, much may be acquired." No wonder that he thus exulted, when his income from England was three times as much as that of the King on the throne." But, above all, in proof of the Pontiff's power towards the west, this was the era of that detestable persecution of the Albigenses, pursued with such hideous cruelty. The execrable measure, in which plunder was the grand object, was counselled, planned, and commanded by Rome.

Now, if we seek for any relieving contrast throughout the entire century, it is to Italy itself that we must turn our eye. Even in the neighboring Republic of Florence, it is true, amidst the surrounding gloom, Dante had begun to sing, in his own style, about paradise, and the infernal regions, not forgetting to intermingle certain severe allusions with his poem; and, besides this, there was his treatise "*Monarchia*," distinctly hostile to the claims of Rome: but for the bolder contrast to the sentiments of all Europe, we must look to Venice. It is admitted that in the commencement of this century the Venetians had chosen to apply to Rome for an indulgence, but this was merely to facilitate a treaty with the Caliphs of Egypt. Eager to retain their commerce with the East Indies, they wished to open a communication between the Nile and

the Red Sea ; and had they succeeded, perhaps the trade might never have passed from their hands. Still, this application betrayed no disposition to bow allegiance. On the contrary, this ancient Republic had reigned, for more than two centuries, as Lords-paramount of the Adriatic : and although that gulf washed the shores of various States, those of the *Roman Church* among the number, not one of them dared to navigate it, or even fish in its waters, without a license from Venice, for which they paid a heavy tribute. When one sovereign Pontiff presumed to inquire, by what right *they* pretended to domineer there, the brief reply given was—"That sea is ours."

But the sea would not suffice any longer as the bounds of their sovereignty ; and, therefore, about the middle of this century, they began to acquire land. Arvi in Romagna was taken under their special *protection*, much in the same style as the provinces of India have since been taken under that of Britain.

It was little more than seven years after this when the Pontiff, Martin IV., having, in his customary style, *given* the sovereignty of Naples to Charles of Anjou, and proclaimed a crusade against the lawful heir, chose also to excommunicate the Venetians because they would not unite in the outrage. For three long years, no priests officiated, no prayers were offered in their churches, and without yielding, they allowed the Pontiff to die ! His successor, Honorius IV., at last succeeded, and removed the interdict.

The century closed at Venice by a marked alteration in this singular Government, or the exchange of the Republican form for that hereditary and severe Aristocracy, which became the diplomatic model of its day. But it is unnecessary to pursue the subject farther. We have come to the commencement of another century, and our assertion thus far is proved. The Pontiff and his fellows, had been all along more potent at a distance, than at home under their native sky ; and the one great lesson afforded by the Italian Republics, and especially Venice, was this, that the power of Rome, when at its height, *was* resistible. This too becomes still more worthy of notice, inasmuch as the freedom enjoyed in these commercial states was not that which we now understand by the term—far from it. In numerous instances, the lives, the property, and even the honor of the citizens were not secured ; but in ages when the reason of mankind had been subdued, and their rulers were reduced to vassals, these lesser communities, under an Italian sky, had proved what reason and the power of resistance could do. Two hundred years before Henry the Eighth was born, Venice had shown that Rome's loudest thunder might fall innocuous to the ground. Immovable and unshaken, and though uniting some of the most odious practices of despotism with the name of liberty, yet bent upon securing certain rights, and prosperity to commerce, a mere handful of people in the adjoining sea had continued to testify to the millions of Europe, that the power they so much dreaded might be braved with impunity.

Thus terminated the thirteenth century, but we are still more

than two hundred years distant from the period when the Sacred Scriptures were first printed in the *vernacular* tongue; and yet both centuries may now be viewed with considerable advantage as an approach or gradual *introduction* to that important event.

### THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

In the course of the fourteenth century, whether we look to Germany, to Italy, or our own country, the events are equally interesting, and full of promise. Within the first of these, the influence of that singular confederation, called the "Hanse Towns," had begun to be felt. The league, by this time, included more than sixty cities. These had commerce for their common object or bond of union; but they were the germs of future freedom, and ultimately contributed, in no inferior degree, to the protection of individual rights. Thus early was Divine Providence in operation with a view to a better day. At the same time nothing can be more natural than that Italy should claim the precedence of all other nations, whether as to the science of government, or the revival of learning.

The learning and refinement of Italy, about to assume that position in history which the wisdom of Greece had done in the days of old, must enjoy her long reign of a hundred and fifty years without any superior. Now that the human mind is waking up, let the Italian "*imagine that all knowledge consisted in knowing and imitating the ancient masters,*" and let "the highest glory be attached to classical learning;" let the "chief works of antiquity be rendered intelligible," and the men of Italy "collect, collate, and explain them." In short, as Greece is coming to the assistance of Rome, and "the great masters" must first rise to show the extent of their powers; since the former, at the commencement of the Christian era, had stood in a peculiar relation to the surrounding nations—so, let Italy now stand in the same relation to Europe. Distinguished for classical learning, and first in the arts, if not the sciences, she claims to be the well-spring of all the less civilized nations in the west. Minute criticism may here be dispensed with, nor does any admirer of the Sacred Volume need to object to the fullest concession. Let Dante and Petrarch for the moment, and Boccaccio and Poggio Bracciolini lead the way.

In all this, however, it must now be granted in return, there was literally nothing of Divine light, properly so called—no reverent, distinct approach to the Sacred Volume; and this becomes the more observable, as the only country in Europe to which we can look for this, was that which, of all others, was held in greatest contempt by Italy; to say nothing of its being at once the most distant from Rome, if not also the most oppressed by that power. This was no other than our native land. Bracciolini, the last of these Italian scholars, had actually visited it, and viewed this country with chagrin, if not disdain, when compared with the

enthusiastic love of classical literature which polished and adorned his country.

Yes, so far as the revival of learning was concerned, it is worthy of particular notice that, in England, it was associated, even from this early period, with a special leaning towards the *Oracles of God*, and that on the part of several eminent men, all alike well known, not only at home, but as distant as Italy. Of these, in proof, we cannot omit to notice four—*Robert Grossteste, Richard Aungerville, Richard Fitzralph, and, above all, our own WICKLIFFE.*

JOHN WICKLIFFE, a native of Yorkshire, was born in the year 1324, and, in 1360, at the age of thirty-six, first came into public view, where he conspicuously remained to the day of his death, or the 31st of December, 1384. For his life and opinions we refer to other sources, and must here confine our attention to that work which will ever give the chief distinction to his name.

Before the commencement of such a design, the position of Wickliffe should be contemplated. To say nothing of the Mahometan and Pagan worlds, two other communities had extended their influence over the nations. Alike opposed to the right of private judgment, and the rising freedom of the human mind, and now equally sunk into a state of unutterable depravity, both had fixed a malignant eye on that very book which Wickliffe had determined to give to his country. These two, it is well known, were the Eastern and Western, or the Greek and Latin Churches. Both had not only, and long since, utterly neglected and condemned the Sacred Writings, but both had interdicted their translation into any vernacular tongue. That it was not only unlawful, but injurious, for the people at large to read the Scriptures, had, indeed, for ages, been regarded as an axiom, by all these nations. Nor was this idea left to pass current merely as a received opinion. Not to mention other proofs, more than an hundred and fifty years before Wickliffe had finished his determined purpose, or in the year 1229, at the Council of Toulouse, when forty-five canons were passed and issued for the extinction of *heresy* and the re-establishment of *peace*, what were two of those canons? One involved the *first* court of inquisition, and another the *first* canon, which forbade the Scriptures to the laity, or the translation of any portion of them into the vulgar tongue. The latter was expressed in very pointed terms.

“We also forbid the laity to possess any of the books of the Old or New Testament, except, perhaps, the Psalter or Breviary for the Divine Offices, or the Hours of the Blessed Virgin, which some, out of devotion, wish to have; but having any of these books *translated* into the vulgar tongue, we *strictly forbid.*”

In the face of all this, and far more than can now be explained, must Wickliffe commence his heartfelt task; and so he did, with his eyes open to the prejudices of a world. His translation, which was finished in the year 1380, is supposed to have occupied him, amidst various interruptions, for many years. Some have imag-

ined that this great work employed the translator for ten years only, but Mr. Baber, with far greater probability, has said, "From an early period of his life he had devoted his various learning, and all the powerful energies of his mind, to effect this, and, at length, by intense application on his own part, and with some assistance from a few of the most learned of his followers, he had the glory to complete a book, which, alone, would have been sufficient (or at least ought) to have procured him the veneration of his own age, and the commendations of posterity."

In accounting for such a movement as this, it has been but too common to inquire after something similar which had happened in the earth, and loosely supposing some connection between them, as cause and effect, thus leave the extraordinary event, without the slightest reference to the finger of God. Any influential connection, however, between the Waldenses or Vaudois and Wickliffe has never been clearly proved, and probably never will. At all events, before he could be stimulated by their example, he seems to have taken his ground, as it is only in his latest compositions that a few slight references to them are to be found, as to a people with whose sufferings he sympathized. He was on the Continent, at Bruges, it is true, from 1374 to 1376, but he had commenced, and must have been far advanced in his undertaking, long before then. In short, as far as the term can be applied to any human being, the claims of Wickliffe to originality, have now come to be better understood, and every Christian will recognize the "secret mover;" while, in reference to the times following, when tracing the history or influence of Divine Truth throughout Europe, the habit of ascending no higher than *Germany* is past, or passing away.

Down to the period of about two years before Wickliffe had completed his translation, the only ideas or incidents which had any powerful influence upon mankind generally, were such as stood connected with the Pontiff, and his peculiar system of rule or government; but, in reference to this subject, by the year 1378, among the European nations, there had sprung up a marked difference of opinion. One question engrossed them all, and it was nothing less than this—*Who was Pontiff?* In the year 1365, through the influence of France, the Court of Rome had been translated into that kingdom, and there it remained for seventy-four years, to the great damage of Rome as a city, but without any rent or division in the system. Edward the Third had expired on the 21st of June, 1377, after a reign of above half a century, and about that very moment Gregory XI. had ordered Wickliffe to be seized and imprisoned, till further orders. Early in the following year, although our translator of the Scriptures had not only stood high in favor with the late King, but still did so with many in Parliament, and was powerfully protected by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, he was summoned by the *Bishops* to answer for himself at St. Paul's. Thus did this body of men first come out, appearing as a distinct interest in the kingdom, and thus

they will remain for above five generations to come ; proving ever and anon, upon all occasions of alarm, that they were the determined opponents of Divine Truth. As a body, they will oppose its being conveyed to the people, and at every successive step of progress. Their malice at this time, however, was overruled, as it will so often and conspicuously be, a century and a half later ; but, in the meanwhile, nothing must prevent Wickliffe from finishing his translation.\*

The year 1378 was in truth an important one as it regarded our translator's design. On the 27th of March the reigning Pontiff had died ; an event which not only put an end to the bulls against Wickliffe, but gave rise to what was called "*the great schism*," so that soon after there were two Pontiffs—one beyond the mountains, as the Italians said, and one at Rome—consigning each other to perdition. Of this state of things Wickliffe did not fail to avail himself. "He saw the head of the body cleven in twain, and the two parts made to fight with each other ;" and he immediately sent forth two tracts, one upon "the schism" itself, and the other upon "the truth of Scripture." Every city and state became agitated, and as the question soon divided the nations throughout, it so happened that *England* and *Scotland* were of opposite opinions : the former holding fast by Urban VI. of Rome, who had been first chosen ; the latter followed Clement VII. of Avignon. England and France indeed became the most ardent supporters of the opposite parties, while such was the extent to which the controversy had gone, that some men of the University of Paris had begun to think of a plurality of Pontiffs, and the appointment of one to every kingdom. The idea of *one* power exercising authority over *all* nations had seemed to them untenable, if not injurious.

Soon after this, in the year 1379, Wickliffe, as divinity professor, had gone to fulfil his accustomed annual duty at Oxford, but there he was seized with an alarming illness. The friars, imagining that his course was now near an end, contrived to visit him. Four of their ablest men had been selected, or a friar from each of the mendicant orders, and they were admitted to a patient hearing. After reminding him of the great injury he had done to their order—for Wickliffe was a determined enemy to all idleness and all extortion—they exhorted him, as one near to death, that he would now, as a true penitent, bewail and revoke, in their presence, whatever he had said to their disparagement. As soon as they had done, Wickliffe, calling for his servant, desired to be raised up on his pillow ; when, collecting all his strength, with a severe and expressive countenance, and in a tone of voice not to be misunderstood, he exclaimed, "*I shall not die, but live, to declare the evil deeds of the friars.*" Confused, if not confounded, little expecting

\* The assembly at St. Paul's having broken up in riot and confusion, there was a second attempt to execute their purpose in a Synod at Lambeth in June, but the Bishops were deterred from coming to any definite sentence by a message from the Queen-Mother by Sir Lewis Clifford.

such a reply, they immediately left him; and Wickliffe recovered, to finish in the year following his translation of the entire Bible.

Extraordinary, however, as the character of Wickliffe was,—a man confessedly far above all his contemporaries, it may still be inquired, whether he was qualified for the task of translating the Sacred Volume? The Scriptures had been originally given in Hebrew and Greek; but so far from the nations of the West furnishing men sufficiently acquainted with either, England at least had sunk into greater ignorance even since the days of Grossteste; nay, an hundred and fifty years later, when Tyndale had translated from the original tongues, some of the priests of the day were trying to persuade the people that Greek and Hebrew were languages *newly invented*. Here, it is true, was Wickliffe, an able and acute, a zealous and determined man, and withal an excellent Latin scholar, but of Greek or Hebrew he knew nothing. Nor was it at all *necessary* that he should possess such erudition, *since a translation from either GREEK OR HEBREW would not have harmonized with the first, or the present, intention of Divine Providence*. A reason there was, and one worthy of infinite wisdom, why not only the English translation, but most of the *first* European versions must be made from the *Latin*. These nations, including our own, had nothing in common with the Greek community, but for ages they had been overrun by the Latin. This language, long since dead, even in Italy, had been the refuge and stronghold of their oppressor, from generation to generation; and upon looking back, no spectacle presented to the eye is so remarkable, as that of so many different nations, equally spell-bound by the same expedient. There was a Latin service, and there was a Latin Bible, professedly received, but the possession of even *this* had been forbidden to the people at large; very much in the same spirit as the Shasters of India are forbidden by the Brahmins to be looked upon, or even heard, by the people. It was the *LATIN* Bible, therefore, long buried in cloisters, or covered with the dust of ages, which must now be brought forth to view. Confessedly imperfect, it was of importance first to prove that *it* had all along contained enough for mortal man to know, in order to his eternal salvation; and once translated into any native tongue, not only will the language touch the heart, but the people at last know what that mysterious book was, from which they had been debarred so wickedly and so long. Although, therefore, the nation was yet an hundred and fifty years distant from the English Bible, properly so called, the present should be regarded as the first *preliminary* step. An all-disposing foresight, far above that of any human agent, is now distinctly visible in drawing first upon that very language which had been employed for ages as the instrument of mental bondage. It shall now be made to contribute to the emancipation of the human mind. Latin, it is true, had been the conventional language of the priests and students of different countries; but still, so long as this language remained untouched by a translation of the Scriptures into any *vernacular* tongue, it is



a historical canon that no nation was ever greatly moved. This holds true of our own country, in the age of *manuscript*, but it will become far more emphatically so, even seventy years after the invention of *printing*; when the Scriptures, once translated from the original tongues, come to be printed in the language then spoken, and spoken still.

At such a period as this the translation of Wickliffe could only be diffused, of course, by the laborious process of transcription; but transcribed it was diligently, both entire and in parts, and as eagerly read. There were those who, at every hazard, sought wisdom from the Book of God, and their number could not be few. A contemporary writer has affirmed that "a man could not meet two people on the road, but one of them was a disciple of Wickliffe." This was the testimony of an enemy, and not improbably the language of hatred and fear combined, uttered with a wish to damage the cause; it was the testimony of an ecclesiastic, a Canon of Leicester, in reference to an era hailed by the people; and although the Word of Truth had not "free course," there can be no question that it was glorified in the reception given to it by many. "The soldiers," he says, "with the dukes and earls, were the chief adherents of this sect—they were their most strenuous promoters and boldest combatants—their most powerful defenders and their invincible protectors." A very remarkable admission, as it accounts for the great progress made, in spite of opposition. All this and much more is uttered in the tone of lamentation; and what was the occasion, as expressed by the Canon himself? "This Master John Wickliffe," says he, "hath translated the Gospel out of Latin into English, which Christ had intrusted with the *clergy and doctors* of the Church, that *they* might minister it to the laity and weaker sort, according to the state of the times and the wants of men. So that by this means the Gospel is made vulgar, and laid more open to the laity, and *even to women* who can read, than it used to be to the *most learned* of the clergy and those of the best understanding! And what was before the chief gift of the clergy and doctors of the Church, is made forever common to the laity!"

It was in the same spirit that another contemporary writer urged that "the prelates ought not to suffer that every one at his pleasure should read the Scripture, translated even into *Latin*; because, as is plain from experience, this has been many ways the occasion of falling into heresies and errors. It is not, therefore, politic that *any one*, wheresoever and whensoever he will, should give himself to the frequent study of the Scriptures."

These men specially referred to a period which lasted for about twenty years, or from 1380 to 1400, and it was one, though but too short, which distinguished this country from every other in Europe. However transient, or but like an handful of corn for all England, in any sketch of the times it should never pass unnoticed.

While the nations generally were discussing the respective

claims of two rival Pontiffs, amidst all the confusion of the times, and although there were many adversaries, for the last twenty years of the fourteenth century in England, no authoritative stop must be put to the perusal of the Divine record. The Bishops, it is true, with the Primate of Canterbury at their head, may rage and remonstrate, may write to Rome and receive replies, but in vain. The entire Sacred Volume had been translated, the people were transcribing and reading, and the translator had frequently expressed himself in the boldest terms. "The authority of the Holy Scriptures," said he, "infinitely surpasses any writing, how authentic soever it may appear, because the authority of Jesus Christ is infinitely above that of all mankind."—"The authority of the Scriptures is independent on any other authority, and is preferable to every other writing, but especially to the books of the Church of Rome."—"I am certain, indeed, from the Scriptures, that neither Antichrist, nor all his disciples, nay, nor all fiends, may really impugn any part of that volume as it regards the excellence of its doctrine. But in all these things it appears to me that the believing man should use this rule.—If he soundly understands the Sacred Scripture, let him bless God; if he be deficient in such perception, let him labor for soundness of mind. Let him also dwell as a grammarian upon the letter, but be fully aware of imposing a sense upon Scripture which he doubts the Holy Spirit does not demand."

Many other passages, in terms as strong, might be quoted from his writings: and "among his latest acts," says Vaughan, "was a defence in Parliament of the translation of the Scriptures into English. These he declared to be the property of the *people*, and one which no party should be allowed to wrest from them."

Now that the cause of such a man, as well as that he himself should have been so befriended, was one of the distinguishing features of the present period. The Duke of Lancaster continued to be his shield for years; and although, when Wickliffe, in addition to grievances felt, went on to Christian doctrines, the Duke faltered in his support, yet nearly six years after the translator was in his grave, the same voice was heard in favor of the translation. In the thirteenth of Richard II., or 1390, a bill was proposed to be brought into the House of Lords for suppressing it, when Lancaster, in boldly opposing this, told them, "That he would maintain our having this law in our own tongue, *whoever* they should be that brought in the bill;" and once introduced, it was immediately thrown out. But Lancaster was not the only friend: to his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, Wickliffe dedicated at least one of his pieces; and on one important occasion, when the former gave way, the Queen-Mother, or widow of the Black Prince, put a stop to persecution. Lord Percy, Earl-Marshal, was also friendly; but perhaps, above all, much was owing to the reigning Queen, and that for ten years after Wickliffe's death. Ann of Luxemburg, the sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus, and of the King of Bohemia, as consort of Richard II., had arrived in this country in December, 1381; and

event of great importance in connection with Wickliffe's exertions. If he had so far enlightened England, his writings were also to electrify Bohemia, so that Ann had "come to the kingdom for such a time as this." This lady, already acquainted with three languages, Bohemian, German, and Latin, soon acquired that of this country, and for years was distinguished for her diligent perusal of the Scriptures in *English*. This much was testified of her by a very notable witness—the Lord Chancellor Arundel, then Archbishop of York, when he came to preach at her interment. "Although she was a stranger," he said, "yet she constantly studied the four gospels in English; and in the study of these, and reading of godly books, she was more diligent than the prelates, though their office and business require this of them." The gospels in English, he added, the Queen had sent to himself to peruse, and he had replied that they were "*good and true*." Queen Ann's course of reading was even well known to Wickliffe, before he expired in 1384, so that she must have served as a powerful example to others, for at least ten years. The translator had thus early inquired, whether "to hereticate" her on account of her practice, "would not be Luciferian folly."

The Queen, says Rapin, was a great favorer of Wickliffe's doctrine, and had she lived longer would have saved his followers; but the illustrious foreigner once interred, and thus so remarkably eulogized, a different scene immediately opened to view.

After his Queen's death, Richard II., the grandchild of Edward III., had gone to Ireland, there to prolong the misgovernment of that country; and only four months had elapsed, when this very man, Arundel, who afterwards was the main instrument in dethroning the King, and one of the bitterest enemies of Divine Truth in the next century, was in great alarm. In deep hypocrisy, at Westminster, he might choose to twit the prelates with their ignorance of Scripture, in comparison with a Queen who had to acquire the language, and thus please the ear of his Majesty, as well as seem to lament his loss; but he had no intention that the *people* should take the hint, or advance, and show him, as well as his brethren, the way. The remarkable though transient period, however, to which we now refer, was as distinguished for boldness of sentiment, as for the protection providentially afforded to those who were searching the Scriptures for themselves.

On the 29th of January, 1395, a Parliament was held at Westminster, and the time had come to speak out. The sentiments were not those of a feeble band, whispered in secret. They were expressed in the shape of a remonstrance, and presented to the House of Commons. They were posted at St. Paul's, and also at Westminster. This, let it be observed, was above a hundred and twenty years before Luther's voice was heard; and, taken all in all, the argument throughout may be compared to an arrow, shot from a bow as strong as the intrepid German afterwards ever bent.

Richard, still in Ireland, was preparing to take the field again,

when Arundel, our preacher at Westminster in August last, had reached him in May, and accompanied by Braybrook, the Bishop of London. Six or seven years before this, the disciples of Wickliffe had been congregating in different places, and actually appointing ministers among themselves to perform Divine service, after their own sentiments: while his "poor priests," as they were styled, had been travelling and preaching, *barefooted*, through the country; but this pointed and posted remonstrance had filled Arundel, Braybrook, and their brethren, with dread. They entreated the King, in name of the clergy, to return, intimating that the least delay might occasion irreparable damage. The followers of Wickliffe, they said, had made instance to set on foot a reformation—they had many friends in the kingdom, nay, in the Parliament itself, and the clergy were afraid they would proceed to action. Richard listened, immediately left the management of his war to the Earl of March, and returned. He took certain measures, it is true, to check the rising tide of sentiment, but still the Scriptures were *not* suppressed, nor was there one drop of blood shed for what "they called heresy," till the commencement of the next century, under Henry the Fourth.

Under a monarch so weak and ill-advised as Richard II., a man who minded only trifles, and thought of nothing save his own pleasures, that the close of the fourteenth century should have been thus distinguished must appear strange, but it is not unaccountable. This was only the commencement of a series of striking proofs, that, in first conveying to the people of this country the Word of Life, Divine Providence would dispense with what has been called "royal sanction." Certain individuals near the throne, and more enlightened, had been permitted to act, and Richard must have allowed his Queen to have had considerable influence, and so gratify her wishes; but, independently of these parties, the King himself, bent upon increasing the royal prerogative, was no friend to any control from abroad. For a hundred years past, under the three first Edwards, the power of the Crown, and the influence of the Commons, as a branch of the legislature, had been increasing by slow degrees, and, more especially, three memorable statutes had been passed, viz., those of Mortmain, Provisors, and Præmunire. Now, these, even under this present monarch, had been not merely recognized, but the power of the last two generally strengthened. Some parties having ventured abroad, to solicit their repeal, Richard, by a proclamation, ordered their return to England, on pain of death and forfeiture of estate. Nor could these statutes ever be repealed. Why they lay inoperative or dormant for an hundred and thirty years will be afterwards explained; but there they were, as powerful instruments, to be wielded another day, by Henry the Eighth, upon the fall of Cardinal Wolsey. As for Richard II., he drove on, till the power which he sought rather to reduce than promote, at last, and through Arundel, artfully secured his deposition, in September, 1399.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the fourteenth century, we con-

cede to Petrarch, or Boccaccio and his fellows, all that is demanded as to the revival of learning in Italy ; nor has England any occasion to be ashamed of the contrast or distinction between the two countries. The pursuits of both were but in their infancy. In the former, "imagining that all knowledge was to be found in the ancient Masters," they were beginning to seek after Mount Parnassus and their old Romans ; but in the latter they were in search of Mount Zion and the fishermen of Galilee. The Italian had become eager after the wisdom of Greece, and the nervous oratory of his forefathers ; the Englishman, after the wisdom of God, and the course pursued by the first planters of Christianity. If any of our countrymen were looking to Greece at all, it might be only to such as had proved to "be the first-fruits of Achaia unto God," and if to Rome, it was only to those in the imperial city, once so beloved, "whose faith was spoken of throughout the whole world."

The manuscripts of Wickliffe's version complete, are numerous still ; and perhaps not much less so than those of the New Testament separately, not to mention different pieces, or entire books of the translation. In examining some of these, whether in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in the British Museum, or in private collections, we have been struck with their legibility and beauty. They have all, indiscriminately, been called Wickliffe's version, but variations of expression are to be found in a few ; and it is not so generally known that we possess two distinct versions, one under Wickliffe's own eye, and another a recension of the entire sacred text.

It is certainly a singular circumstance that this translation of Wickliffe has never been printed ! The New Testament, it is true, was published by Mr. Lewis, in the year 1731, or three hundred and fifty years after it was finished, and once more by Mr. Baber, in 1810 ; but the Bible entire, now four hundred and sixty-four years old, has never yet been published. By the time that Tyndale was born, indeed, it would not have been intelligible to the people at large ; moreover, it was from the Latin Vulgate, and the period had arrived when the translation must be drawn from the original tongues. But still, even as a most interesting literary production, one could never have imagined that above *twenty* sovereigns would have sat on the throne of England since the invention of printing, before such a work had issued from the press. By Fabricius, a foreigner, as well as others, this has been often referred to as a national disgrace, but happily, the reproach, at last, is in the course of being wiped away. Both these versions to which we have alluded are now printed in parallel columns, at the Oxford University press.

Thus then, whatever darkness reigned, or enmity was shown in this country, throughout the whole of the next century, these precious volumes were preserved, and the surviving copies remain, like so many veritable torch-bearers for the time being. They may, and indeed must have shone often in secret, or at the mid-

night hour, and certainly not without effects, to be disclosed another day.

### THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Although, strictly speaking, only a century of preparation, still the *fifteenth* must ever be esteemed more important than any that had preceded it, and, in one point of view, more influential than any that has followed since. When it is observed that an art, then first applied, though nearly four hundred years old, is only now rising to greater power in this country every day, and is evidently destined to be employed by all nations, no wonder that it should be so regarded.

This requires to be considered half and half, as there was a material difference between the first and the second. During the *first*, we see the continuance of the great Western schism, the union of the Eastern and Western Churches before they were shaken to the ground, closing with the noted licentious jubilee, under Nicholas V., at Rome in 1450. During the *second*, we are engrossed by other affairs. The fall of the Greek Empire, the rapid progress of literature in Italy, and the invention of printing in Germany. All these were so many preparatives for the emancipation of the human mind, or that war of opinion by which the sixteenth century was to be so distinguished.\*

But to return, and commence with the great schism. It continued without interruption for fifty-one years, from 1378 to 1429, though the consequences were deeply felt by the Pontiff for twenty years longer. This could not fail to operate powerfully on the whole of Europe. It was the first "shaking" of the nations, before the coming of Him, to whom all nations should turn. This noted schism has been called *great*, to distinguish it from all those which had preceded.† It at last suggested the necessity for a General Council, so that, during the first half of the fifteenth century, *Councils* became the order of the day. The first, held at Pisa in 1409, tried to heal the breach by deposing both Pontiffs, (Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.,) and choosing a third, or Alexander V., in which decision England acquiesced, but Scotland still dissented. Alexander, a feeble character, was succeeded in 1410, or next year, by Balthasar Cossa, or John XXIII., a man as distinguished for violence of temper as licentiousness of morals. Three years after, he summoned a Council to meet at Rome, but so far from this city being attractive at that time, only a few attended to the

\* The discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, and of the passage to India by Vasco de Gama in 1497, only fix the eye with deeper interest on the century to come.

† Far from being the first, if the reader chooses to consult the best original authorities he will be able to count between the year 152 and 1429, not fewer than *twenty-eight* instances, in which there were two, and sometimes three or more Pontiffs at the same time; and as these conflicts were frequently decided, not by equity, but by the influential power of the successful candidate, hence all attempts to prove what is called an uninterrupted succession become utterly vain. That any man should now waste a moment on such an attempt, is humbling to human nature.

call. The consequence was, that, although his Council sat from the close of 1412 to the 11th of June following, no other business was accomplished save some condemnation of the writings of Wickliffe.

In the year following a far more imposing Council was held at Constance, where the man who had sat in judgment upon Wickliffe must be himself condemned, though not on that account. John was deposed, however, and Gregory XII., who had stood out for five years, or ever since his deposition at Pisa, abdicated; but Peter de Luna, Benedict XIII., still held fast by his claim; and, whoever withdrew from him, Scotland would not. Thus it curiously happened that, for two years and four months, from July 1413, the only Pontiff in existence was a *deposed* one, and the only kingdom or province that adhered to him in the end, was Scotland! It was during this strange period that the merits of Wickliffe were afresh discussed and condemned, not by an individual Pontiff, but a General Council; and to such an execrable length did they proceed, that though our translator had now been in his grave full thirty years, they ordered his bones to be dug up, (if they could be distinguished), and burnt to ashes. Their spite was not, indeed, immediately gratified, for what reason does not appear; but so mean is the malice of the wicked, that, thirteen years afterwards, Martin V., whom this Council was about to elect, sent peremptory orders to have the sentence strictly fulfilled. Thus, nearly forty-four years after his dissolution, they attempted it, burning certain bones presumed to be Wickliffe's and throwing the ashes into the Swift, an adjoining brook, which runs into the Severn.

The bones of the illustrious dead having been solemnly denounced, the Council then proceeded to the living, or the well-known disciple of Wickliffe, John Huss: and on the 6th of July, 1415, they condemned him to be burnt, as they also did his fellow-countryman, Jerome of Prague, in May 1416. These men of violence and blood, having thus covered themselves with never-dying infamy, were very eager to have rendered their sittings periodical, and the Council a permanent branch of their church constitution: but at last having elected Otho Colonna as Pontiff, on the 11th of November 1417, he took the name of Martin V., and the Council broke up in April 1418.

This man, however, still had a rival in Benedict, till November 1424; nay, in Clement VIII., chosen as his successor, who did not resign till July 1429. Martin dying in 1431, before the close of the year another General Council had assembled at Basil, which did not dissolve for twelve years. To any Pontiff, these were seasons of anxiety, and by no means in favor of any claim to infallibility, but this Council assumed a tone hitherto unknown. Not only asserting the supremacy of a Council, but divesting the Pontiff of several highly-valued and acknowledged rights; they prohibited him from creating new cardinals, and suppressed a large portion of his revenue, arising from the first year's income on all benefices.

Eugenius IV., the successor of Martin, at length feeling this assembly so irksome and untoward, tried to hold another Council, first at Ferrara in 1438, and then at Florence in the following year; so that as there had been Pontiff against Pontiff for many years, and each of them choosing his own *cardinals*; the world was now kept awake by Council against Council, denouncing each other, and each of them choosing its own *Pontiff*! The Council of Basil, deposing Eugenius, chose for their head the retired Duke of Savoy, who assumed the title of Felix V.

A moment such as had not occurred for nearly seventy years, or since 1378—a moment favorable to the sovereignty of the Pontiff, now at last arrived. It was the accession of Nicholas V., in March 1447, as the successor of Eugenius. Even after this, indeed, a rival still remained; but the Emperor interposed, and in April 1449, securing the retirement and renunciation of Felix to all claims, the pontifical authority at once rose to a height which it had not enjoyed for many years. The jubilee of 1450, a scene of riot and licentiousness, to which people from all parts of Europe came, seemed not only to prove that Rome was an attractive point of union still, but that the Pontiff might lift up his head once more, and say, “I am secure, and shall see no sorrow.” Assailed, for above seventy years, from without and from within—from without by the influence of Wickliffe and Huss, and from within by men of the Pontiff’s own order—still there seemed to be little or nothing lost. General councils had wrangled for many years, though, as such, they had now failed and there will be no General Council now, till long after a very different scene has opened on the world.

But still, though they had failed, it was only in one sense. The principles then and there broached could not die. The principles maintained, especially at Basil, continued to operate throughout the rest of this century, and in a way so obnoxious to Rome, as to agitate every successive Pontiff. They were these principles, and more especially the tenet, that the authority of a General Council was superior to that of the Pontiff, which suggested to the Sovereign of France, Charles VII., what was styled “the pragmatic sanction” in 1438, while Germany had adopted it in 1439; both Sovereigns having made it the law of their respective kingdoms. Germany, indeed, had bowed allegiance before the jubilee, but France would not. This “sanction,” like the statutes of provisors and *præmunire* in England, was meant to operate powerfully in preventing the wealth of France from flowing into Italy; a mode of resistance to pontifical authority, to which that power was ever most tenderly alive. The King of France might occasionally waver, as did Louis XI., when Eneas Sylvius, or Pius II., wept for joy; but then the Parliament of Paris must now also be acknowledged, and they firmly resisted. One Pontiff after another might denounce the measure, as they did also the English statutes, but still there was no change throughout this century. No change, till one obscure individual was raised up in this coun-



try, and another in Germany, who, under God, were to accomplish a work, to which neither Kings nor General Councils were equal or disposed.

Ancient prejudices, and certain long-fixed associations of the mind, were shaken to the root, by the events at which we have already glanced : but for the entrance of new ideas, and the notable reception of Divine Truth itself, Providence was preparing at the same time, or throughout the entire century.

### *The triumph of Classical Learning.*

In the first years of the fifteenth century, individual natives of Greece were finding their way into Italy, nay, from about the year 1395, their language was taught in Florence and Venice, in Milan and Genoa, by Emanuel Chrysoloras. The Pontiff chosen in 1409, Alexander V., was a Grecian by birth. The whole lives of Italian Scholars, we are told, were now devoted to the recovery of ancient works and the revival of philology ; while the discovery of an unknown manuscript was regarded, says Tiraboschi, “ almost as the conquest of a kingdom.” But “ that ardor which animated Italy in the first part of the fifteenth century, was by no means common to the rest of Europe. Neither England, nor France, nor Germany, seemed aware of the approaching change.” So says Mr. Hallam, in perfect harmony with Sismondi. Learning, indeed, such as it was, had even begun to decline at Oxford, but the eastern empire was now hastening to its end, and in 1453, came the fall of Constantinople. Long, therefore, before the close of the century, the roads to Italy will be crowded with many a traveller, and among the number we shall find that Englishmen, though the most distant, were not the last to hasten after classical attainments. Native Italians, we are perfectly aware, have been jealous of our ascribing too much to the event just hinted, but there can be no question that, in its consequences, it proved the first powerful summons to Europe to awake. On the sacking of Constantinople, we know of five vessels at least, that were loaded with the learned men of Greece, who escaped into Italy. Of course they brought their most valued treasure, or their books, with them ; and thus by one and another, as well as the eager Italian himself, a stock of manuscript was accumulated on Italian ground, which was just about to be honored with a reception, very different, indeed, from that of being slowly increased by the pen of the copyist ! Italy thus became the point of attraction to all Europe. But how singular that the scholars of the west, as with common consent, should hasten to this one country for that learning, over the effects of which, the chief authority there, though so pleased at first, was afterwards to bewail, nay, to mourn for ages, or to the present hour !

While, however, Italian scholars were thus busy, and leaving the Pontiff to fight his own battles, they were but little aware of what was preparing for them elsewhere. They were in fact

more ignorant of this, than the western scholar had been of their thirst for learning ; and was there no indication here, of but *one* guiding, one all-gracious power ?

### *The Invention of Printing.*

An obscure German had been revolving in his mind the first principles of an art, applicable to any language on the face of the earth, which was to prove the most important discovery in the annals of mankind. At the moment when they were storming Constantinople in the east, he was thus busy ; spending all his substance, in plying his new art with vigor upon a book, and upon *such a* book ! Neither Kings, nor Pontiffs, nor Councils had been, or were to be, consulted here ; nor was he encouraged to proceed by one smile from his own Emperor, or from any princely patron.

MENTZ, in the Duchy of Hesse (Mayence or Mainz), on the left bank of the Rhine, and four hundred miles from Vienna, may be regarded as the mother city of printing ; and although three individuals shared the honor of perfecting the art on the same spot, if not under the same roof, the invention itself is due to only one man. Henne Gensfleisch, commonly called John Gutenberg, (*Anglicé*, Goodhill,) the individual referred to, was born in Mentz, not Strasburg, as sometimes stated, about the year 1400 ; but, in 1424, he had taken up his abode in the latter city as a merchant. About ten years after this, or in 1435, we have positive evidence that his invention, then a profound secret, engrossed his thoughts : and here, in conjunction with one Andrew Dritzehen and two other citizens, all bound to secrecy, Gutenberg had made some experiments in printing with metal types before the year 1439. By this time Dritzehen was dead ; and in six or seven years more, the money embarked being exhausted, not one fragment survives in proof of what they had attempted. Gutenberg, returning to his native city in 1445-6, he found it absolutely necessary to disclose his progress. More money was demanded, if ever he was to succeed ; and having once opened his mind fully to a citizen, a goldsmith of Mentz, John Fust, he engaged to co-operate by affording the needful advances. At last, therefore, between the years 1450 and 1455, for it has no date, their first great work was finished. 'This was no other than the Bible itself!—the *Latin Bible*. Altogether unknown to the rest of the world, this was what had been doing at Mentz, in the *West*, when Constantinople, in the *East*, was storming, and the Italian “brief men,” or copyists, were so very busy with their pens. This Latin Bible, of 611 leaves, formed the *first* important specimen of printing with metal types. The very first homage was to be paid to that SACRED VOLUME, which had been sacrilegiously buried, nay, interdicted so long ; as if it had been, with pointing finger, to mark at once the greatest honor *ever* to be bestowed on the art, and infinitely the highest purpose to which it was *ever* to be applied. Nor was this all.

Had it been a single page, or even an entire sheet which was then produced, there might have been less occasion to have noticed it ; but there was something in the whole character of the affair which, if not unprecedented, rendered it singular in the usual current of human events. This Bible formed two volumes in folio, which have been "justly praised for the strength and beauty of the paper, the exactness of the register, the lustre of the ink." It was a work of 1282 pages, finely executed—a most laborious process, involving not only a considerable period of time, but no small amount of mental, manual, and mechanical labor ; and yet, now that it had been finished, and now offered for sale, not a single human being, save the artists themselves, knew *how* it had been accomplished ! The profound secret remained with themselves, while the entire process was probably still confined to the bosom of only two or three !

Of this splendid work, in two volumes, at least 18 copies are known to exist, four on vellum, and fourteen on paper. Of the former, two are in this country, one of which is in the Grenville collection ; the other two are in the Royal Libraries of Paris and Berlin. Of the fourteen paper copies there are ten in Britain : three in public libraries at Oxford, London, and Edinburgh, and seven in the private collections of different noblemen and gentlemen. The vellum copy has been sold as low as £250, though in 1827, as high as £504 sterling. Even the *paper* Sussex copy lately brought £190. Thus, as if it had been to mark the noblest purpose to which the art would ever be applied, *the FIRST Book printed with moveable metal types*, and so beautifully, was the BIBLE.

Like almost all original inventors, Gutenberg made nothing by the discovery, at which he had labored for at least twenty years, from 1435 to 1455. The expenses had been very great ; and, in the course of business, after the Bible was finished, the inventor was in debt to the goldsmith, who, though opulent, now exhibited a character certainly not to be admired. He insisted on Gutenberg paying up his debt ; and, having him in his power, actually instituted a suit against him, when, in the course of law, the whole printing apparatus fell into Fust's possession, on the 6th of November 1455. According to Trithemius, one of the best authorities, poor Gutenberg had spent his whole estate in this difficult discovery ; but still, not discouraged, he contrived to print till 1465, though on a humbler scale. Having been appointed by Adolphus the Elector of Mentz one of his gentlemen, (*inter aulicos*;) with an annual pension, he was less dependent on an art which to him had been a source of trouble, if not of vexation. He died in the city of his birth in February 1468.

Fust had, from 1456, pursued his advantage, and with great vigor, having adopted as his acting partner Peter Schoeffer, (*anglicé*, Shepherd,) a young man of genius, already trained to the business, to whom he afterwards gave his daughter in marriage. The types employed hitherto had been made of brass, cut by the

hand. An advance to the present mode of producing types by letter-founding was still wanted, and the art of cutting steel punches and casting matrices has been ascribed to Schoeffer.\*

The first publication of Fust and Schoeffer was a beautiful edition of the Psalms, still in Latin, finished on the 14th of August 1457, and there was a second in 1459; but the year 1462 arrived, and this was a marked and decisive era in the history of this extraordinary invention; not merely for a second edition of the Latin Bible, in two volumes folio, *dated* 1462, and now executed according to the improved state of the art; but on account of what took place in Mentz at the same moment.

A change has arrived, far from being anticipated by these the inventors of printing, and one which they, no doubt, regarded as the greatest calamity which could have befallen them. Gutenberg had been the father of printing, and Schoeffer the main improver of it, while Fust, not only by his ingenuity, but his wealth, had assisted both; but all these men were bent upon keeping the art *secret*; and, left to themselves, unquestionably they would have confined the printing press to Mentz as long as they lived. Fust, and Schoeffer, however, especially eager to acquire wealth, had resolved to proceed in a very unhallowed course, by palming off their productions as *manuscripts*, that so they might obtain a larger price for each copy. The glory of promoting or extending the art must now, therefore, be immediately and suddenly taken from them. Invention, of whatever character, like Nature itself, is but a name for an effect, whose cause is God. The ingenuity He gives to whomsoever He will, but He still reigns over the invention, and directs its future progress. At this crisis, therefore, just as if to make the reference to himself more striking, and upon our part more imperative, we have only to observe what then took place, and the consequences which immediately followed.

Fust and Schoeffer had completed their first dated Bible, of 1462, but this very year the city of Mentz must be invaded. Like Constantinople, it was taken by storm, and by a member too of that body, who in future times so lamented over the effects of printing. This was the Archbishop, or Adolphus, already mentioned. The consequences were immediate, and afford an impressive illustration of that ease with which Providence accomplishes its mightiest operations. The mind of Europe was to be roused to action, and materials sufficient to engage all its activity, must not be wanting. But this demanded nothing more than the capture of *two* cities, and these two, far distant from each other! If when Constantinople fell in the east, the Greeks with their manuscripts and learning, rushed into Italy, to join the already awakened Italian scholars: Mentz also is taken, and the art of printing spreads over Europe, with a rapidity, which still excites astonishment.

\* By this mode leaden types were first produced, and then of lead with a mixture of tin or hammered iron. The invention of *type metal*, or one pound of regulus of antimony to five of lead, is of comparatively recent origin.

This city, once deprived, by the sword of the conqueror, of those laws and privileges which belonged to it as a member of the Rhenish Commercial Confederation, all previous ties or obligations between master and servant were loosened, and oaths of secrecy imposed under a former regime, were at an end. Amidst the confusion that ensued, the operative printers felt free to accept of invitations from any quarter. But whither will they bend their steps, or in what direction will the art proceed? Where will it meet with its warmest welcome, and in which capital of Europe will it be first established? The reader may anticipate that the welcome came from Italy, but it is still more observable, that the first capital was *Rome!* Yes, after the capture of Mentz, Rome and its vicinity, the city of the future *Index Expurgatorius*, gave most cordial welcome. The art, while in its cradle in Italy, must be nursed under the inquisitive and much amused eye of the Pontiff himself!

One might very naturally have presumed, that the enemies of light and learning, or of all innovation, would have been up in arms; and it is certainly not the least extraordinary fact connected with the memorable invention of printing, that no alarm was expressed,—neither at its discovery, nor its first application, even though the very first book was the *Bible*. The brief-men or copyists, it is true, were angry in prospect of losing their means of subsistence; and in Paris they had talked of necromancy, or the black art, being the origin of all this; but there was not a whisper of the kind in Italy. Indeed, as to an existing establishment of any kind, anywhere, no dangerous consequences were apprehended, by a single human being as far as we know; but most certainly none by the reigning Pontiff himself, or even by the conclave with all its wonted foresight. On the contrary, the invention was hailed with joy, and its first effects were received with enthusiasm. Not one man appears to have perceived its bearing, or once dreamt of its ultimate results. No, the German invention was to be carried to its perfection on Italian ground. Residents and official persons in Rome itself, are to be its first promoters, and that under the immediate eye of Paul II., a man by no means friendly, either to learning, or to learned men.

This curious incident is rendered much more so, by one or two others in immediate connection with it. Even while the art was yet a *secret* in Germany, the very first individual of whom we read as having longed for its being brought to Rome, was a Cardinal, Nicholas de Cusa; the first ardent promoter of the press in that city was a Bishop, John Andreas the Bishop of Aleria and Secretary to the Vatican Library. He furnished the manuscripts for the press, prepared the editions, and added the epistles dedicatory. It had been on the summit of a hill, twenty-eight miles east of Rome near Subiaco, and close by the villa once occupied by the Emperor Nero, that the first printing press was set up. In the monastery there, by Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz from Germany, an edition of Lactantius' Institutions was finished

in the year 1465; but next year, they removed, by invitation, into the mansion-house of two knights in Rome itself. They were two brothers, Peter and Francis de Maximis. Here it was that, aided by the purse of Andreas, the first fount of types in the *Roman* character, so called ever since, was prepared, and all other materials being ready, they commenced with such spirit and vigor, that the Secretary of the Vatican "scarcely allowed himself time to sleep."

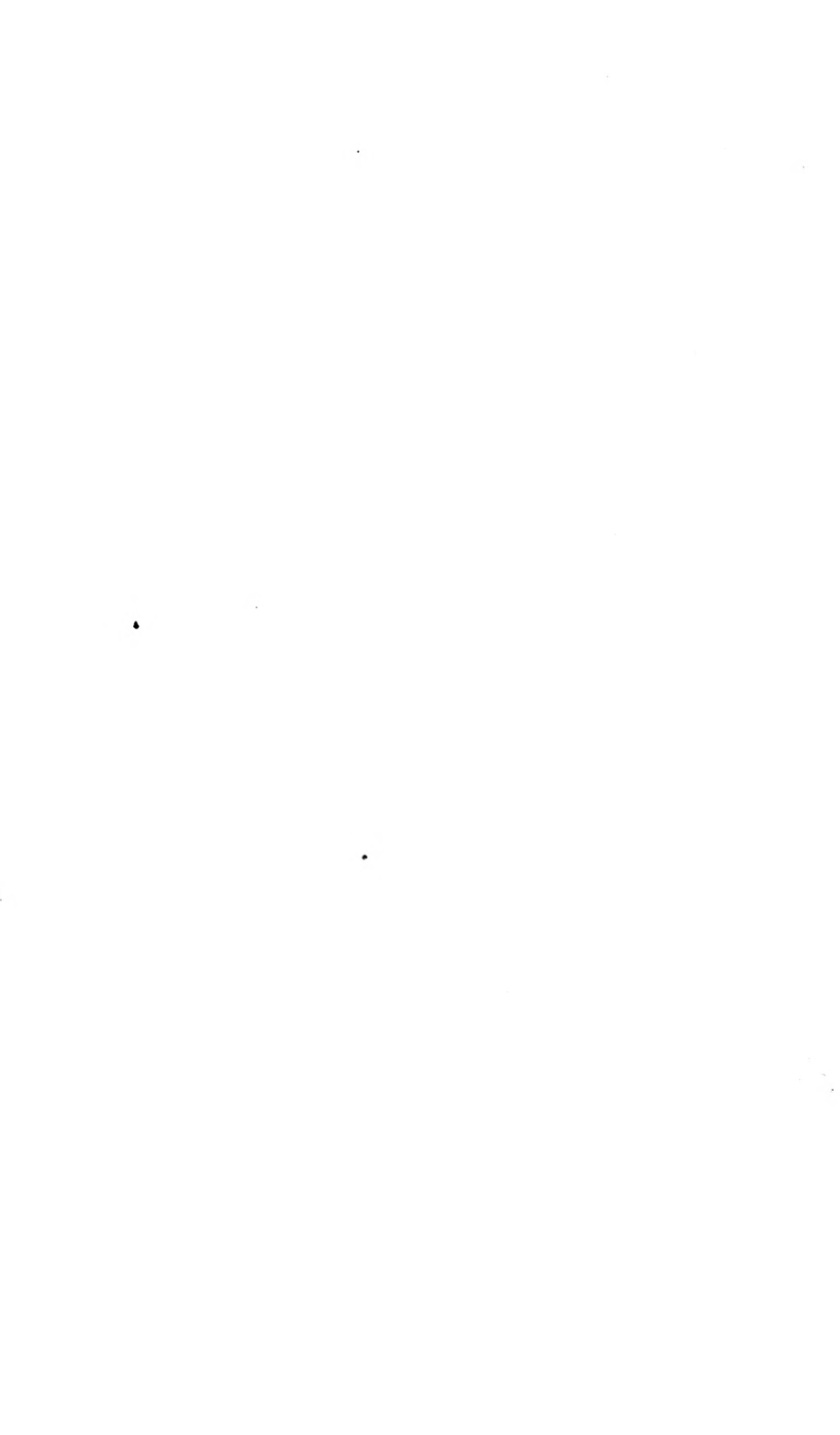
This Pontiff, named Peter Barbo, and a *Venetian* by birth, had no sooner come into office, in 1464, than he immediately suppressed the College of *abbreviators* and turned out all the clerks of the breves, regardless of the sums they had paid for their places. And although this body was composed of the most distinguished men of learning and genius in Rome, he chose to say they were of no use, or unlearned! Yet now, scarcely two years after, the same man was sauntering into the *printing* office, nay, it is affirmed that he visited it "frequently, and examined with admiration every branch of this new art!" Would he have done this had he foreseen the consequences? And what must future Pontiffs have sometimes thought or said as to his idle simplicity, or his lack of foresight?

Meanwhile, so zealous were these men, that in five years only, or from 1467 to 1472, they had printed not fewer than twelve thousand four hundred and seventy-five volumes, in twenty-eight editions, some of them of large size, and all beautifully executed. Among these we find the Latin *Bible* of 1471. It was the second edition with a *date*, the first printed in Rome, and however beautiful in execution, well known to be by no means distinguished for its accuracy; a circumstance which ought, in common modesty, to have infused a forbearing or lenient temper with regard to all future *first* attempts. It by no means followed, however, although Rome had taken the lead, that it was also to furnish a ready market for the sale of books. On the contrary, the printers now labored under such a load of printed folio volumes, that unless relieved, they must have sunk altogether, as no doubt they suffered. Yet still, by the year 1476, twelve other works had issued from the press. Among these were the "Postils," or Notes of Nicholas de Lyra, the *first printed Commentary* on the Scriptures. But the Commentary brought them down! They had better have never touched it, as it was by this huge work, in five folio volumes, they were nearly, if not entirely, ruined in business. Such, however, was the fruit of only one printing office, and in less than ten years. Ulric Han, or Gallus, had commenced printing soon after these, the first two, and at least thirteen other printers followed; so that, before the close of the fifteenth century, the different *works* published in the Imperial city alone, had amounted to nearly one thousand!

Independently, however, of all this, what signified Rome, when compared with the extent to which the art had now reached. Had a single city or town waited for the concurrence or sanction of the

Pontiff? So far from it, Bamberg in Franconia, and Cologne, had preceded Rome, and in ten years only after the capture of Mentz, the art had reached to upwards of *thirty* cities and towns, including Venice, and Strasburg, Paris, and Antwerp; in only ten years more *ninety* other places had followed the example, including Basil and Brussels, *Westminster*, *Oxford*, and *London*, Geneva, Leipsic, and Vienna. With regard to Germany, the mother country of this invention, Koberger of Nuremberg was supposed to be the most extensive printer of the fifteenth century. Having twenty-four presses, and one hundred men, constantly at work, besides employing the presses of Switzerland and France, he printed at least twelve editions of the *Latin Bible*. And when we turn to the native capital of the reigning Pontiff, Venice, where printing had commenced only two years after Rome, what had ensued in the next thirty, or before 1500? Panzer has reckoned up not fewer than *one hundred and ninety-eight* printers in VENICE alone, more than sixty of whom had commenced business before the year 1480, and altogether, by the close of the century, they had put forth at least two thousand nine hundred and eighty distinct publications, among which are to be found more than twenty editions of the *Latin Bible*. As the *roman* letter was first used in Rome, so the *italic* was in Venice, where ALDUS had offered a piece of gold for every typographical error which could be detected in any of his printed pages.

In short, before the close of this century, a space of only thirty-eight years from the capture of Mentz, the press was busy, in at least two hundred and twenty different places, throughout Europe, and the number of printing presses was far above a thousand! This rapidity, rendered so much the more astonishing from the art having risen to its perfection *all at once*, producing works so beautiful that they have never been excelled, has been often remarked, though it has never yet been fully described. To mark its swift and singular career throughout Europe with accuracy and effect, would require a volume, and, to certain readers, it would prove one of the deepest interest.





# HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

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## BOOK I.—ENGLAND

### REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

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#### SECTION I.

FROM THE BIRTH OF TYNDALE, THE ORIGINAL TRANSLATOR, TO HIS EMBARKATION FOR THE CONTINENT, IN PURSUIT OF HIS DESIGN.

IN the opening of the sixteenth century, a period so big with interest to all Europe, Lefevre in France, and Zuinglius in Switzerland, Luther in Germany, and Tyndale in England, appear before the world, and to the eye of *man* in this order; they were contemporaries, living in their respective countries; Lefevre being by far the oldest of the four, and Zuinglius the youngest. The *first* impressions of these four men were altogether independent of each other. They were individually influenced by a power, though unseen, equally near to them all. From that moment they were already destined to the work assigned them, but not one of them had exchanged a single thought with another. "Germany," says the same author, "did not communicate the light of truth to Switzerland, nor Switzerland to France, nor France to England: all these lands received it from God, just as no one region transmits the light to another, but the same orb dispenses it direct to the earth."

In France, but more especially in Switzerland and Germany, there was the living voice, throughout life, of the man raised up, calling upon his countrymen to hear and obey the truth; and so God had ordered it in England, a century and a half before, in the case of Wickliffe. But, now, his procedure is altogether different, and out of the usual course pursued in other lands. Tyndale had lifted up his voice, it is true, boldly, and with some effect, but he is withdrawn from his native land, and never to return. The island is left behind by him, and left for good. In other countries the man lives and dies at home. Lefevre, when above a hundred years old, weeps, because he had not felt and displayed the courage of a martyr; Zuinglius dies in battle for his country; and

Luther, after all his noble intrepidity, expires in his sick chamber: but Tyndale is strangled and burnt to ashes, and in a foreign land. Englishmen, and Scotsmen, and Germans, are gathered together against him; yes, against the man who enjoyed the honor of having never had a Prince for his patron or protector all his days; men of three nations at least concur to confer upon him the crown of martyrdom, so that, among all his contemporaries, in several points of view, but especially as a translator of the Scriptures, he stands alone.

That the eyes of his countrymen have never been turned towards Tyndale, as they ought to have been long ago, but more especially to that work which God did by him in the midst of our land, is one of those mysteries, which, at this moment, we do not even attempt to explain; but it will be the object of the following pages, to trace the footsteps of our Translator, from his origin to his end; and especially the history of that Version which he first gave to his country.

One fourth part of the sixteenth century had passed away before any portion of the Sacred Scriptures, translated from the original Greek into the English language, was printed abroad, and first conveyed into England and Scotland.

Neither the political nor literary condition of England, under the dominant sway of Cardinal Wolsey, affording the slightest indication of the Sacred Scriptures being about to be given to the people, but the reverse, in justice to that event it is necessary to observe also, the nature of that connection which had existed for ages between Britain and Rome, more especially since it was now as intimate and powerful as ever. Indeed, under Henry VIII., it arrived at its climax. This connection sustained a peculiarly complicated character. There was the Annate, or first fruits, payable by the Archbishop down to the lowest ecclesiastic, upon election to office—the Appeal to Rome—the Dispensation from it—the Indulgence—the Legantine levy—the Mortuary—the Pardon—the Ethelwolf's pension—the Peter's pence for every chimney that smoked in England—the Pilgrimage—the Tenth—besides the sale of trinkets or holy wares from Rome! Here were no fewer than twelve distinct sources of revenue! These altogether were operating on the inhabitants without any exception, and with as much regularity as the rising and setting of the sun. It was a pecuniary connection of immense power, made to bear upon the general conscience, which knew no pause by day, no pause by night; falling, as it did, not merely on the living, but on the dying and the dead!

In no other country throughout Europe, without exception, was it so probable that this system, in all its oppressive and fearful integrity, would be maintained. Under an imperative Monarch, originally educated as an *ecclesiastic*, and who now gloried in his acquaintance with scholastic divinity; with a Prime Minister so well known to every foreign Court, and who himself breathed with ardor after the Pontificate, England had become the right arm or

main-stay of this system. Nay, as if to render this still more apparent, and so fix the eye of posterity, the King upon the throne had resolved to distinguish himself as the reputed author, in support of this singular power; and he became at once the first and the only Sovereign in Europe who was understood to have lifted his pen in defence and defiance. For this feat in reply, though not an answer to Luther, it is well known that Henry had obtained from Leo X. his highly prized title of "Defender of the Faith."

In no part of England was the power of Rome more intensely felt than in the diocese of Worcester. Yet here it pleased God to raise up the man whose labors were destined to work the overthrow of that power in this island.

Here William Tyndale was born about the year 1484, but the precise date of his birth and the names of his parents, have not been definitely determined. He was educated by his parents, and it is important to notice the state of learning in England, at the time when Tyndale was trained for his great work.

Erasmus arrived in England from Holland, in 1497, and was delighted to find a taste for the study of Greek and Latin among the learned, and he pursued his studies with great diligence and success. His zeal inspired others to such a degree, that the five years of his residence in England may be regarded as opening a new era in letters in this country.

In 1516, the New Testament, in Greek and Latin, with the notes of Erasmus, had come forth, printed by Froben at Basil. It soon spread far and wide. He received the congratulations of his friends, but it raised up a host of enemies; and one of the colleges in Cambridge, though only one, actually forbade it to be brought within its walls! In Oxford no such fear had been displayed, though even there great caution was demanded. It was, however, only the next year, when Fox, the Bishop of Winchester, had determined to found his college at Oxford, that of "Corpus Christi," so that all things were, at least, working *together* for good. Two Professors, for Latin and Greek, were constituted, with competent salaries. The books in Greek were expressly specified by the Founder, and these, says Warton and others, "were the purest, and such as are most esteemed, even in the present improved state of ancient learning."

With regard to Hebrew learning at this early period, to say nothing of manuscripts, in England, as well as the Continent, the art of printing had been applied to the language more than twenty years before this, in the Psalter of 1477. Then came the Pentateuch, and other books at Bologna, in 1482; the Prophets, at Soncino, in 1486; the Hagiographa, at Naples, in 1487; and in 1488, there was printed at Soncino the first edition of the Hebrew Bible entire. In 1499, there were published not fewer than *four* editions of the Hebrew Bible, which almost immediately disappeared, so great was the interest awakened for Hebrew learning. By the year 1526, there had been published *fourteen* editions of the He-

brew Bible, in folio, quarto, and octavo, with and without points ; and it is especially to be remembered, that Divine Providence had so overruled the whole, that not one of the Sacred Originals, whether in Hebrew or Greek, had ever been restrained by any Government, however absolute !

Indeed, at this moment, so far from such restraint being imposed in England, it was quite the reverse : as not one man of high authority appears to have *foreseen*, that the cultivation of the original languages would inevitably lead to a translation of the Sacred Volume into the Vulgar tongue. Wolsey himself, only two years after Fox, had begun to encourage classical learning, by founding at Oxford, in 1519, not only a chair for Rhetoric and Latin, but one for Greek, with ample salaries ; while his royal Master was also favorable to the progress of letters. Thus, in this very year, we know from the epistles of Erasmus, that Henry transmitted to the University a royal mandate, commanding, “that the study of the Scriptures, *in the original languages*, should not only be permitted, but received as a branch of the academical institution.”

This was the precise period in which our first and future translator of the Scripture resided, both at Oxford and Cambridge. Such a combination of advantages fully explain the source of those attainments in learning, which he was afterwards to turn to such powerful account.

Tyndale was brought up, from his earliest years, at Oxford, and as a scholar, where, after a lengthened residence, he proceeded in “degrees of the schools ;” or, as Foxe has said—“By long continuance, he grew up and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures ; insomuch, that he read privily to certain students and fellows in Magdalen College some parcel of divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures.” His education “in grammar, logic, and philosophy, he received,” says Wood, “for the most part, in St. Mary Magdalen’s Hall,” immediately adjoining the College at that time. At this Hall, first called *Grammar Hall*, from the attention paid to classical learning, and where Grocyn, as well as W. Latimer and Linacre, had lectured, the members stood, as they do now, on the same footing with those of the other Colleges ; their course of study, tuition, length of residence, examination, and degrees, being precisely the same as the rest of the University. In those early days, however, these Halls, having no exhibitions nor endowments for scholarships, many of the students lived at their *own* charge ; and since no man has ever once been mentioned as patronizing Tyndale, throughout his whole life, the presumption is, that his expenses while at College must have been defrayed by his parents. Tyndale’s zeal, however, had at last exceeded the endurance of his contemporaries, and exposed him to some danger. There is no ground for supposing that he was expelled ; “but,” says Foxe, “spying his time, he removed from Oxford to the University of Cambridge, where he likewise made his abode a certain space,” and, it has been

vaguely conjectured, took a degree. At all events, his residence in that city had terminated by the year 1519.

The incontrovertible proof of Tyndale's erudition, whether as a Greek or Hebrew scholar, is to be found in the *present* version of our Bible, as read by millions. "The circumstance of its being a *revision* five times derived, is an advantage altogether peculiar to itself, and doubly valuable from that circumstance." While, notwithstanding this five-fold recension of the Greek and Hebrew original, large portions remain untouched, or verbally as the Translator first gave them to his country. It is, indeed, extraordinary that so many of Tyndale's correct and happy renderings should have been left to adorn our version, while the terms substituted, in other instances, still leave to him the palm of scholarship. When the incorrect, not to say injurious, sense, in which certain terms had been long employed, is duly considered, the substitution of *charity* for love, as Tyndale translated it, of *grace* for favor, and *church* for congregation, certainly cannot be adduced as proofs of superior attainment in the original Greek.

Returning to his native county, Tyndale was soon actively engaged, and so continued to be, from Stinchcombe-hill down to Bristol, to the close of 1522. As the place where he lived, only eight miles south from that of his birth, is well known; nay, and the house under whose roof he spent his best and zealous exertions, in discussing and defending the Word of God, is happily *still* in existence,—to all such as may take an interest in the following history, there is not a more heart-stirring spot in all England. The Halls of our Colleges, wherever they stand, have never given birth to a design, so vitally important in its origin, so fraught with untold benefit to millions, and now so extensive in its range, as that which ripened into a fixed and invincible purpose, in the Dining Hall of Little Sodbury Manor House.

It was in this house that Tyndale resided for about two years, as a tutor; and adjoining to it behind, there still stands, with its two ancient yew trees before the door, the little Church of St. Adeline, where of course the family and tenants attended. Foxe has said of Tyndale, while at Antwerp, that when he "read the Scriptures, he proceeded so fruitfully, sweetly, and gently, much like unto the writing of John the Evangelist, that it was a heavenly comfort to the audience to hear him;" and so it may have been, under some of his earliest efforts, within the walls of this diminutive and unpretending place of worship. At all events, let it be observed, when his voice was first heard, Luther had not yet been denounced even by Leo X. at Rome, much less by Cardinal Wolsey in England.

About the year 1520, Tyndale was tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh, whose hospitable board was often surrounded by the Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, and divers other doctors, who were fond of discussions, in which Tyndale bore a conspicuous and decided part. He published a translation from Erasmus of his "Christian Soldier's Manual," which he presented to Sir John, and

as he did not invite the doctors to his table after reading it, they attributed the change to the influence of Tyndale, and treasured a grudge against him.

The priests of the country, clustering together, began to storm at ale-houses and other places; and all with one consent, against one man. Whether the existing Chancellor of the diocese of Worcester had ever feasted at Little Sodbury, does not appear; but it cannot be long before Tyndale will have to stand before him. Fortunately the tutor has left on record his own reflections as to this period of his life.

"A thousand books," says he, "had they lever (rather) to be put forth against their abominable doings and doctrine, than that the *Scripture* should come to light. For as long as they may keep *that* down, they will so darken the right way with the mist of their sophistry, and so tangle them that either rebuke or despise their abominations, with arguments of philosophy; and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and with wresting the Scriptures unto their own purpose, clean contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text; and so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories; and amaze them, expounding it in *many* senses before the unlearned lay people, (when it hath but *one simple literal sense*, whose light the owls cannot abide), that though thou feel in thine heart, and art sure, how that all is false that they say, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles.

"*Which thing only moved me to translate the New Testament.* Because I had proved by experience, how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth, *except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue*, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text; for else, *whatsoever truth* is taught them, these enemies of all truth quench it again—partly with the smoke of their bottomless pit, (whereof thou readest in Apocalypse, chap. ix.) that is with apparent reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making; and partly in juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as is impossible to gather of the text itself."

Accordingly, "not long after this," says John Foxe, "there was a sitting of the (Italian) Bishop's Chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the Priests to appear, amongst whom Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. Whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, is uncertain; but certain this is, as he himself declared, that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he, by the way, in going thitherward, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength to stand fast in the truth of his word."

Here then was Tyndale, in the year 1522, brought to answer for himself; and having already had so many discussions with dignitaries on Sodbury Hill, as well as arguments with the priests in other places, one might have supposed that something decisive

was on the eve of accomplishment; but it turned out an entire failure.

"When I came before the Chancellor, he *threatened* me grievously, and *reviled* me, and rated me as though I had been a *dog*; and laid to my charge whereof there could be none accuser brought forth, as their manner is not to bring forth the accuser; and yet, *all* the Priests of the country were there the same day."

Who was this Chancellor? Who the Cardinal that had recently appointed him? Who was the non-resident Italian Bishop? nay, and who the reigning Pontiff himself, the fountain of all this oppressive authority? The *Pontiff* was Adrian VI., who, to appease Wolsey, had recently made him "Legate a latere" for life; the *Bishop* was Julio di Medici, the future Clement VII., and who, without even visiting England, had been made Bishop of Worcester by Leo X. The man who had lately appointed the Chancellor to the diocese was *Wolsey* himself, who farmed the whole district for his Italian brother; and the *Chancellor*, who had raised himself to this unenviable notoriety by so treating the man destined by Divine Providence to overcome all above him, as far as Rome itself was concerned; was a creature of the English Cardinal, a Dr. Thomas Parker, who lived to know more of Tyndale's power and talents, than he then could comprehend. Had such men only known who was then within the Chancellor's grasp, with what eager joy would they have put an end to all his noble intentions?

Escaping, however, out of Parker's hands, the Tutor departed homeward, and once more entered the hospitable abode of Little Sodbury, but more than ever firmly resolved.

It is some alleviation to find that every man in the country was not of the same opinion with the reigning, if not furious Chancellor. "Not far off," continues Foxe, "there dwelt a certain doctor, that had been an old chancellor before to a bishop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and also favored him well. To him Tyndale went and opened his mind on divers questions of the Scripture, for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. To whom the doctor said—'Do you not know that the Pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life;' adding, 'I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works.'"

It was not long after this that Tyndale, happening to be in the company of a reputed learned divine, and in conversation having brought him to a point, from which there was no escape, he broke out with this exclamation, "We were better to be without God's laws, than the Pope's!" This was an ebullition in perfect harmony with the state of the country at the moment, but it was more than the piety of Tyndale could bear. "I defy the Pope," said he, in reply, "and all his laws; and if God spare my life, ere many years, I will cause a boy that driveth the plough, to know more of the Scripture than you do!"

After this, as might have been anticipated, the murmuring of

the priests increased more and more. Such language must have flown over the country, as on the wings of the wind. Tyndale, they insisted, was "a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, and now also a heretic in divinity." To this they added that "he bare himself *bold of the gentlemen there* in that country, but that, notwithstanding, he should be otherwise spoken to."

It was now evident that Tyndale could no longer remain, with safety, in the county of Gloucester, or within the *Italian* diocese of Worcester. He has therefore been represented, by Foxe, as thus addressing his Master: "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be able, *though you would*, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth; for the which I should be right sorry." Searching about, therefore, not so much for an avenue to escape, as for some convenient place to accomplish the determined purpose of his heart, by translating the Scriptures, he now actually first thought of Tunstal, Bishop of London, one of the future *burners* of his New Testament! From Sir John Walsh's intimate knowledge of the Court, there was no difficulty in procuring the best access to him; and so Tyndale must bid farewell forever to his interesting abode on Solbury Hill. It was his first and last, or *only* attempt throughout life to procure a *Patron*, and he will, himself, now describe his own movements.

"The Bishop of London came to my remembrance, whom Erasmus (whose tongue maketh of little gnats great elephants, and lifteth up above the stars whoever giveth him a little exhibition,) praiseth exceedingly, *among other*, in his Annotations on the New Testament, for his great learning. Then, thought I, if I might come to this man's service I were happy." Such was his impression in Gloucestershire, when moved by the blind superstition of his country "to translate the New Testament;" and, till now, evidently unacquainted with the state of the metropolis; for "even," says he, "even in the Bishop of London's house I intended to have done it!"

"And so I gat me to London, and through the *acquaintance* of my master came to Sir Harry Gilford, the King's Grace's Comptroller, and brought him an Oration of *Isocrates*, which I had translated *out of Greek into English*, to speak unto my Lord of London for me. This he also did, as he showed me, and willed me to write an epistle to my lord, and to go to him myself, which I also did, and delivered my epistle to a servant of his own, one William Hebilthwayte, a man of mine old acquaintance. But God, which knoweth what is within hypocrites, saw that I was beguiled, and that *that* counsel was not the next way to my purpose. And therefore, He gat me no favor in my lord's sight. Whereupon my lord answered me—'his house was full, he had more than he could well find, and advised me to seek in London, where, he said, *I could not lack* a service.'"

Such language as this was noised abroad, and it was soon im-



possible for Tyndale to stay in Gloucester. He took leave of his quiet residence at Sodbury Manor House, and went up to London to make application to the Bishop of the diocese for aid in his great undertaking. Presenting him with the translation from the Greek of Isocrates, as a specimen of his ability, he received this answer,—that the Bishop had no room in his palace for him, and he must seek a service, or something to do in London. He remained almost a year in London finding no employment, but he was kindly entertained by Mr. Humphrie Munmouth, a man of wealth, who afterwards, as well as then, contributed generously to his support. In London Tyndale had opportunity for more closely observing many things which he had never seen before; and, in reference to the scene around him, he says, in 1530:—

“And so in London I abode almost a year, and marked the course of the world, and heard our preachers, how they boasted themselves and their high authority; and beheld the pomp of our Prelates, and how busy they were, as they yet are, to set peace and unity in the world; though it be not possible for them that walk in darkness to continue long in peace; (for they cannot but either stumble, or dash themselves at one thing or another, that shall clean unquiet all together;) and saw things whereof I *defer* to speak at this time; and understood, at the last, not only that there was no room in my Lord of London’s palace to translate the New Testament, but also, that there was no place to do it, *in all England*, as experience doth now openly declare.”

But before that Tyndale embarked for the Continent, was there no other step already suggested, which might operate in direct hostility to such a design as that which he contemplated? Yes, there was, and in this very year, one of the most powerful and magnificent character. It may be regarded as the climax in the triumph of literature, or as a phalanx in opposition. The attempt too is the more worthy of notice, since it has often been loosely regarded as the only redeeming trait in Cardinal Wolsey’s character. We refer to the establishment of Cardinal College, Oxford. “He patronized letters,” it has been said, “and may be classed among the benefactors of the human mind.” But even in the cultivation of letters, we must observe the end in view, and a letter from the Bishop of Lincoln fully discloses that the design of this establishment was to resist the progress of Luther’s sentiments. This letter is addressed to the Cardinal himself, and dated so early as January 5, 1522, *i. e.* 1523. The explanation once given, he proceeds:—

“I assure your Grace, the King doth consider all this in the best manner, and so doth report it unto your Grace’s honor, better than I can with pen express. Saying that more good shall come of this your honorable foundation than any man can esteem; with many good words much rejoicing in the same, as I doubt not but he will express at length unto your Grace at your coming, which I shewed him should be on Monday next. I ascertained him over this, your pleasure concerning the *secret search* ye would

this term make in divers places, naming the same to him, and that *at one time*. And that ye would be at the Cross, (Paul's Cross,) having the Clergy with you, and there to have a notable Clerk to preach before you a Sermon against Luther, the Lutherans and their defaulters, against their works and books, and against introducing their works into the kingdom: And then to have a proclamation to give notice that every person having any works of Luther or of his *faintors* making, by a limited day to bring them in, under pain of the greater excommunication, and that day past, to fulminate the sentence against the contrary doers; and that, if, after that day, any such works be known, or found with any person, the same to be convicted by abjuration; and if they will contumaciously persist in their contumacy, *then to pursue them by the law* (ad ignem) *to the fire*, as against an heretic. And that ye purpose over this, to bind the said Merchants and Stationers in recognisance, never to bring into this Realm any such books, scrolls or writings. Which, your godly purpose his Highness marvellously well alloweth, and doth much hold with that recognisance, for that some and most will *more fear that*, than excommunication."

All the dark purposes, divulged in this memorable letter, were literally fulfilled. There was the *secret search*, and at *one time*; there was the sermon delivered, and by Fisher, the man pointed out, and the books were burnt; *but then*, it is a most remarkable fact, that all these we shall see deferred—nay deferred for exactly three years, or till immediately after Tyndale's New Testaments had arrived in the country! Wolsey, it is true, will have quite enough to divert him all the time, but it was just as if Providence had intended that the writings of no human being should have the precedence, but that His own Word, being so treated, should thus enjoy the distinction of exciting the general commotion of 1526. The burning of the *New Testament* was to be the head and front of their offending.

We have now done with Tyndale upon English ground; and, disappointed of employment, he also was done with "marking the pomp of our Prelates," or hearing the whole fraternity "boast of their high authority." But certainly when he was to be seen wandering a stranger in London, nothing in this world could have been more improbable, than that in a short time he was so to agitate the whole hierarchy of England, and the city which he was now about to leave forever!

## SECTION II.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN ENGLISH PREPARING BY TYNDALE, FOR CIRCULATION IN HIS NATIVE LAND; AND IN TWO EDITIONS FROM THE PRESS BY THE CLOSE OF 1525.—STATE OF ENGLAND IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THEIR RECEPTION.

TYNDALE having now fully resolved on going abroad, sailed direct for Hamburgh, and some have said that he went directly to Luther, and completed his translation in confederacy with him; others say that he dwelt at Wittenberg while thus engaged. Both of these assertions are very clearly disproved, and it seems quite certain that he remained, the first year of his residence abroad, at Hamburg, and had no intercourse whatever with Luther.

That he saw and conversed with Luther at some period, may be supposed, though we have not a shadow of proof; but that he had done either, or even set his foot in Saxony, before *the publication of his New Testament*, is shown to have been impossible.

The residence of Tyndale at Wittenberg, was nothing more than an assumption, serving powerfully, at the moment, the purpose of Sir Thomas More, his calumniator. The evidence, as yet, is distinctly in favor of Hamburgh, and as for "confederacy with Luther," that has been pointedly denied. More had affirmed that Tyndale "was *with Luther in Wittenberg*;" and Tyndale replies, "that is not truth." Indeed, these words are his emphatic answer to all that his opponent had, either of malicious purpose or by mistake, asserted in both of his sentences, already quoted.

We also know the movements of Luther better than did Sir Thomas More; and these were such during this year that it is absurd to suppose that Tyndale was at any time seeking his aid in his New Testament.

Tyndale had now entered, with great vigor, on *two* of the most important years of his existence; and if, when his productions are once discovered in England, it shall come out in evidence, that, *in that time*, he had translated and printed first an edition of the gospel of Matthew, then another of the gospel of Mark, with two editions of the New Testament; this will demonstrate, that neither his residence, nor his labors, have ever yet been understood.

But if Tyndale, in 1524, *abode* in Hamburgh, had he the benefit of any assistance, or did he meet with an amanuensis *there*? With regard to the first inquiry, he himself informs us, that he "had no man to *counterfeit*, neither was holpen with English of any that had interpreted the same, or such like thing in the Scripture before time." As for an amanuensis, and one who was also able to compare the text with him when translated; he seems to have had first one, and then another, who remained in his service for a considerable time. The first of these we cannot name, though he was highly esteemed by our translator; the second was William Roye, a friar observant of the Franciscan order at Greenwich.

With regard to the progress actually made during this year, or how much Tyndale may, if not must, have accomplished in Ham-burgh, there has never been any distinct information. This, however, may be accounted for from the fact never having been before known, that previously to the publication of his New Testament; whether in quarto, with glosses, or in octavo, without them; Tyndale had printed an edition of Matthew, as well as of Mark, by themselves, although not a single copy has ever yet been identified. In the eager search for the Scriptures, with a view to their being destroyed, they may have been sometimes given up, to *save* a Testament; but there can be no question that we have here before us Tyndale's earliest effort for the benefit of his country.

After John Foxe had printed his loose statement in his Acts and Monuments, when he came to publish Tyndale's works, in 1573, he glances at this fact, though no attention has ever been paid to his words. In his life of Fryth, talking no more of Saxony, he has said—"William Tyndale first placed himself in Germany, and there did *first* translate the gospel of St. Matthew into English, and *after*, the whole New Testament," &c. His mention of Matthew, by itself, certainly appears to imply some distinction; but the real state of the case was this—that Tyndale not only "first translated Matthew," but printed it, and the gospel of Mark also. Both of these we shall find to be most bitterly denounced in the beginning of 1527, after having been read; and as a publication, not only *separate* from the New Testament with its prologue, but as printed previously.

It is worthy of notice, that Humphrie Munmouth, in a memorial to Wolsey and the Council, who had been in possession of the earlist New Testament, distinctly confesses that he had "received a little treatise," which Tyndale had *sent* to him, "*when* he sent for his money," in 1524. This, at least, shows that he had been busily engaged in the city where he had first landed. But if this was not the well-known tract, which was ere long to produce such effect, entitled, the "Supplication of Beggars," by Mr. Fish, it may have been these gospels or one of them. The fact of both gospels having been printed, and styled emphatically, "the first print," is certain; and we simply add, that the place where they were printed, we have been led to believe, *must* have been Ham-burgh.

Were it now possible to relate, in full detail, the history of the printing of the first two editions of our New Testament in the English language, it would unquestionably form one of the most striking illustrations of the superintending providence of God over his own Word; and only exceeded by its introduction into England and Scotland, immediately after being printed. The account, however, even as far as it may be traced, cannot fail to interest all those who desire to mark the hand of the Supreme Being, in by far the greatest gift which He has ever bestowed on Britain.

It has been usual to represent the first edition of Tyndale's New Testament as printed at Antwerp in the year 1526, and so dismiss

the subject. We shall have occasion to show that, though not printed under his eye, this was the *third* edition; and that the history of the first two editions, printed in 1525, by Tyndale himself, elsewhere, has never yet been properly understood. Indeed, so defective have the statements hitherto been, that although *two* editions were distinctly denounced, both by the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1526; no one had thought, till very lately, of either inquiring after the missing book, or even allowing the quarto edition with glosses, to have then existed. Every particular circumstance, therefore, which can be properly authenticated, respecting these first two productions of Tyndale's own hand, the source of so many subsequent editions both abroad and at home, ought to be recorded; and more especially, since so diligent was the "secret search" after them, and so frequent the flames which consumed them, that, of the *octavo* impression, only one copy of the sacred text remains complete, one other imperfect, and of the *quarto*, nothing more than a venerable fragment. This last, however, happily includes his original prologue entire, or the very first sheets thrown off at the Cologne press.

Having left the place of his abode, which we have assumed to be Hamburg; he arrived at Cologne on the Rhine, in the end of April or beginning of May 1525, perhaps earlier, accompanied by his amanuensis William Roye. He commenced his labors by committing to the press his New Testament, in the form of a quarto volume. Not only was the entire sacred text then translated, but his prologue, extending to fourteen pages, was composed before he began to print. This appears to be evident, not merely from the language of the prologue itself, but from its commencing with sign A ij, and the letters running on regularly through the sacred text.

The printers, however, had only proceeded as far as the tenth sheet, or letter K, when an alarm was raised, the authorities of the place informed, and the work interdicted. Tyndale and Roye contrived to secure the sheets printed off, and sailing up the Rhine to *Worms*, where much greater liberty could at this time be enjoyed, they proceeded with their undertaking. This interruption, though felt to be most grievous at the moment, as Tyndale afterwards obscurely hinted, far from damping, only inflamed his zeal, and the remarkable result was, that *two* editions were accomplished by him, in the same period in which very probably he had contemplated only one. This is proved by the testimony of an opposer.

Perhaps the most virulent enemy to the Word of God being translated into any vernacular tongue, who ever breathed, was John Cochläus. He at least rose above all his contemporaries of the sixteenth century, and with an unwearied perseverance, worthy of a better cause, he not only strove to prevent the diffusion of the Scriptures, and longed to strangle every attempt at their translation in the very birth, but even gloried in his enmity to all such proceedings.

According to Cochläus, the "two English apostates," as he styles Tyndale and Roye, first contemplated an edition of six thousand copies, but for prudential reasons, they began with three thousand. He tells us, that Pomeranus had already sent forward his letter to the saints in England, and that Luther himself had written his conciliatory letter to Henry VIII. Now this letter, we know, was dated the 1st of September 1525. He then adds, that it had been anticipated, this English New Testament in quarto, would soon follow; but that the Lutherans, overjoyed, broke the secret before the time; or in other words he himself ferreted out the secret, as will be seen by his own confession. We have only, therefore, to verify the residence and occupation of this opponent during 1525 and 1526, in order to ascertain the precise period to which his account refers. During the year 1525, Cochläus was actually resident in Cologne, but *not* in 1526. While there, he was, as usual, busily engaged in writing against Melancthon, Velenus, and Luther, as well as in searching after the writings of Rupert, an Abbot, formerly in the Monastery of Deutz, immediately opposite to Cologne. This Abbot, who flourished four hundred years before, had written certain commentaries on the Scriptures, besides several other pieces; and as *some* of his sentiments were thought to be favorable to the cause of divine truth, its friends were eager to procure any of his works, and publish such of them, with notes, as might at once serve their cause, and prove that their doctrines were not so *new* as their opponents represented. One of his little pieces, "Of the Victory of the Word of God," had been already printed, with annotations by Osiander of Nuremberg, and the Lutherans were actually in treaty with the then Abbot of Deutz, expecting from him other works of Rupert, intending to convey them for examination to Nuremberg. Cochläus interposed, alarmed the Abbot, and, lest the notes and prologues of his opponents should make Rupert appear in favor of their doctrine, contrived himself to gain possession of the whole. He had then to engage parties willing to publish, and though he found considerable difficulty, at last he prevailed on Peter Quentel, and Arnold Byreckman, well-known printers of the place.

Now it was while *thus* engaged at Cologne, in 1525, that Cochläus discovered this *first* impression of the English New Testament, proceeding briskly, as he says, or swiftly at the press; yet, with such caution had both Tyndale and Roye conducted themselves, that, although Cochläus succeeded in stopping the press, he was never able to meet either the one or the other; a striking proof, by the way, of their intimate acquaintance with his character.

In a letter which he wrote from Cologne to Henry VIII., he describes the manner in which he put a stop to the printing of the New Testament by Tyndale and Roye. He was engaged in printing the works of Rupert, and becoming familiar with the printers at Cologne, "he sometimes heard them confidently boast, when in their cups, that whether the King and Cardinal of Eng-

land would or not, all England would in short time be Lutheran. He heard also that there were two Englishmen lurking there, learned, *skilful in languages*, and fluent, whom, however, *he never could see or converse with*. Calling, therefore, certain printers into his lodging, after they were heated with wine, one of them, in more private discourse, discovered to him the secret by which England was to be drawn over to the side of Luther—namely, That three thousand copies of the Lutheran New Testament, translated into the English language, were in the press, and already were advanced as far as the letter K, *in ordine quaternionem*. That the expenses were fully supplied by English merchants; who were secretly to convey the work when printed, and to disperse it widely through all England, before the King or the Cardinal could discover or prohibit it.

“Cochläus, being inwardly affected by fear and wonder, disguised his grief, under the appearance of admiration. But another day, considering with himself the magnitude of the grievous danger, he cast in mind by what method he might expeditiously obstruct these very wicked attempts. He went, therefore, secretly, to Herman Rinck, a patrician of Cologne and Military Knight, familiar both with the Emperor and the King of England, and a Counsellor, and disclosed to him the whole affair, as, by means of the *wine*, he had received it. He, that he might ascertain all things more certainly, sent another person into the house where the work was printing, according to the discovery of Cochläus; and when he had understood from him that the matter was even so, and that there was great abundance of paper there, he went to the Senate, and so brought it about that the printer was interdicted from proceeding farther in that work. The two English apostates, *snatching away with them the quarto sheets printed*, fled by ship, going up the Rhine to Worms, where the people were under the full rage of Lutheranism, that there, by another printer, they might complete the work begun. Rinck and Cochläus, however, immediately advised by their letters the King, the Cardinal, and the Bishop of Rochester, that they might, with the greatest diligence, take care lest that most pernicious article of merchandize should be conveyed into all the ports of England.”

Although this arch-enemy had never written another word, there can be no question as to the period of this vexatious interruption. He has fixed it himself, by telling us, he was then an *exile* at Cologne. In 1523, Cochläus was at Rome, in 1524 he was at Frankfort and Mentz, and, driven from both, he fled for refuge to Cologne in 1525. There he remained stationary till the beginning of 1526, when, recalled to Mentz, he went in June to the Diet of Spire, and remained till August. Returning to Mentz, he paid a transient visit to Cologne in 1527, but *not* as an exile. “In 1525,” says Dupin, “Cochläus, who had been obliged to quit first Frankfort and then Mentz, because of the popular seditions of the cities, was at Cologne, where Eckius *going into England*, had an interview with him.

Throughout the whole of this business it was not blind zeal only by which he was actuated. He had not only notoriety, but *gain* in view, and was mortified in obtaining neither.

The only fragment of the quarto edition of Tyndale's New Testament, of 1525, that escaped the flames of popery and the tooth of time, now adorns the library of the Right Honorable Thomas Grenville.

Tyndale having now taken up his residence in Worms, remained there till the year 1527,—a far more favorable place for the prosecution of his design. The commotions of the people, which at Frankfort and Mentz had ended in triumph over the old opinions; at Cologne, on the contrary, had been subdued, and hence it was that Cochlaeus had made that city *his* refuge; for at Worms he could not then have effected what he had done at Cologne. Worms, on the contrary, Cochlaeus has told us, was “under the full rage of Lutheranism,” or, in the more sober style of Seckendorf, “was already wholly Lutheran.” So much the better for our Translator, though *not* a Lutheran; for his enemy will turn out to have been only promoting, unintentionally, the very undertaking which he meant to crush.

Upon his arrival at Worms, we are not left to inquire whether he lost a day, as, by the event, we know full well that every hour had been improved. Nor is it difficult to perceive his sagacity in his mode of procedure. His quarto Testament had been not merely interrupted, but *exposed* by a malignant enemy, whose very eye he had evaded; the book had been *described*, and even to the highest authorities in England, as well as marked out for seizure, if possible. Changing, therefore, the size, leaving out the prologue and the *glosses*, which, by the way, was a great improvement, an octavo edition must have been immediately commenced at press, though certainly the quarto was not consigned to oblivion. Copies of these precious books, it will appear, were read in England early in 1526; and the *quarto* had been purchased, and “read thoroughly,” in the spring of that year; eight months before the formal denunciation of Tunstal, or nine months before that of Warham; when *both* were denounced, and said to abound, not only in the diocese of London, but throughout the province of Canterbury. Copies of one edition, if not both, had also reached Scotland in the same year!

Tyndale, with his amanuensis, had now found refuge within the noted city of Worms. It was but little more than four years since Martin Luther, attired in his friar's frock and cowl, and seated in his vehicle, preceded by the emperor's herald on horseback, had entered the same place; where the Saxon nobles meeting him and forming in procession, two thousand persons accompanied him through the streets to his inn. It was a larger assemblage than that which had graced the Emperor's own approach to the Diet. Then, too, and there, *Cochlaeus*, who had occasioned our English Translator's flight from Cologne, could hold up his head, and even force himself into Luther's presence; now, he



dared not enter the place. With this memorable scene and its consequences, Tyndale must have been intimately acquainted; but when discussing the subject on Sodbury hill, how strange must it have seemed to him, had any one added:—"And *you too* must, before long, enter Worms; not to leave it in haste as Luther had to do, but to fulfil the desire of your heart, which you will never be able to accomplish in all England!" Yet what a contrast have we between Luther's entrance, surrounded by his Electors and Princes, and the humble approach of Tyndale, with his bale of printed sheets! This becomes still more striking, if we recollect, that four years ago, it was from this very city that Luther, hardly escaping, was carried off to his *Patmos*, or his castle on the heights of the Wartburg, there, in quiet repose and solitude, to translate his New Testament. Tyndale now entered to print his; to finish also in Worms, what he had commenced in Cologne; and to pursue his design, even after the Testaments were off to their destination.

Of the small octavo New Testament here printed, the fruitful parent of so many editions, only *one* perfect copy of the text remains, and no place of safe deposit in all England could be more appropriate than Bristol, the city where Tyndale himself used to preach. The unique fragment of the *quarto* was discovered only, as it were, the other day; but the history of this precious *small octavo* volume we can trace for more than a hundred years—and it will be found somewhat curious. Above a century ago it formed one of the volumes in the Harleian Library of Lord Oxford, though how long it had been there is not known. Mr John Murray, one of his lordship's collectors, had picked it up somewhere. The Earl gave ten guineas for the book, says Mr. Ames; twenty, says Dr. Gifford; but both agree that he also settled £20 a-year *for life* on Murray, who had procured it. The Earl of Oxford died in 1741, without male issue, and his Library of printed books was sold to Mr. Thomas Osborne for £13,000.

Mr. Osborne had not been aware of the rarity and value of his book, for after describing it, he adds:—"In this book no date is left, but it appears to be Tyndale's version, and is probably one of the editions printed in Holland, before his revisal" in 1534. Accordingly, he marked the price at no more than *fifteen shillings*! At this price Mr. Ames bought it, when he not only congratulated himself on purchasing what he styled the Phoenix of the entire Library; but writes, on the 30th of June, 1743, in a letter to a friend, that the annuity of twenty pounds was *yet* paid to Mr. Murray, he being still alive. One hundred pounds more, however, was still forthcoming, for the annuity was honorably paid, until Murray's decease in 1748! On the 13th of May 1760, Mr. Ames' books came to be sold by Mr. Langford, and the Testament was bought for fourteen guineas and a half, by Mr. John Whyte, the bookseller. He possessed it sixteen years to a day, having sold it on the 13th of May 1776. On the book itself, therefore, there is the following note in manuscript. "*N.B.*—This choice book was

purchased at Mr. Langford's sale, 13th May 1760, by me, John Whyte; and on the 13th day of May 1776, I sold it to the Rev. Dr. Gifford for 20 guineas, the price first paid for it by the late Lord Oxford."

Here, then, are two separate editions of the New Testament, both finished at Worms by the close of the year 1525; and printed, we believe, by Peter Schoeffer, son of the associate of Guttenberg and Faust.

The parties in opposition, let it be first observed, generally mark out the quarto *with* glosses; while the only distinct reference of Tyndale himself, is to the octavo, *without* them, in his preface to the Pentateuch. The explanation is of no little importance. The prologue and glosses, as we shall see presently, excited great fear in the breast of the enemy. Thus when Sir Thomas More refers to the period of Tyndale's first efforts in translating, he will have it, that "at that time he set certain glosses in the *margin*;" an undoubted fact, though not done, as he affirms, "at Wittenberg." In these glosses, as well as the text itself, there was ample room for denunciation, if *typographical* errors were to be set down as so many heresies. "There is not so much," said Tyndale, "as one *i* therein, if it lack a tittle over his head, but they have noted it, and number it unto the ignorant people for an heresy." Tunstal after his return from Spain, or late in 1526, had busied himself in marking these, till he had got up to the number of 2000; although more than *ten* times that number have been found in one of our Testaments, printed above a hundred years later. Now, in this view, the precious relic lately discovered, when compared with the octavo in Bristol, affords striking proof that the quarto sheets must have been *first* printed. The spelling, indeed, even of the octavo, is irregular, as might be expected at that early period, but still the two editions admit of pointed comparison. Witness the following words:

1. QUARTO.	2. OCTAVO.	1. QUARTO.	2. OCTAVO.
prophettes	prophets.	moore	more.
moththes	mothes.	pierles	pearles.
synners	sinnners.	yooke	yoke.
mooste	most.	burthen	burden.
streachd	stretched.	sekyng	seking.

In every other case, this would be at once admitted as decisive evidence, that the octavo *followed*, and did not precede the quarto. That Tyndale should improve, as in the octavo, was natural; but, although it has actually been done, to suppose he would spell as in the quarto, *afterwards*, is absurd. That it was this quarto on which Tunstal so foolishly expatiated, next year at St. Paul's, after having issued his inhibition, there can be little or no doubt. For although Le Long merely mistakes one year, he expressly states, that "his lordship made this reflection of no fewer than 2000 texts, on an English translation of the New Testament, printed at *Cologne and Worms*, 1526, 4to." Lewis, after quoting

this, adds, as the only reason for his scepticism, "but no such edition *appears*." Now, however, a sufficient portion of it *has* appeared, nearly a century after Lewis, or above three hundred years after it was printed. This too, as already noticed, is the identical book to which Roye alludes, when treating the hypercriticism of Tunstal with ridicule; it is from *this* prologue that he quotes, and it is the burning of this book entire, which Roye so graphically describes in his Satyre. "It is reported," said Cochläus at the close of his statement, "that Lord Cuthbert Tunstal, a most eloquent man, then Bishop of London, now of Durham, when he had obtained *one of these copies*, publicly affirmed, in a most ample oration to the people of London, that he had detected above 2000 depravations and perversions in *this* one work." Tunstal, after all, was not the first who took alarm. Far from it—he was not in England; and though we must not anticipate, there is coming a higher denunciator of this very book, eight months before the Bishop, when he was as far distant as Madrid.

Tyndale, on the contrary, alludes to the octavo edition *without notes*, and it was by this that he *abode*. This allusion, however, let it be observed, was made in the year 1530. Now, the truth is, and it should never have passed without special observation by posterity, that it was upon *this* ground, that Tyndale and his devoted friend Fryth, had then long entrenched themselves,—the Scripture *without note and comment*. "I assure you," said Tyndale, the very next year to his Majesty's ambassador, then hunting for him on the Continent,—"I assure you, if it would stand with the King's most gracious pleasure, to grant only *a bare text of the Scriptures to be put forth among his people*, I shall immediately make faithful promise *never to write more*." And so afterwards, in 1533, said Fryth, upon English ground, to the Lord Chancellor More.

"But this *hath been* offered you, is offered, and shall be offered. Grant that the Word of God, I mean *the text of Scripture*, may go abroad in our English tongue; and *my brother, William Tyndale, and I have done, and will promise you to write no more*. If you will *not* grant this condition, then will we be doing while we have breath, and shew in few words, that the Scripture doth in many, and so at the least save some."

The burning zeal of no two men born in Britnin ever had less of self, and private interest in it, than theirs had. It was not for glosses, or comments, that they stood and fought so nobly, all alone. To form any mere sect they never longed, and they died without any such consequence following; an event deeply instructive, and one which might be of infinite importance at the present hour, were it properly understood. It is a singular fact, that throughout these manuscripts, the term *Tyndalian* occurs only once, in the letter of an enemy, but it never took; and Tyndale left the world without leaving any circle of mere partisans to hand down his name to posterity.

Here, then, let it be observed, were our two first witnesses; the

two men, not only first engaged in translating, but who led the van in pleading for the Scriptures "going abroad" *without note or comment*. And is there now no tribute imperatively due to their memory and character, for having so done? Let the mere sectarian, of whatever name, make of this fact what he may; we must not, even thus early, withhold another, which is never to be separated from it. To their bold and first appeal, therefore, we simply add, as an *historical* axiom, of the deepest import, and one which for three hundred years, we shall have occasion to observe—that *the Sacred text, without note and comment*, has proved not only the best mode of procedure for meeting the enemy; but that which time and Providence have distinctly sanctioned, down to our own day; when it has prospered to an extent, far, very far beyond the anticipations of the most sanguine. Events themselves, during that long period, will often speak, and say, or seem to say—"He that hath my word, let him speak," and dispense "my word faithfully."

There is now only one concluding remark forcibly suggested by comparison of the Epistle to the Reader in the octavo, with the Prologue prefixed to the quarto. The former, brief in itself, and abrupt in its commencement, has all the appearance of eager despatch; on the contrary, the opening of the quarto prologue, wears all the formality and precision usually adopted, when introducing to the reader a *first* attempt. Witness the commencement of the *Epistle*,—

"Give diligence, Reader, (I exhort thee,) that thou come with a pure mind, and, as the Scripture saith, with a single eye, unto the words of health, and of eternal life: by the which if we repent and believe them, we are born anew, created afresh, and enjoy the fruits of the blood of Christ."

Contrast this with the deliberate and formal language of the *Prologue*, so worthy of special notice now. It has never before been presented *entire*, and as it stands, since the day on which the sheet was thrown off at Cologne. They are not a few who will admire the modesty, the diffidence, not to say the simple beauty of the following sentences:—

TYNDALE'S FIRST LANGUAGE IN PRINT TO THE PEOPLE OF  
GOD IN ENGLAND.

*I have here translated, brethren and sisters, most dear and tenderly beloved in Christ, the New Testament, for your spiritual edifying, consolation and solace: Exhorting instantly, and beseeching those that are better seen in the tongues than I, and that have higher gifts of grace to interpret the sense of the Scripture, and meaning of the Spirit, than I, to consider and ponder my labor, and that with the spirit of meekness. And if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue, or meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put to their hands to amend it, remem-*

bering that so is their duty to do. For we have not received the gifts of God for ourselves only, or for to hide them: but for to bestow them unto the honoring of God and Christ, and edifying of the congregation, which is the body of Christ.

"The causes that moved me to translate, I thought better that others should imagine, than that I should rehearse them. Moreover, I supposed it superfluous; for who is so blind to ask, why light should be showed to them that walk in darkness, where they cannot but stumble, and where to stumble, is the danger of eternal damnation; either so despiteful that he would envy any man (I speak not his brother) so necessary a thing; or so bedlam mad as to affirm that good is the natural cause of evil, and darkness to proceed out of light, and that lying should be grounded in truth and verity; and not rather clean contrary, that light destroyeth darkness, and verity reproveth all manner (of) lying.

"After it had pleased God to put in my mind, and also to give me grace to translate this fore-rehearsed (before mentioned) New Testament into our English tongue, howsoever we have done it, I supposed it very necessary to put you in remembrance of certain points."

The reader, we presume, cannot but be gratified by a fac-simile of these words, in their original orthography. He will observe the letter Y, then generally used for I; which first led to the discovery of what the fragment is; and here he may contemplate not merely the first page of text, in the first sheet of a work thrown off at press, in the year 1525. at Cologne; but the veritable origin of all those millions of English Scriptures now reading in so many different and distant parts of the globe—parts utterly unknown to our immortal Translator, when he sent the sheet to the press—parts then untrodden by any Englishman—parts then undiscovered!

It shows that Tyndale, with all gravity, recognized no *instigator* under God, and ascribed to his grace alone, the entire glory of his work. Such had been his language in print, before ever Cocheus had set his foot in Cologne. But now, that he had been so defamed by this enemy; hear his emphatic disclaimer from Worms. "Beseeching the *learned* to consider that he had *no man* to follow as an example, neither was holpen with English of *any* that had interpreted the same, or *such like thing* in the Scripture before time." Sir Thomas More had read this, though he did not choose, as it was not convenient, to believe it. But surely, if any individual of that age may be regarded as an agent walking independently of his fellows, it will turn out to have been our English exile—

A man of manners, morals, prudence, parts,  
Unpatroniz'd, and therefore little known,—

a man, whose character and powerful talents have been so grievously misrepresented, and so misunderstood, up to the present

hour. We only hope that the following pages may have some effect in redeeming his memory from that state of mere pupillage, or reliance on the German Reformer, which if not true in point of fact, ought to have been corrected, at least in England, long ago; as well as from that "confederacy with Luther," first forged by the enemy for the vilest of purposes, and then so simply received and retailed by his countrymen, from John Foxe downwards.

We are now just upon the eve of returning into England, after spending two years abroad, in company with our Translator; but before we do return—before the uproar and the consternation begin—before the wrath of 1526 burst out—while these precious volumes are only coming over that sea, which Tyndale had passed over to send; and before either the quarto or octavo had arrived in our native land; there is one additional event which must not be omitted even here, though it has to be explained more distinctly three months hence, at the moment of its occurrence.

If there was any advantage anticipated by Tyndale, from sending over the octavo without notes "now at the first time"—if it was indeed *so* sent—there must have ensued a second momentary disappointment. If there was any device or contrivance adopted, then it certainly failed, completely failed! This quarto, with glosses, had been the first born of his imagination, and we have seen that his whole heart was set upon giving the sacred text, what was strangely styled "*its full shape*." But the Divine Author will as distinctly say *no* in London, as he had already done at Cologne! For, after all, we shall find next year, that this quarto book was *first* held up in warning to the people. The book "with glosses and prefaces" was first condemned,—condemned, too, by no less authority than that of Henry VIII. himself, with Wolsey's full concurrence, if not his advice,—and condemned *eight* months before either Tunstal or Warham held up also the octavo, without notes, for destruction.

Tyndale certainly intended that the book with glosses should *follow* "in time to come," however short. Providence caused it to *precede*, and, at the same time, over ruled it as a *decoy* for several months! All that time, therefore, the precious little volume must have been fulfilling its commission, and passing into its hiding place in unknown directions!

Nor is the curious fact of the New Testament "*with glosses and prefaces*" being first condemned, and then passing into oblivion through all history, for above three hundred years, an event carrying no instruction or monition. Quite the reverse. All who venerate Divine Revelation in its purity, will remember that this was the commencement of a new *era* for Britain, more important than she had ever witnessed, or in truth has witnessed since. Comments, therefore, or glosses, additions of man's devising, professedly to make the sacred language more intelligible than that of its Divine Author, or turn it to a certain meaning, were not to be treated as of small account. As matter of history they were not and have not been so treated. These glosses sunk the book into

the shades ; just as those notes, sometimes styled contemptuously the Geneva spectacles, afterwards operated on that otherwise valuable translation.

Never, then, let it pass unobserved, how soon, and how clearly, Tyndale and Fryth saw through this ; how soon our Translator put the King of England upon the alternative of receiving, or not receiving, the sacred text alone ; or how decidedly, and upon English ground, Fryth repeated the bold appeal, to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. The warfare was at once reduced to a single point. *Receive, or not receive, THE SACRED VOLUME, without note or comment ;* so that we have now to witness *the man* who, by way of eminence, fought on one side, and *the men* who, by way of eminence, or we might say the nation, who fought against him. This important fact not only affords us a notable commencement to our history, but it will connect itself, very powerfully, with the close of this work, or the larger movements of the present day.

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### SECTION III.

MEMORABLE INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT INTO ENGLAND—THE TWO FIRST EDITIONS—THE FIRST ALARM IN LONDON, OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE—THE FIRST BURNING OF BOOKS—NEW TESTAMENT DENOUNCED BY THE KING AND WOLSEY—THEN BY TUNSTAL AND WARHAM—THE THIRD EDITION—VIOLENT CONTENTION RESPECTING IT—BURNING IT ABROAD AND AT HOME—BUT IN VAIN.

THAT interesting period when the Word of God, printed in our native tongue, was first found in England, had now arrived. It was in January 1526. On the banks of the Rhine, Tyndale had finished his New Testaments at the press, but how was it possible for them ever to be conveyed into our contry ? Had not Rincke and Cochlaeus warned the Cardinal himself, the King, and the Bishop of Rochester, that they might “with the greatest diligence take care” lest one of them should come into any port in all England ? They certainly had, and in good time, so that it is no fault of theirs, if all opposing parties were not now on the alert. Yet here are the dreaded books, and upon English ground, and not only in the metropolis, but in both universities, to say nothing, at this moment, of the country at large !

It is natural, however, first to inquire whether there were any circumstances, at the moment, favorable to their introduction. Of all other men, the two most able and most likely to have prevented their arrival, or immediately suppressed them, were Wolsey and Tunstal, the Bishop of London. But the former was now completely engrossed by affairs of state policy, both abroad and at home—abroad he was urging, nay, rousing the French Cabinet to renewed war with the Emperor ; at home, he was concluding

peace with Scotland, and also busily engaged in reforming his master's household, or framing what were called "the Statutes of Eltham." The Bishop of London was not in the country, having been happily removed out of the way eight months before; he was still ambassador in Spain, and not to return till August or September; so that his name never should have been associated, as it has generally been, with the *first* reception of Tyndale's New Testament. More than this, the winter was peculiarly unhealthy, and such was the alarm created by great mortality, that the courts had been adjourned—the authorities were out of the way—the King was keeping his Christmas at Eltham, in private, with a few friends, "for in the King's house," says Halle, "this was called *the still* Christmas"—and Wolsey, after carousing at Richmond for a few days, had to attend His Majesty on business at Eltham, from the 8th to the 22d of January.

Such a conjunction of circumstances but seldom occurred, and, without straining a point, they may surely be regarded as providential; for they afforded certain opportunities, which, we shall find, had been most busily improved.

From what particular port on the Continent the first copies were sent, and to what port in England they came, may remain forever a secret. The probability is, that some came from Antwerp, while others were sent from Worms down the Rhine through Holland, and so from different places. Be this as it may, we know for certain of two gentlemen, who engaged in very early, if not the first, active measures as to the importation itself; namely, Simon Fysh, of Gray's Inn, London, and George Herman, a citizen of Antwerp, and merchant in the English house there; while during this month of January 1526, we shall find that not a few of the most learned young men in England were eagerly perusing Tyndale's first productions.

It was on the 2d of February, that an insignificant incident gave birth to the first great alarm. It well deserves, therefore, to be noticed. Simon Fysh, already mentioned, a native of Kent, after receiving his education at Oxford, had taken up his residence as a lawyer in Gray's Inn, London. A play, or tragedy, as Foxe calls it, composed by a Mr. Roo or Row, of the same Inn, in one part of which Wolsey thought himself deeply impugned, was about to be acted in private; and this part, after others through fear had declined, Fysh undertook to perform. He did so once, but never could a second time, for "the same night that this tragedy was played," Fysh was compelled to leave his own house, and finally escape to the Continent. How often did the Cardinal, with all his sagacity, put forth his hand to his own downfall? Though, confessedly, a deep politician, he was far from understanding the policy of non-interference. This attempt at apprehension must have occurred before the end of 1523, if it be correct, as Foxe affirms, that "the *next* year following" he composed the tract entitled "the Supplication of Beggars." Mr. Fysh is stated to have been with Tyndale abroad, and if so, "the little treatise"



which Munmouth depones that Tyndale "sent to him from Ham-burgh in 1524, when he sent for his money," may have been this publication, if it was not the Gospel of Matthew. But, whether the one or the other, the "Supplication" must have been in existence in 1525, from what we know of its history.

In the shape of a "Supplication," addressed "to the King our Sovereign Lord," it conveyed the most wholesome and astounding advice to Henry VIII., and the parties interested were so very fortunate as to reach his ear through one of his confidential servants or footmen, whom Foxe calls Edmund Moddis. This man had read the book himself, and told his Majesty, that "if he would pardon him, and such men as he would bring to his grace, he should see such a book as was marvel to hear of." The King fixed a time, and thus two merchants, George Eliot, and George Robinson, were favored with a private audience. His Majesty, whose curiosity had been excited by the representation of his confidential servant, patiently listened to every line, as it was read to him by Eliot.

This powerful *tract*, for it was nothing more, written in a popular style, contained an unmeasured attack on the whole fraternity of Monks and Friars, Pardoners and Sunners," into whose hands an immense proportion of the nation's wealth had already passed. Their growing power, already impairing and threatening to destroy that of the Crown itself, was denounced in the strongest terms. "This is the great scab," said Fysh, "why *they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother tongue*, lest men should espy that they, by their cloaked hypocrisy, do translate, thus fast, your kingdom into their hands."

At the close of its being read, and after a long pause, the King is reported to have said, "if a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall on his head;" then taking the book, he put it in his desk, commanding the men on their allegiance, that they should not disclose to any one that he had seen it.

Copies of this tract must have been possessed by not a few, when the King's own servant knew its contents so thoroughly. This, however, would not suffice, and so it had been determined that the people at large should read it for themselves; and, also, that no doubt should remain, whether the King had seen it. John Foxe, therefore, thus describes it—"A Libel or Book entitled the Supplication of Beggars, thrown and scattered at the procession in Westminster, on *Candlemas day*, before King Henry the Eighth, for him to read and peruse." This was on Friday the 2d of February 1526. Many copies might be thus disposed of, but, by another account, they had been scattered about the streets *by night*.

The moment of alarm had now come. This very trivial incident had excited the greatest fear and dread! Wolsey immediately went to his Majesty, complaining of "divers seditious persons having scattered abroad books containing manifest errors,

desiring his grace to beware of them ;" but what must have been his mortification, when the King, putting his hand into his bosom, and taking out one of these very books, delivered it into his hands ! At this period Henry was not a little gratified by any information which he could procure, independently of his domineering Prime Minister.

Wolsey, once roused, became fully awake to the importance of his *intentions* in the year 1523. Engrossed as he had been with political affairs, some of these intentions had remained unfulfilled. But now there was to be "*the secret search*," and in divers places at *one* time, and a sermon to be preached, by Fisher, the very man whom Henry had then named. It was resolved to strike terror into the heart of the enemy, and give one vital stab to all that was now run down under the nick-name of Lutheranism ; for divine truth had been slowly gaining its way, and was now to spread, as it had done independently of Luther. The fact is, that the crusade, under which our country long groaned and bled, was about to begin ; and as the authorities of the day were now going to treat the people of God after the primitive fashion, when they first put them in bear-skins, and then baited them, a word of terror was wanting. Lollard, had been the term for above a hundred years, as it especially was under Longland, in 1521 ; but *Lutheranism* was now a far more effectual, because *opprobrious*, epithet ; involving all those who either read the Scriptures, or appealed to them as authority.

Before, however, we can rightly understand the course of events, the evidence afforded by original manuscripts, by Foxe and Strype, Bishop Tanner and Anthony Wood, as well as two or three other authorities, must be carefully compared. After this, when we look at London, Oxford, and Cambridge, as well as the country at large, a scene, full of the deepest interest, opens to view.

Not a day was now to be lost. London, though far from its present size, was large enough even then to be favorable to secrecy ; but London, Cambridge, and Oxford, must all be searched at *one* time, and Cardinal College, too, must not be overlooked. Wolsey could not have been with the King sooner than next day, Saturday the 3d. The simultaneous orders for both Universities must have been the same day, as the Sergeants-at-Arms had arrived at both by Monday or Tuesday.

In London they commenced immediately. Among the very *first* places where the "secret search" began, was a narrow lane in Cheapside, nearly opposite to Bow Church. In a church there, "All Hallows in Honey Lane," Robert Forman, S. T. P., was Rector, and Mr. Thomas Garret, Curate. Strong suspicions rested on the *latter*, as being at once a receiver and distributor of books.

Foxe relates that Garret brought to Oxford sundry books in Latin, and Tyndale's first translation of the New Testament in English which he sold to divers scholars in Oxford. "After he had been there *a while*, and *despatched those books*, news came that he

was searched for through all London, to be apprehended and taken as a heretic, and to be imprisoned for selling those heretical books, as they termed them." Not finding him in London, "they had determined *forthwith* to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every his foresaid books, and him too, if they could, so burning hot was their zeal." By the time, however, that the Sergeant-at-Arms had arrived, Cole of Magdalen College, who was afterwards cross-bearer to the Cardinal, but an acquaintance of Garret's, gave him warning. So in the morning of "Wednesday before Shrovetide," on the 7th of February, he left Oxford, but returning again, he changed his dress as far as he could, and disappeared on Friday night. But, seized with fear, he returned to Oxford on Friday evening. That night he was apprehended, but escaped again, and was finally taken at Hinksey, about two miles distant; when he, and all besides, who were suspected as receivers of books, were very soon in safe keeping! Many others, whose names are recorded, were compelled to fly for safety.

Garret, and Dalaber, who was a Student, and devoted to Garret, as convicted heretics, were made to carry a faggot, in open procession, from St. Mary's to Cardinal College; the former, as Master of Arts, having his red hood on his shoulders. These young men, besides others not named, followed in procession, all of whom were obliged, in passing, to cast *a book* into the large fire which had been kindled to receive them. Garret and Dalaber were then incarcerated at Osney Isle, till further orders from London, when the former was called up to appear before Tunstal, as we shall see towards the close of the year.

As for the other young men, along with Clarke, they were all immured in a deep cell, under Cardinal College, the common repository of their salt fish, a noisome dungeon, where the air and food together proved but too fatal. *Betts*, no suspected books being, at least, detected in his chamber, through entreaty and surety, got out of prison, and, as soon as he could, went to Cambridge. *Taverner*, though deeply implicated, as having concealed Clarke's books under the floor, being skilful in music, was excused by Wolsey; but the rest remained in this most miserable abode; where, eating nothing but salt fish from the beginning of March to the middle of August, four of them died! After this, but in consequence only of a letter from Wolsey, the rest were all released, on condition of not moving above ten miles from Oxford. How many thus continued as prisoners at large does not appear; but *John Fryth* being so far at liberty, and now aware of the treatment of Garret and Dalaber, "escaped by flight over the sea to Tyndale." He left Oxford for the Continent, therefore, in August or September 1526.

Garret first departed from Oxford on Wednesday, the 7th of February. This date must be observed in connection with what took place at Cambridge.

The books distributed were a mighty grievance to Wolsey, and

they were now gone into corners, they knew not where; but of all that had been circulated or sold, there were none to be compared with Tyndale's New Testament. This was the Word of Life, and felt to be so. We have already seen it, in the grasp of Dalaber, to have been their sheet anchor in the raging storm. It is therefore well worthy of remembrance, that one of Tyndale's earliest blows, dashed to the ground the insidious design of the lofty Cardinal. It was an attack upon the lion in his own den; while as to the young men, now branded as heretics, whether caught or escaped, Tyndale had given them, not a book of *new learning* merely, but the volume of Divine Mercy—it was not the owl of Athens, but Mount Zion's dove.

If Oxford had been thrown into a ferment during these early days in February, the commotion at Cambridge was, if possible, still greater.

The publication of the Greek Testament by Erasmus, in 1516, was one of the most important events in the progress of letters; but Cambridge seems to have been inferior to Oxford in their cultivation. Even the Priests, in their confessions of young scholars, had cautioned them against the acquisition of Greek and Hebrew, on account of the consequences they dreaded. Standish, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, was one great promoter of this hostility; and, upon one occasion, on his knees before the King and Queen, is said to have conjured them, by everything sacred, to go on as their ancestors had done, and put down Erasmus. When, therefore, his Testament appeared, at Cambridge it was absolutely proscribed by some of the doctors of the day, and one College, as already hinted, forbade it to be brought within the walls! Yet the book they had thus condemned, was the *very same* by which God intended to promote his own designs, and in Cambridge itself.

Not long, therefore, after the publication of this Testament, which contained the Latin and Greek in parallel columns, the heart of one student was smitten with it; and this, in the hand of God, was sufficient to produce a great moral change. An L.L.D., and Fellow of Trinity Hall, he had already excelled in the study of the Civil and Canon Law, to which he had intended to devote his future life; but falling into great distress of mind, he applied to the Priests. They appointed him fastings and watching, with the purchase of pardons and masses.

"But at the last," says he, "I heard speak of Jesus, even then when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus. Which, when I understood to be eloquently done by him, being allured rather for the Latin than for the Word of God—for, at that time, I knew not what it meant—I bought it even by the Providence of God, as I do now well understand and perceive. And at the first reading, as I well remember, I chanced upon this sentence of St. Paul, (O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soul!) in his first Epistle to Timothy, and first chapter—'It is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came

into the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief and principal.' This one sentence, through God's instruction and inward teaching, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sins, and being almost in despair, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietness, insomuch that *my bruised bones leapt for joy.*—Ps. li. 8.

"After this the Scripture began to be more pleasant to me than the honey, or the honey-comb. Wherein I learned that all my travels, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of masses and pardons, being done without truth in Christ, who alone saveth his people from their sins; these, I say, I learned to be nothing else, but even, as Augustine saith, a hasty and swift running out of the right way; or else much like to the vesture made of fig-leaves, wherewith Adam and Eve went about in vain to cover themselves; and could never before obtain quietness and rest, till they believed on the promise of God, that 'Christ the seed of the woman should tread upon the *Serpent's* head.' Neither could I be relieved or eased of the sharp stings and biting of my sins, before I was taught of God that lesson which Christ speaketh of in the third chapter of John—'Even as Moses exalted the serpent in the desert, so shall the Son of Man be exalted, that all which believe on him, should not perish, but have life everlasting.'

"As soon as I began to taste and savor of this heavenly lesson, which no man can teach, but only God, which revealed the same unto Peter, I desired the Lord to increase my faith; and, at last, I desired nothing more, than that I, being so comforted by him, might be strengthened by his Holy Spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked his ways, which are mercy and truth, and that the wicked might be converted unto him by me, who sometime was also wicked."

This was no other than Thomas Bilney, the future Martyr of 1531. His preaching was followed by great and powerful effects, for among others, Hugh Latimer and Robert Barnes owed their conversion to him. So early, therefore, as 1523, before Tyndale went abroad, Cambridge lay under strong suspicion of heresy; and yet it is curious enough, that in that year, when certain Bishops moved, that there might be a visitation appointed to go down, for trying who were "the fautors of heresy" there, the Cardinal forbade it! "Upon what grounds," says Burnet, "I cannot imagine." It seems to have been, either because he then meditated a reform of the Church, after his *own* fancy, as already disclosed in the letter of Longland, and of which his own sovereign authority as *Legate*, should appear to be the only fountain; or if not, to show at the moment his authority over the clergy. His mind, we know, was then engrossed with affairs of State, abroad, as well as at home. At all events, the overruling hand of God is manifest, in preventing all interference for at least *three* years, or from January 1523, to February 1526.

The order for Oxford we have stated to be the third of this

month; that for Cambridge must have been at the same moment; but in this case, previous information through Dr. Tyrell, had suggested the necessity for two individuals being sent. One Gibson, the Sergeant-at-Arms, a creature of Wolsey's hated by the Aldermen and Common Council of London, was therefore accompanied by Dr. Capon, one of the Cardinal's chaplains. They had arrived on Monday, as upon Tuesday, the sergeant "suddenly arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the Convocation-house, to make all others afraid;" and by Wednesday evening, (on the morning of which Garret first escaped from Oxford), Dr. Barnes stood before Wolsey.

Robert Barnes, born near Linn in Norfolk, after proceeding through the schools at Cambridge, had entered the Monastery of Augustine Friars there, in the year 1514. Having then gone to Louvaine, where he studied, and passed as Doctor of Theology; after his return he was made Prior and Master of his Monastery, in 1523. In conjunction with another Louvaine scholar, Mr. Thomas Parnel, whom he had brought over with him, he became, says Strype and others, "the great restorer of good learning at Cambridge." He had introduced the study of the classics, and was reading Terence, Plautus, and Cicero; but being brought to the knowledge of the truth through Bilney, he proceeded to read openly with his scholars, the Epistles of Paul. Sometime before this, Latimer had been also enlightened through Binley's preaching, and was proclaiming the truth with great decision and effect. Whether Latimer was actually in expectation of the New Testament of Tyndale, does not appear, but the fact is, that he was now powerfully preparing the way for it; as he frequently and particularly dwelt on the great abuse of *locking up the Scriptures in an unknown tongue*. Prior Buckingham, his opponent, inveighed against him, and insisted, that if *that heresy* prevailed, we should soon see an end of everything useful! This man, Latimer put to silence by that singular vein of humor for which he was distinguished; while Venetus, a foreigner, with whom he reasoned in a strain full of gravity, was obliged to leave the University. Latimer's opponents finding argument fail, resorted to authority; and West, the Bishop of Ely, after hearing him, and even professing to be charmed, ultimately prohibited him from preaching in any of the churches belonging to the University, or within his diocese! The Monastery of Dr. Barnes, however, was happily *exempt* from episcopal jurisdiction, an exemption indeed, peculiar to almost all the Monasteries, so that the Prior boldly licensed him to preach there. The place was unable to contain the crowds that assembled, and Dr. Barnes having been requested by the parish to preach at St. Edward's Church hard by, resolved to comply. This was a memorable evening on account of the effects. It was in fact a crisis, though never sufficiently marked as such. It was "Christmas eve, and on a Sunday," says Foxe, or as Barnes himself explains,—“in the year of our Lord 1525, the 24th of December.” Latimer was also officiating at the Monastery

that evening ; while the present, says Foxe, was “ the *first* sermon that ever Barnes preached of this truth.” Understanding now the way of truth more perfectly, and alive to the state of things around him, he had resolved to be openly explicit. By two chaplains, Drs. Robert Ridley and Walter Preston, fellows of King’s College, and *kinsmen* of Tunstal, Bishop of London, he was immediately accused of heresy. This they did in the Regent-House, before the Vice-Chancellor Edmund Nateres, and these two men, assisted by three others, viz. Tyrell, Watson, and Fooke, having gathered up certain articles against him, desired him to recant. The University, as a body, immediately took up the matter, and disputed their authority. His adversaries, however, within two or three days, having secured another meeting before the Vice-Chancellor ; by fraud and intimidation, they “ so entreated and cozened him,” that Barnes agreed to yield to their authority and their promised clemency. They then enjoined him to read his revocation in St. Edward’s Church next Sunday. Barnes consulted with eight or ten of his learned friends, among whom were Stafford and Bilney, and then declined ; but he had already ensnared himself in these private interviews, and his accusers, aware of this, desisted, only to wait their favorable moment. The learned of at least seven different colleges now flocked together in open day to sermons, whether at the Augustine Monastery or St. Mary’s.

Disputations were held during the whole of January, at a house called *Germany*, by way of derision, to the day that Dr. Barnes stood before Wolsey.

It was not, however, to apprehend Barnes alone, that the Sergeant-at-Arms had arrived at Cambridge. He had been charged to make secret search for *books*, and instantly seize the whole, as well as apprehend all who *possessed* them. Not fewer than *thirty* were suspected, and spies had given them precise information as to every one of their rooms ! But Dr. Forman of Queen’s College had happily, at the first moment, informed all the parties of the *privy search*, and “ God be praised,” says Foxe, the books “ were conveyed away by the time that the Sergeant-at-Arms, the Vice-Chancellor, and the Proctors were at every man’s chamber.” The business of Gibson was therefore soon accomplished, and Dr. Barnes being his only prey, he was immediately carried to London.

We return, therefore, to Wolsey’s gallery at Westminster, on Wednesday evening, Gardiner, his Secretary, and Fox, being the only parties present with Barnes. The Cardinal soon discovered, that he was not unacquainted with what Dr. Barnes had been delivering at Cambridge, telling that his noted sermon in December, was “ fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit.” Certainly it was very different doctrine from that with which almost every pulpit was filled ; and as for the rest, the fact is, that, whether well advised or not, Barnes, unable to repress his indignation at the gross abuses of the times, had opened up before the people *Wolsey’s* extravagance. To him belongs the distinction of having led the way in boldly and publicly exposing the gor-

geous and tyrannical bearing of the lofty Cardinal. This accounts for the severity with which *he* was now treated, for both Bilney and Latimer were permitted to go on for some time longer.

Wolsey, however, read the articles with patience, till he came to one personal to himself; for the men at Cambridge, in drawing them up, knew how to touch him at the quick. "What, Master Doctor," exclaimed the Cardinal, "had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, that my golden shoes, my pole axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses, did so offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* before the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily, it was a sermon fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit, for at the last you said—I wear a pair of red gloves, I should say bloody gloves, quoth you, that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." Whether this charge was correct does not appear, but Barnes, as yet unmoved, replied, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the old Doctors." In the end, he delivered to the Cardinal six sheets in manuscript, to confirm and corroborate all that he had spoken. Wolsey smiling, said, "We perceive that you mean to stand to your articles, and to show your learning." "Yea," said Barnes, "that I do intend, by God's grace, with your lordship's favor." Wolsey inquired if he did not know that he was there for *heresy*, and whether he could bring six or ten doctors of divinity to swear for him? Barnes offered *twenty* honest men, as learned as himself, if not superior—but these would not suffice. "They must be of your years according to law," said Wolsey. "That," replied Barnes, "is impossible." "Then," said the Cardinal, "*you must be burnt!*" At the close, Wolsey was about to commit him to the Tower, but Fox and Gardiner interceded, and became sureties for his appearance. During the whole night he was engaged in preparing for his defence before the Bishops, to whom Wolsey had committed him. Three of his students, *Corderdale*, Goodwin, and Field, having followed him up to London, were also occupied in writing to his dictation. On Thursday morning, after calling at York Place, (Whitehall,) for Fox and Gardiner, the Sergeant-at-Arms conveyed him down to the Chapter-House at Westminster. He was now in the presence of John Clark, Bishop of Bath, as principal judge, who treated him with marked severity; Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, who was sure to be an enemy and not a judge; Islip, the Abbot of Westminster; the Abbot of Bury; Dr. Jeffrey Wharton; Dr. Allen; and Dr. Gardiner. After this examination he subscribed his articles, and was then committed to Fleet Prison, but no one to speak with him. On Saturday at three o'clock, when called to appear again, a long roll was shown to him, which he must promise to read in public, with the assurance *now*, that he would not add one word, more or less! They exacted this promise before he had read a line of it, and put it to him solemnly three times! Barnes continuing firm, was desired to retire. On being called in, they had agreed that a Notary should read it to him, and as Barnes



listened, he felt as though he would rather die than agree. After long disputation, threatening, and scorn, it was now five o'clock; when they called upon him to know whether he would *abjure or burn*. Barnes was in great agony, inclining rather to the latter, when they sent him again to take counsel from Fox and Gardiner alone; and they, "by persuasions that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish flesh," brought him at last to yield and abjure! It is easy for us now to say, that he ought to have stood firm, and if he had, Barnes would have led the van at least, of this division of martyrs, for the Word of God; but neither Garret nor he were yet able to brave the horrors of the stake.

With regard to Barnes, in particular, the sight on the following day was indeed most humiliating, and to his adversaries must have seemed a great triumph. On Sabbath the 4th, in his pulpit at Cambridge, and on the next, or 11th, bearing a faggot at St. Paul's! The church was crowded to excess, and there sat Wolsey in all his glory, smiling, no doubt, over the pointed replies of Thursday evening, while he saw Barnes and five others, Stillyard men, humbled before him. So mighty and so important was the occasion, that, according to Foxe—

"The Cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with six-and-thirty Abbots, mitred Priors, and Bishops, and he, in his whole pomp, mitred, which Barnes had denounced, sat there enthroned! His Chaplains and Spiritual Doctors, in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple! And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the stairs, for *Fisher*, the Bishop of Rochester, to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes; and great baskets *full of books*, standing before them within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made before the Rood of Northern, (or large crucifix at the north gate of St. Paul's,) there to be burned; and these heretics, after the sermon, to go three times round the fire, and cast in their faggots."

All this was done, of course, and much more that was humiliating, Wolsey retiring, under a canopy, in all his pomp; and Fisher declaring to the people, how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had, for being *present* at that Sermon! To him, as well as Wolsey and Longland, it was a high day, and one to which they had looked forward for three years.

Here, then, we have the *first* of a series, for it preceded Oxford by a few days, in which *books* were committed to the flames; and among many others, upon this day, the 11th of February, 1526, copies of Tyndale's New Testament were no doubt for the *first* time cast into the fire, as they were at Oxford in the same week. By this period we shall yet have curious and abundant evidence that they were in the country; Garret was convicted, as we have seen, for conveying books to *Cambridge* as well as Oxford, and among the stores of the Stillyard men, now accumulated in the "great baskets," the London stock was so far involved. Lutheranism, it is true, was the great bugbear held up this day before the people,

but when chastising Fisher afterwards, for the sermon he had preached and printed, Tyndale himself has said :—

“And mark, I pray you, what an orator he is, and how vehemently he persuadeth it ! ‘Martin Luther hath burned the Pope’s decretals ; a manifest proof,’ saith he, ‘that he would have burned the Pope’s Holiness also, if he had had him.’ A like argument, which I suppose to be rather true, I make. Rochester and his holy brethren *have burnt Christ’s Testament* ; an evident sign, verily, that they would have burnt Christ himself also, if they had had him.”

These words, by the way, may now be received as the best of all evidence, that the New Testament was there, and there consumed. All this, however, was evidently done by the Cardinal’s supreme and express authority.

At the close of all, poor Barnes, though received formally into the Roman Catholic Church again, was remitted to the Fleet, till the Lord Cardinal’s pleasure should be known ; but his friends were permitted to visit him, and he there relented.

As the season of conviction at Oxford and Cambridge had been the same, so also was that of relief to both parties. Perhaps the sad deaths at Oxford, in consequence of severe treatment, led to this ; since it was about the very *same* time that the young men at Oxford were released, on condition of not moving above ten miles distant, that Barnes was delivered from the Fleet ; that is, at the end of six months. He, however, was not permitted to go at large, even to the same extent, but was committed to be a free prisoner at Austin Friars in London ; and from evidence which will come out in 1528, it will appear that he was here as busy as his circumstances would permit, in actually disposing of copies of Tyndale’s Testament ! His enemies, therefore, were not incorrect in their suspicions, for, says Foxe, “they complained *again* to the Lord Cardinal, whereupon he was removed to the Austin Friars of Northampton, there to be *burned*.” By a most unworthy stratagem, however, feigning himself to have been *drowned*, he escaped to the Continent. His enemies searched for him seven days, but they dragged the pond in vain.

The month of February had not expired, when the University formally applied to Warham of Canterbury, then their Chancellor, as he had been since 1506, to make an examination of persons suspected of heresy, and also to prepare a list of Lutheran books, which no one should have or read.

The advice given, however, was not taken. Garret and the young scholars were indeed already in durance vile, but the requests here made were *never* granted. But in less than a fortnight after this letter, and little more than a month after the day of terror at St. Paul’s, an opportunity was presented, which Wolsey, with the Bishops, did not fail to improve for the most impious of all purposes—the burning of the Sacred Scriptures, and to be burned by authority of the King.

Henry the VIII. having written against Martin Luther’s book

on the Babylonish Captivity, and thus procured from Rome the title of "Defender of the Faith," Luther in 1521 had published his bold and very rough reply. In September 1525, however, as already hinted, no matter by whose advice or under what impression, he made an attempt at reconciliation, by addressing a letter to his Majesty. In this letter he actually confessed that at the instance of *other* persons he had grievously offended, by a foolish and precipitate publication, yet, from the reported clemency of the King, he hoped for his forgiveness. He had been told that his Majesty was not the *real* author of the book edited under his name; and, at the same time, though denouncing Wolsey as "a monster, the general odium of God and man, and the plague of his kingdom," he yet prayed for a gracious reply! Luther plead afterwards that he had been urgently pressed by Christiern, King of Denmark, to write even *this* letter, but the step taken no one can defend. It was not only unworthy of his character and place, but at variance with the upright integrity of any follower of Christ. "Who knows," said Luther, "but in a happy hour I may gain the King of England?" A little of human vanity, therefore, seems to have been lurking in his mind; but at all events, he must have been quite in the dark as to the existing state of affairs in England, when he could pen and print such a letter.

Henry, in reply, having reproached Luther with levity and inconstancy, as well as his marriage, and the vilest heresy, represented Wolsey as peculiarly dear to him, and of great value in preventing the contagion of the Lutheran heresy; of which, it might have been added, he had lately given a flaming specimen.

Luther's letter arriving five weeks after the famous burning at St. Paul's, a fine opportunity was now presented for exciting the royal indignation against the *English New Testament*, and covering it with all the odium of *Lutheranism*, the assumed cant of the day. The name of the translator *not being yet known*, no doubt it was deemed a happy thought boldly to assert that the production *was* the device of Luther himself!

They had burned New Testaments, with other books, on the 11th of February. But this *advice* given by Wolsey, and cordially sanctioned by the King, as to the burning of the quarto book, the only edition yet marked out, must have occurred immediately on the reception of Luther's letter; and it fully prepares us for the more formal injunctions of Tunstal and Warham, which however, did not come out till towards the end of the year.

From March to October, whether the friends of truth had enjoyed a breathing time or not, as it regards the prudential importation and circulation of Tyndale's precious volumes, certain events show, that, though living in perilous times, they had zealously improved them. Thus, when the "Supplication of Beggars" was scattering about in London, at and before Candlemas, the author, Mr. Fyshe, it is presumed, was not in England, otherwise he must have run the hazard of being amongst the first victims. Return, however, he *did*, and to London, where he not only so-

journed for a season during *this* summer, but was useful and active in the circulation of Tyndale's New Testament. It seems as if he had come for the purpose. He may have brought over copies with him; but, at all events, when we come to the disclosures upon oath in the spring of 1528, we shall find, that, at this very period, he was a confidential agent, importing the Testament from Mr. Harman of Antwerp, and dealing it out for sale to such as travelled through the country and sold them. After Tunstal's return, he again fled abroad, not returning for about two years and a half.

Mr. Rodolph Bradford, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, coming to London, by the help of Mr. Jeffrey Lome, the Usher of St. Anthony's school, and confidential agent of Mr. Foreman of Honey Lane, the colleague of Garret, "he met with certain New Testaments, translated into English by Tyndale, and went to Reading with them, out of a godly zeal to disperse them." There he delivered them to a certain monk, who being apprehended, made known the names of him and others from whom he had them. Whereupon letters were sent over to *Cambridge* to apprehend this Bradford, now returned, together with Dr. Smith of Trinity Hall, Simon Smith of Gonville Hall, *Hugh Latymer*, and Segar Nicolson, a stationer there. Bradford escaped to Ireland, but was taken and imprisoned two years. He afterwards returned to Cambridge, passed as D. D. in 1534, and lived and died Chaplain to Latimer when Bishop of Worcester.

As the year advanced, however, the alarm continued to increase. The Pontiff himself seemed to be in jeopardy—Luther's rash letter was not forgotten—Henry was printing his Latin reply, and translating it also into English for the press, with a preface to his people—the Bishops were consulting—Tunstal had *now come home*, and something must be done. In what particular month of this year Tunstal had arrived from Spain, does not appear. Wolsey heard in March, says Lord Herbert, that he was on his way homewards, so that it must have been some time after this; and then, however annoying it certainly proved to such a man, he could not remain long in London, before, he found it necessary to look into the state of his diocese: for so widely were *both* editions of the Testament now circulated, that even the Archbishop of Canterbury must examine his province. The Bishops were assembled, and, according to Strype, at the instigation of Wolsey, a prohibitory instrument was adopted and published.

The first generally known to have been published, was the prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tunstal; in which *both* editions of Tyndale's Testament, already dispersed *in great number*, were denounced, and Luther's sect falsely employed, as the convenient word of *terror*.

Tunstal's orders being thus issued on Wednesday the 24th of October, a copy was sent to the Archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex and Colchester; and eleven days afterwards, or the 3rd of November, a "Mandate," in nearly the same terms, was given

out by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, to search his entire province. Both instruments refer simply to the New Testament of Tyndale, of both editions, and in wide circulation; *no other book* being referred to, or prohibited at the same moment.

Barnes, it must be remembered had not yet left the country; but he had been so far released as to be now a free prisoner at St. Augustine's; and Garret, though he had endured penance sufficient at Oxford, had not been so publicly cross-examined. This might elicit some farther information. Articles having been, therefore, vamped up against him, he had been brought up from Osney prison, and about this time stood before Tunstal and his fellows. Following the sad example set him by Barnes, he at last abjured.

Wolsey sent for Latimer, to appear before him at York House, where he himself examined him. Upon his first entrance, the Cardinal seemed surprised, on observing him to be so far advanced in years. Finding him also to be at once acute, learned, and ready in his replies; surpassing in accuracy of learning, either of the Doctors, Capon and Marshall, now in Wolsey's presence; he requested him to give some account of that sermon which he had preached before Dr. West, the Bishop. Latimer did so. "Then," said the Cardinal, "if the Bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine as you have here repeated, you shall have *my* license, and shall preach it unto his beard, let him say what he will." Accordingly, after a gentle admonition only, the Cardinal discharged Latimer, actually giving him his license to preach throughout England! A most singular interposition in favor of the truth, at once raising the man above the malice of his enemies, and the interdict of any Bishop in the land!

The mildness hitherto shown to *men*, must have been most annoying to some of these persecutors; and it was afterwards to be visited on the head of Wolsey, when impeached, that he had been the disturber of "the *due and direct* correction of heresies;" but as for zeal in the burning of *books*, the Cardinal was certainly not one whit behind any of them. By the end of this year, therefore, many copies of the New Testament must have been consumed in the flames, for it has been altogether a mistake to confine this to one or two great occasions. On the contrary, in the very first month of next year we shall presently hear the ambassador of Henry, in the Low Countries, bringing it forward as an argument for burning others *there*, that *this had been doing in England daily!*

In the midst of all this determined, though vain fury, against the reception of the word of God into England, it is most gratifying to find that the friends of truth *abroad* had been so active. The editions of Tyndale's Testament have been hitherto divided into two classes, styled the genuine and spurious; meaning by the former such as he himself edited, and by the latter, such as were printed from his, by others. The latter were not so correct, but still they nobly and effectually served their purpose, enlightening and consoling many an immortal spirit.

We have already given the history of the first and second editions printed in 1525, and issued from Worms. We now come to the first printed at Antwerp by Christopher of Endhoven, or the *third* edition.

The two months formally specified in Tunstal's injunction for calling in books at home, were not permitted to expire before it becomes evident that the King and Wolsey, as well as the Bishops, had entered fully into the subject. Finding that, somehow or other, copies were importing, they resolved, if possible, to cut off the supplies from abroad. Well aware that it was from the Low Countries, Brabant, that all these hated Testaments had come, no stone must be left unturned to find them out. All the energy of the English ambassador at the court of Lady Margaret must be put to the stretch, and we shall now have one striking illustration of how much in earnest were all parties—King, Cardinal, and Bishops—to arrest the progress, and prevent the triumphs of divine truth. O how joyfully would they have consigned the last leaf to the flames! And this assuredly they would have done, but for this most annoying and hated “new invention of printing.” While, however, they were burning at home, others were busy at the printing press abroad, and, therefore, the frenzy of the enemy must extend from England to Brabant.

How providential was it, that, by this time, the power and the terror of Wolsey's name were upon the wane! Only a few years before, the Lady Regent of these countries, Princess Margaret, had whispered in his ear the sweet sound of the Popedom, and her own wish to see him in the Papal Chair; nay, and proposed to write to the Emperor, her nephew, in his favor. Now, however, she had found good reason to suspect the man. High words had passed between the parties, and also with Count Hoogstrate, one of the Lady Margaret's Council, to whom application was about to be made. Wolsey, moreover, had insulted, by the insolence of his language, Monsieur Bever, the Lord of Campvere and Admiral of Flanders, the Emperor's ambassador to England, now returned to the Low Countries. Added to all this, it had been a favorite project of the Cardinal to withdraw the English merchants and “the mart for goods,” from Antwerp to Calais. All these things were against him; and the “Lords of Antwerp,” who, at one period, not long past, would have at once crouched before him, by the good providence of God, will now prove neither so pliant nor obsequious.

Wolsey, however, fully aware of all these circumstances, had resolved that the search for *books* upon the Continent should commence with the highest authority; and he must, therefore, have the King on the throne, called the “Defender of the Faith,” to command the destruction of the Sacred Volume! The ink of Tunstal's injunction was scarcely dry, before Henry had signed his letters; one addressed to Princess Margaret, and the other to the Governor of the *English House* at Antwerp. Wolsey's letters, also dated the 31st of October and 3d November, were di-

rected to *John Hackett*, the Agent for the Crown and English Envoy at that court, and all were conveyed by the same messenger. At a formal audience, on Saturday the 17th of November, Hackett delivered the King's letters to the Lady Margaret, in presence of the Lords of her Council; and, on the 19th, the Princess herself replied to Henry—"She cannot sufficiently praise his Majesty's *virtuous* intentions! She had consulted with Hackett, and since the reception of the King's letter, she had pointedly commanded her officers to search the country for these books, intending to proceed in all rigor against those whom they found culpable." Two days after this, Hackett informs Wolsey of his cordial reception at court, and that he had "delivered the King's letter to the Governor of the Merchant Adventurers, who promised that on the first day at Barrow, he would show the King's highness and the Cardinal's mind and pleasure as touching these new imprinted books, and shall do his best, (and *so will I*) utterly to destroy, and bring them to nought." Hackett is very warm in the cause, for if it did not succeed, he thought that "every fool would think to be a doctor!"

But in negotiating this business, our ambassador had no easy task assigned to him. Books were to be sought for in the large and busy city of Antwerp. As Envoy, he lived fifteen miles distant, at Mechlin, where the reigning Princess held her court. In Antwerp itself, the Margrave, as representative of the Emperor, resided; but as that city enjoyed its *own* laws and privileges, of which the "Lords of Antwerp" were the guardians, their authority was paramount to all others. Hackett eagerly desired to gratify the Cardinal and his English Bishops, but then he was about to meddle with the citizens of "no mean city."

On the 11th of December, Henry's Secretary, Mr. Brian Tuke, sent off copies of *Tyndale's Testament*, as an index to the others, now sought to be destroyed; and the first letter, reporting progress, is directed to him for the King, dated the 17th, before Hackett had received the books. The second, expressing great anxiety to receive them, is five days later, and addressed to Wolsey.

Along with this letter, a second to Brian Tuke, was also sent by Hackett. His zeal was probably in part professional, but the authorities at home were in full earnest as to their anxiety for the destruction of the books. Copies of the Testaments had therefore been sent, *before* he wrote for them, and they had arrived a few days after his letters of the 22d.

In the abundance of his zeal, Hackett not only visited *Antwerp, Barrow, Zealand*, and other places, but made "privy inquisitions" at *Ghent and Bruges*, at *Brussels, Louvaine*, and *elsewhere*, after books, which was all in obedience to Wolsey's instructions; so that he thinks *forty marks*, which he had just received, should be allowed him for "*expenses* extraordinary." The books, so far as detected there and at Barrow, were burned, though happily they had found out only a *part*. Of all this Hackett did not fail immediately to inform the King's Secretary; and in his second de-

spatch to Wolsey, dated from Mechlin the 20th of February, he alludes to the subject again—

“Please your Grace to understand, that since my last writing to your Grace, I have received none of yours. I trust by this time your Grace has ample information of such execution and justice as has been done in the towns of Antwerp and Barrow, upon all such English books as we could find in these countries, similar to *three* such other books as your Grace sent unto me with my Lord the Bishop of London’s signature.”

That no doubt whatever might remain as to the species of *justice* to which Hackett refers, he speaks afterwards, in the same letter of having caused a *good fire* to be made of the Testaments. Even this much, however, had been accomplished, it is evident, with no small difficulty, and it was, in the end, only by a stretch of power. Our envoy, therefore, felt himself under the necessity of adding—

“The Margrave of Antwerp, and the Drossard of Barghys, required, and pray you, if it were possible, to cause them to get out of England a *translation* of some particular articles of heresies contained in the said book, by the which notification, they may lawfully not only burn such books, but also to correct and punish the imprimurs, buyers, and sellers of them, both in body and in goods, for *else*, according to the laws of this (place,) they *may not* punish, nor make correction upon the foresaid *men*, neither upon their *goods*, as they say.”

A fire was kindled by the Almighty in this year 1526, through the instrumentality of his servant, which, in the highest exercise of his loving-kindness, He has never suffered to be extinguished; light was then introduced, which He has never withdrawn; and a voice was then heard by the people, which has sounded in the ears of their posterity to the present hour. For whatever may be said of men, as men, it is to *the word of truth in the vulgar tongue* that we owe everything in this highly-favored country.



## SECTION IV.

THE TRANSLATOR'S PROGRESS—HIS EARLIEST COMPOSITIONS—AGITATION OF EUROPE—SACK OF ROME—CONSEQUENCES—PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND—OPPOSITION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT—WARHAM AND THE BISHOPS BUYING IT UP—FRESH IMPORTATIONS—THE FOURTH EDITION—SCRIPTURES SINGULARLY INTRODUCED ONCE MORE.

IN returning to Tyndale, whom we left alone at Worms, after having completed his New Testaments, we do so with abundant evidence, that he had not labored in vain. Much has vaguely been ascribed to Latin works then imported from the Continent, and in consequence of even their effects, the "spirituality" of the day no doubt dreaded almost every leaf; but the history already given clearly shows, that the *New Testament in the vulgar tongue* was the great object of apprehension. While yet in his native land, Tyndale "had perceived by experience how that it was impossible to stablish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text:" and so now, as the Word of the Lord was enlightening the minds, "converting the soul, and making wise the simple," it had proved also "like a fire or a hammer," and was breaking the rocks in pieces.

Very soon, through whatever medium, Tyndale was made intimately acquainted with the storm that raged in England, and amidst all its tumultuous howling, he had ample encouragement to proceed with his Old Testament from the Hebrew; but in the year 1526, he must have been also very busy in preparing for the press, as we find that the year 1527 was distinguished by the first appearance of two publications, namely, his exposition of "the Parable of the Wicked Mammon," and his "Obedience of a Christian man."

Sometime, however, before the appearance of anything else in print, we may now safely assert, that Tyndale had been favored by the company, consolation, and assistance of his devoted Christian friend, John Fryth, who had fled from Oxford to the Continent about September 1526, and no doubt fully reported progress.

With a modesty and prudence highly characteristic, our Translator had put forth the New Testament *without* his name, and he earnestly wished to have gone on, through life, with anonymous publication; but the sight of a satirical Dialogue and Prologue, by Roye, falsely attributed to Tyndale, had fully convinced Tyndale that there was an imperative necessity, not only for affixing his name to what he now published, but for his disclaiming all connection or even intercourse with Roye, after a certain period.

He says: "The cause why I have set my name before this little treatise, and have not rather done it in the New Testament,

is, that then I followed the counsel of Christ, which exhorteth men to do their good deeds secretly, and to be content with the conscience of well-doing, and that God seeth us; and patiently to abide the reward of the last day, which Christ hath purchased for us: and now would I *fain* have done likewise, but I am *compelled* otherwise so to do.

"While I abode (at Hamburg?) a faithful companion, which now hath taken another voyage upon him, to preach Christ, where, I suppose, he was never yet preached—God, which put in his heart thither to go, send his Spirit with him, comfort him, and bring his purpose to good effect!—one William Roze, a man somewhat crafty, when he cometh unto new acquaintance, and before he be thorough known, namely, when all is spent, *came* unto me and *offered* his help. As long as he had no money, somewhat I could rule him; but as soon as he had gotten him money, he became like himself again. Nevertheless, I suffered all things, till that was ended which I could not do alone without one, both to write and to help me to compare the text together. When that was ended, I took my leave, and bade him farewell for our two lives, and, as men say, a day longer. After we were departed (separated,) he went and gat him new friends, which thing to do, he passeth all that I ever yet knew. And then, when he had stored him of money, he gat him to Argentine (Strasburg) where he professeth wonderful faculties, and maketh boast of no small things.

"A year after that, and now twelve months before the printing of this work, *came* one Jerome, a brother of Greenwich *also*, through Worms to Argentine, (Strasburg,) saying that he intended to be Christ's disciple another while, and to keep as nigh, as God would give him grace, the profession of his baptism, and to get his living with his hands, and to live no longer idly, and of the sweat and labor of those captives, which they had taught not to believe in Christ, but in cut shoes and russet coats. Which Jerome, with all diligence, I warned of Roze's boldness, and exhorted him to beware of him, and to walk quietly, and with all patience and long-suffering, according as we have Christ and his Apostles for an ensample; which thing he also promised me.

"Nevertheless, when he was come to Argentine, William Roze, (whose tongue is able not only to make fools stark mad, but also to deceive the wisest, that is, at the first sight and acquaintance,) gat him to him, and set him a work to make *rhymes*; while he himself translated a Dialogue out of Latin into English, in whose prologue he promiseth more a great deal than, I fear me, he will ever pay. Paul saith, 'the servant of the Lord must not strive, but be peaceable unto all men, and ready to teach, and one that can suffer the evil with meekness, and that can inform them that resist; if God at any time will give them repentance for to know the truth.' It becometh not then the Lord's servant to use railing rhymes, but God's word, which is the right weapon to slay sin, vice, and all iniquity."

Here, in Tyndale's own words, we have the commencement and

termination of Roye's intercourse with him very distinctly noted. He had craved employment in 1524, and being retained, only till Tyndale could proceed without his aid as an amanuensis, he left his service at Worms, in the summer of 1525.

Tyndale had already given a specimen of his scholarship. It remained now to be discovered, whether he was to be at all distinguished as a judicious man; a character from which a mere scholar often stands at a great distance. One is curious to hear what he had got to say *first*, and especially, if to England, from the city of Worms. In his deliberate judgment, it becomes evident, that most of the evils with which his native country was now infested, were to be traced to the *love* of money. Hence, even the title of this, his very first treatise—"The Wicked Mammon." The "Spirituality" of the day, so called, appeared to him as the "Successors of *Simon Magus*," "who would have bought the gift of God to have sold it much dearer." Bred up as Tyndale had been in Gloucestershire, it was quite natural that he should feel deeply for the people, as ground down or pillaged by exactions, and "spiritual alms," falsely so denominated. It was not, however, that he had now commenced, by a lecture on covetousness. Far from it. But the *title* having once attracted the reader's eye, as it was very likely to do, he found himself at once addressed on the only genuine origin of all vital religion. Commencing with the great and fundamental subject of a sinner's acceptance before God; believing the gospel to be the ministration of righteousness and of the Spirit, and Christ alone "the great store-house of mercy;" he magnifies divine revelation as the ground of all certainty in matters so important.

The year 1527 was made memorable for the capture of Rome by the Duke of Bourbon, and the flight of the Pope in disguise.

Throughout the year, it might seem next to impossible that any moment was left to attend to the suppression of Tyndale's New Testament, or the persecution of those who possessed it. But if there was, we can now more fully estimate the extent of that apprehension and anxiety which agitated, even at such a time as this, not only the Bishops of the day, but all the votaries of "the old learning."

It was but one short year since the Sacred Volume had arrived in the country; and yet see how deeply its enemies were moved. The first inveterate opponent who excites notice, was "an ancient doctor, called, as I remember," says Cavendish, "Doctor (Robert) Ridley, a very small person in stature, but surely a great and excellent clerk in divinity!" He was celebrated as a canonist, and had been consulted by Wolsey, years before this, respecting the prevention of Lutheranism. Related to Cuthbert Tunstal, he, in the year 1523, had made him Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopgate, in 1524, Prebend (Mora) of St. Paul's, and more recently Rector of St. Edmond's, Lombard Street. Was it wonderful that this little man should wash warm in the service of the hierarchy? The bitterness of his zeal would exceed belief, could we not present a

specimen from his own pen. Yet was he no other than the uncle of the learned and amiable Nicholas Ridley, the future martyr; and gave him, at his sole expense, his fine education at home and abroad! The uncle and nephew have occasionally been confounded, though no two men could form a stronger contrast.

The following singular letter of Robert Ridley's, which has never been printed before, we give entire, with the exception of a very few words, which cannot be deciphered in the original manuscript. It is extremely valuable, not only on account of the information it conveys respecting Tyndale's first publications; but as a specimen of the spirit of the times, and of that precious criticism, which no doubt was then hailed as at once masterly and acute. The letter is dated 24th February, and, as will appear presently, in the year 1527. It is addressed to Henry Golde at Knolle, and as chaplain to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

"Master Golde, I heartily commend me unto you, as concerning this common and vulgar translation of the New Testament into English, done by Mr. William Hichyns, otherwise called *Mr.* W. Tyndale, and *Friar* William Roze, manifest Lutherans, heretics, and apostates, as doth openly appear, not only by their daily and continual company and familiarity with Luther and his disciples; but much more by their commentaries and annotations in *Matthew and Mark in the first print*—also by their *preface* (prologue) in the *SECOND print*—and by their *introduction into the Epistle of Paul to the Romans*—altogether most poisoned and abhorrible heresies that can be thought. He is not a son of the Church of Christ, that would receive a gospel of such damned (condemned) and precis'd heretics, though it were *true*: like as Paul, and our Saviour Christ, would not take the true testimonial of evil spirits that praised Christ, saying that he was the son of God, and that Paul himself was a servant of the true God.

"As for errors, if ye have the first print with annotations, *Matthew and Mark*; and the *preface*, all is mere phrenzy. He saith that the Gospel is nothing else than the sweet promise of grace—so that, by that means, 'Do penance' is no part of the Gospel—the *Pater Noster* is no part of the Gospel—'Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire,' is no part of the Gospel—but only such as 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand'—'Ye shall find rest to your souls.' Also, he saith in that *preface* (the prologue) and annotations, that there is no difference between virginity and a whore of the stews. *if* she come to repentance. Also, that like as no man doth evil to the intent that he should be punished or hanged therefor; so no man should do good to have any reward therefor. To that in the Hebrews concerning Moses, 'for he had respect to the recompense of reward;' and that, 'Make to yourselves friends of the mammon, that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting tabernacles.' Also, he saith, that by good works we do nothing merit, in opposition to that in the Corinthians,—'that every one may receive the things done in the body, according as he hath done, whether good or evil,'—and that to Abraham, 'because

thou hast done this thing,' &c. Also that in Matthew, 'Because I was athirsty, and ye gave me drink,'—also that 'Come ye blessed of my Father,' &c. Also, he saith, 'that he that doth anything to have a higher place in heaven, he is proud as Satan and Lucifer.'

"I have none of these books, but only I remember such things I read in the preface and annotations. As for the text of the Gospel, first, the *title* is heretical, saying that 'it is printed as it was written by the Evangelists,' while it neither agrees with the ancient translation, nor with Erasmus."

After quoting, but inaccurately, Tyndale's version of Matthew i. 1, 19, and Romans v. 12, he repeats that he had rendered "*penitentiam agite*," most foolishly—REPENT.

"By this translation shall we lose all these Christian words—*penance, charity, confession, grace, priest, church*, which he always calleth a congregation; as if so many Turks, or irrational animals, were not a congregation, except he wishes them also to be a church. *Idolatria*, calleth he 'worshipping of images.'

"I would that ye should have seen my Lord's (Tunstal's) books. As for the translation in *French*, without any postile, it is, for certain, condemned in Paris, by public decree, though it be there done: condemned, I say, that it shall not be lawful to publish it to every layman, but by the priests, whose lips keep knowledge—and so it was in the old law, and in the time of the Apostles. Vide '*Sutorum de translatione Bibliae*.'

"I certify you, that if ye look well, ye shall not look three lines without fault in all the book, but I have not the book to mark them out,—ye should have had *leisure yourself* to have done it. Howbeit, it becometh the people of Christ to obey their rulers, which hath given study, and is learned in such matters, as their people should hear and believe. They should not judge the doctrine of Paul, nor of Paul's vicars and successors, but be judged by their learning, as long as they know nothing contrary God's laws,—as St. Bernard saith, most goodly and clerkly, in his book, '*De dispensatione et precepto*.' Vale, in all haste, your own,

"ROBERT RIDLEY, *Priest*."

"*Item*, that of Paul,—'stultas questiones devita,' &c.—'beware of foolish problems or questions in the schools.' This, without doubt, is said in hatred of the scholastic divinity, and of the Universities!" Such a thing is in the translation, though it be not in the same words.

"Shew ye to the people, that if any be of so proud and stubborn stomach, that he will believe there is no fault nor error, except it be declared to him that he may see it, let him come hither to my Lord, which hath profoundly examined all, and he shall hear and see errors, except that he be blind, and have no eye."

"24th February.

"Ye shall not need to accuse this translation. It is accused and damned (condemned) by the consent of the Prelates and learned men; and commanded to be burnt, both here and beyond

the sea, *where is many hundred of them burnt*; so that it is too late now to ask reason *why* that be condemned, and which be the faults and errors. Luther and his school teacheth, 'that we do not co-operate with the grace of God, but are only passive as stones or blocks.' Because of that, this text, 'non ego, sed gratia dei mecum,' thus is translated—'*not I, but the grace of God in me*'—which how heretically, wickedly, seditiously, and falsely it is translated, he who does not perceive is stupid!

"My Lord, your master, (Warham,) hath of these books given and sent to him, by my Lord, (Tunstal,) my master. Shew the people that ye be come to declare unto them that certain books be condemned by the council, and profound examination of the Prelates, and fathers of the Church.

*"To Master Henry Golde,  
Chaplain to my Lord of Canterbury, at Knolle."*

This man quotes from memory and at random. It is altogether unnecessary to trace his mistakes, whether wilful or not; and yet this strange farrago, however inaccurate and calumnious in its blind criticisms, is still of great value, as a link in our narrative, and as lending to it a degree of precision, hitherto unobserved, if not unknown. Even from this document alone, there can be no question now, that in the year 1526, Tyndale's quarto Testament, with the prologue prefixed, was circulating in England. We now learn, however, that there was an edition of Matthew and Mark separately, which he designates the *first print*.

Notwithstanding the solemn and pointed injunctions of the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, issued in the close of 1526, calling in *both* editions, both Bishops had found that the possessors of the Sacred Volume were by no means disposed to surrender it, merely for being threatened; and as for the copies still abroad, if the influence of Wolsey over Brabant was last year less than it had been, in this, of course, it was lower still. His political leanings were now better known, not only to the Emperor and the Lady Margaret, but to the Lords of Antwerp, and all the merchants. Hackett the ambassador, it will be remembered, had implored a list of heresies, taken out of the Testament, to be translated into German, that he might proceed at Antwerp or other places with more rigor and despatch; but Providence intervening, Wolsey was engrossed in far different employment; and so now, it seems, if any more Testaments are to be obtained, they must be *bought*, not seized. The ambassador either dared not, or could not, play the same game a second time.

At his wits' end, as we have already seen, Hackett was the first who suggested the idea of *purchasing* and burning, in order to prevent the circulation; and all preceding accounts hitherto printed, without exception, hold up Tunstal as the only man who adopted it. But this, like too many others, is a general mistake, as for two years to come he did nothing of the kind. The purchasing *began* with a higher ecclesiastical authority than that of Tunstal;

nor should the step be represented as *merely* foolish, even although it actually furthered the work it was meant to crush. The fact was, that these Bishops were in a frenzy, yet none of them were so far gone, as to purchase without a reason. Any one of them, as we shall see presently, was not disposed to be at more *expense* than what was absolutely necessary: but they were certainly in great haste, because the haste of fear, and so the purchase became a matter of necessity, not of choice; since the rights of the subject were, at this moment, far better understood at Antwerp than in England.

It was Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in the spring of 1527, had busied himself in procuring what copies could be found out abroad of Tyndale's New Testament; and he succeeded in purchasing a part of Tyndale's original editions in *quarto* and *octavo*, though there might be some of the third Antwerp impression among them. Wolsey and Warham were not far from being as much at variance, as were Herod and Pontius Pilate, in the days of old; but, as opposition to the Saviour made them friends for the moment, so in opposition to His Word, these modern authorities were cordially united. One curious letter, never printed, still remains, affording a most miserable picture of the whole fraternity at this period. It is from the Bishop of Norwich to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated the 14th of June 1527.

"In right humble manner I commend me unto your good Lordship, doing the same to understand that I lately received your letters dated at your Manor of Lambeth, the 26th day of the month of May, by the which I do perceive that your Grace hath lately gotten into your hands *all* the books of the New Testament translated into English, and printed beyond the sea; *as well* those *with* the glosses joined unto them, as the other *without* the glosses; by means of exchange by you made therefore, to the sum of LXVI. li, IX. s., III. d.

"Surely, in mine opinion, you have done them a gracious and blessed deed, and God, I doubt not, shall highly reward you therefore! And when in your said letters ye write that in so much as this matter and the danger thereof, if remedy had not been provided, should not only have touched you, but *all the Bishops within your province*; and that it is no reason that the whole charge and cost thereof should rest only on you; but that they and every of them, for their part, should advance and contribute certain sums of money toward the same, and for that intent, desire me to certify you what convenient sum I, for my part, will be contented to advance in this behalf, and to make payment thereof to Master William Potkyn, your servant; Pleaseth it you to understand, that I am right well contented to give and advance in this behalf ten marks, and shall cause the same to be delivered unto the said Master Potkyn, shortly; the which sum I think sufficient for my part, if every Bishop within your said province make like contribution and advancement, after the rate and substance of their benefices. Nevertheless, if your Grace think this sum of ten marks not sufficient for my part in this matter, your further pleasure known I shall be as glad to conform myself thereunto in

this, or any other matter concerning the Church, as any other subject within your province—as knows Almighty God, who long preserve you, to his most pleasure, and your heart's desire. At Hoxne, in Suffolk, the 14th day of June 1527.—Your humble obediencer and bondman.”

Such was the letter of Richard Nikke or Nix, dictated in all probability, for he was literally *blind* for a considerable time, and now about seventy-seven years of age! His signature has all the appearance of a blind man's mark. Few individuals in England were more annoyed by the circulation of the Scriptures than he was. We shall find him persecuting and consigning Bilney to the flames; for he lived nine years longer, and died, as he had lived, blind in every sense, in January, 1536, at the advanced age of at least 86! But we shall meet with him more than once, before his death.

If Warham was busy abroad, Tunstal was not less so at home; if the one was eager to prevent importation, the latter had not relaxed in anxiety to obtain all those books that were in use. He seems, however, to have been annoyed by a double suspicion; that his Archdeacons were either remiss in obeying his injunctions, or the people were too knowing for all their research. Both suspicions were, in fact, not without foundation. Tunstal, therefore, instead of waiting longer for the owners of the Testaments delivering them up, resolved upon a strict visitation of his whole diocese this summer. But see again the kind interposition of a gracious providence! This man, as well as Wolsey and Sir Thomas More, must all prepare in June to embark for France, where they are to remain till the month of October. The consequence was, that although the visitation was remitted to Geoffrey Wharton, as his Vicar, little, or rather nothing, was done in the way of persecution till Tunstal's return.

After his return, however, he had received some written information against certain individuals; and in November, as already explained, the bishops were summoned by Wolsey, as Vicar-General of all England, to meet him at Westminster. He opened his court in this character, and commenced the proceedings, “but because,” says Foxe, “he was otherwise occupied with *affairs of the realm*, he committed the hearing of the matter to the Bishop of London, and to other Bishops there present, or to three of them, to proceed against all men, as well spiritual as temporal, as also against writings and books—giving them full power to determine upon them.”

“Bilney and Arthur, being leading characters, the court was opened with their examination, and this was their second appearance. Arthur abjured, nor do we ever hear of him again. Bilney abjured, bore a faggot on his shoulder at St. Paul's, and was remanded to “a prison appointed by the Cardinal, till he should be by him released.”

Nothing, it is true, could be more unlikely, than that any more copies of the Sacred Volume should arrive in this country at such



a crisis; it might seem altogether impossible. Throughout the whole year, England, under Wolsey's influence, was fomenting war with the Emperor, and consequently with the Low Countries, or Flanders, but courting alliance with France. In the latter, there were, of course, no English Scriptures; in the former, copies were lying ready for being introduced here confidentially, with secrecy and silence. But if there should be a bar to merchandise in general, and the merchants of Flanders and England cannot exchange goods, how was there any chance of conveying the "Book of God" with them, or under their cover? It had come through this medium before, but how could it by any possibility do so now?

The reader may recollect, that the year 1527 was introduced by severe disease. Immediately after this, in consequence of "the great rains which fell in the sowing time," by the fall of the year, bread advanced to such a price, that the people were in danger of starvation. Wheat, at last, not only had risen from sixteen shillings to *one pound six shillings and eightpence* the quarter, but ere long it was not to be obtained for money. Commissioners were sent into every county to inquire what wheat remained in the realm; but at the same time to *enjoin* that none should be conveyed *from one county to another*. The consequence was, *London* at last so felt the pressure, that the Mayor and Aldermen came to Wolsey on his return from France, and told him, "either the people must die from famine, or else they, with strong hand, will fetch corn from them that have it." He cared little for any man's life, when his path was crossed, and put them off with, no doubt, a daring falsehood!—that the King of France had said to him, that "if he had but three bushels of wheat, England should have two, so much he loveth and regardeth this realm!" This was at least acknowledging, that while he was abroad, the scarcity was well known to him, amidst all his gorgeous parade. The people then, from day to day, looked for French wheat, but none came; and what is more observable, even such as the English merchants had bought and *shipped* in Normandy and other places, was there *restrained*, so that all relief from these parts entirely failed! And what then? Let the old contemporary chronicler of the day tell the rest:—

"But the gentle merchants of the Stilyard brought from Dantzic, Bremen, Hamburg, and other places great plenty; and so did other merchants from Flanders, Holland, and Frisland, so that wheat was better cheap in London than in all England over. Then the people said,—'See how we had been served by the Frenchmen in our necessity, if the Emperor's subjects had not holpen us.' For this kindness, the common people loved the Emperor better, and all his subjects. Henry the VIII., however, hearing of the stoppage of the French wheat, lent the city a thousand quarters. 'Then within short space, the merchants of London so diligently made provision in all places for wheat and rye, that after Christmas they lacked none, and all the parties adjoining to them

were fain to fetch wheat of them, and none to them was denied, notwithstanding the unkind commandment given, that the Londoners should none have of them."

And *thus* it was, that a way was opened for the introduction of more books! On board of these vessels with grain, there must have been various importations of Tyndale's New Testament; but one is too remarkable to be passed over in silence, as it included not less than five hundred copies by one man. Yes, notwithstanding all the fury of Hackett, and the imprisonment of Endhoven, *another* printer in Antwerp had already finished another edition! This was now the second in that place, or the *fourth* in all. The fact comes out, incidentally, about four months after this, in the examination of a distributor, before Tunstal. He had been charged with going about to buy a *great number* of New Testaments, when he emits the following answer:—"That about Christmas last, (Dec. 1527,) there came a Dutchman, being now in the *Fleet* prison, which would have sold this respondent two or three hundred of the said New Testaments in English, which this respondent did not buy, but sent him to Mr. Fysh. Connect this with the following entry in Foxe's list of persons abjured in 1528. "John Raimund, [Ruremonde,] a Dutchman, for causing fifteen hundred of Tyndale's New Testaments to be printed at Antwerp, and for bringing five hundred into England."

One distinguishing feature of this edition consists in certain woodcuts. It is thus referred to by Joye, as the second Dutch edition—"They printed it *again*, also without a corrector, in a greater letter and volume, with the *figures* in the Apocalypse, which were much falser than their first;" and alluding then to the former impression, he adds, "there were of them *both* about *five thousand* books printed." One copy of this book, which appears to have been reprinted from the *quarto* edition of Tyndale, is supposed to be in the library of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

"There is a copy of this edition," says Dr. Waterland to Mr. Lewis, "belonging to Emanuel College, marked i. 5-66. I have it now in my hand. I make this judgment from the *figures*, that is cuts, drawings, in the Apocalypse. It is imperfect, both beginning and end, torn out. It is a large 12mo. if it may not be called a small Svo. The titles and chapters are in red letter. There is a part of '*the prologue unto the New Testament*,' at the beginning."

Another account states—"It is printed in black letter, within border lines of red ink; and the head line throughout, the head of each book and chapter, the notation marks, and most of the initial letters, are also in red. The volume has marginal references, a small woodcut at the beginning of most of the books, and larger ones in the Revelations, also glosses at the end of the chapters. It commences on iii., in the middle of 'A prologue unto the Newe Testament.' It has no folios, and a full page contains 37 lines, exclusive of the head line."

The fact was, and it is animating to discover it even now, that

such a book was printing in Antwerp *at the very time when Endhoven was suffering*; for so early as the preceding May, and just about the time that Warham was rejoicing over his *purchase* of Testaments, the printer had completed the volume! Thus, after all the toil of Master Hackett, he was then the subject of *fresh* alarm. On the 23d of May 1527, therefore, he wrote to Wolsey as follows:—

“And now it shall please your Grace to understand that the 21st day of this month, at Mechlin, I was advertised for truth that notwithstanding any correction that has been done in these parts before, yet now of the new, some *new* printers of the town of Antwerp have brought to be sold to this Barrow market divers English books entitled ‘*The New Testament*’; for the which cause I have come hither, to see correction and punishment to be done upon the said books; of which I have found 24 in one man’s hand. We seek for more, and, doubtless, I trust shortly to see them *burned*, and as many such like as I can find in these countries.”

He then urges once more the necessity for a specific list of heresies to be sent him, that he might punish the printers personally, as well as burn the books; and, by way of enforcing this, he has more heavy tidings to convey—

“I hear say that there has been at the last Frankfort (spring) market, more than *two thousand such like* English books! but there, like as I hear say, they favor greatly Luther’s acts, and sustain that he writeth the truth! and leave all good old customs.”

Under all these circumstances it is now almost evident, that part of this *fourth* edition had found its way into England, by the end of 1527; for that Testaments did arrive at this gloomy and necessitous period, there can now be no question. Men are but too apt to overlook the footsteps of a particular providence, but the arrival of books through *such* a medium, and at such a period, was too remarkable an event to be passed over in silence. Could it fail to be observed with gratitude at the time? After turning “a fruitful land into barrenness,” and the people were “brought low, through oppression, affliction, and sorrow;” with bread-corn, came the bread from heaven. Through these very channels, the Sacred Volume had come before, and now, notwithstanding all the wrath and rage in high places, it came again. The bread that perisheth must rise in price, and finally fail, that the bread of life may come. He who appointed a way for his anger, was at the same moment preparing a way also for the reception of His Word. In wrath he remembered mercy. Well might the people have said—“Whoso is wise, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord.”

## SECTION V.

TYNDALE AND FRYTH—ENGLAND AND SPAIN—ENGLAND AND ITALY—RETROSPECT  
PRESENT PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND—ARRESTED BY PREVAILING DISEASE—PER-  
SECUTION IN ANTWERP—NOBLY WITHSTOOD AND DEFEATED—WOLSEY'S PURSUIT  
AFTER TYNDALE AND OTHERS—ALL IN VAIN.

IN the course of the year 1528, we have no distinct account of anything new having issued from the press, translated or composed by Tyndale; although some of his smaller tracts, without date, may have been printed. There were, however, fresh editions of his two publications, already mentioned. Of "the Parable," there was one if not two editions, and of "the Obedience" certainly two, the first of which is dated in May, and the second in October of this year. That the books had been read or purchased with avidity, and were in growing demand; this, especially in those early days, is proof sufficient; but not one of these were printed at Worms. Tyndale and Fryth had now certainly removed elsewhere. All these pieces were printed at one place and by the same man—Hans Luft, a favorite printer "at Malborough in the land of Hesse," or Marburg, the capital of Upper Hesse. To our Translator, within the last eighteen months, this place must have become strongly attractive. There is no intimation or even hint of any visit yet paid to Wittenberg; it was still 200 miles distant, and it becomes more than doubtful whether Tyndale was *ever* there. Marburg, the ancient *Mattium*, is situate on the right bank of the Lahn, a tributary of the Rhine, 41 miles north from Frankfort.

Nor are we at any loss to understand how Tyndale was here engaged. It must have been a mighty addition to his comfort, for such a man as Roye to be succeeded by John Fryth. The former once dismissed, in 1526 Fryth had reached his friend and father of the same opinions. Equally interested in the translation of the Scriptures for their native land, from day to day this subject had fully engrossed their minds. But at present we refrain from saying more till the books of the Pentateuch were printed.

John Fryth was born in 1503, at Westerham, a market-town in Kent, near the head of the Darent, a tributary of the Thames. It was allowed, even by his enemies, that Fryth was an excellent scholar, after the advantages he had enjoyed, first at Cambridge, and then at Oxford, thus reversing the order of Tyndale's education. As Fryth, however, received his University education at King's College, Cambridge, he must, of course, also have been a scholar at Eton. It was while proceeding in his studies, that Tyndale was at Cambridge, and through his instrumentality, as Foxe expresses it, Fryth "first received into his heart the seed of the gospel, and sincere godliness." Such being the case, it is a circumstance not to be forgotten in our future history, that Fryth

had for his tutor no other than Stephen Gardiner, the future Bishop of Winchester. Some time in 1523, when Tyndale was in London, it is next to certain his much-loved friend must have been with him, since before they were separated, and Fryth remained behind, it has been stated, that they used to converse respecting the necessity for the Scriptures being "turned into the vulgar speech, that the poor might also read and see the simple, plain Word of God." In this case, Fryth must have looked and longed for success to attend the enterprise of the man he most loved upon earth.

Tyndale, however, sailing for Hamburgh, Fryth was, ere long, selected, for his acquirements, as a Cambridge scholar; and called away to Oxford by Wolsey, became, as we have seen, a canon in Cardinal College. Having already proceeded as B.A. at Cambridge, he was admitted to the same degree at Oxford in December 1525. Fryth could not have been idle in advancing his opinions, for those young men from Cambridge, already mentioned, were much of his mind. But in two months, even to a day, after he had taken his degree, not only he, but they, had incurred high displeasure. These men might have been styled "the hope of the nation," though we have heard old Warham rate them, in his letter to Wolsey, as nothing more than "a number of young uncircumspect fools." *Fools* they might be called by the Primate of England, but *uncircumspect* was not the right word. Generally speaking, they were looking in one direction, and, at the moment, saw farther than their calumniator. Here at least was Fryth; but little did Wolsey imagine, that in selecting him, and most probably by his tutor *Gardiner's* recommendation, he had laid his hand on the ardent admirer of that man whom he was afterwards so eager to apprehend on the Continent. Left behind in England, Fryth had proved, among his fellows, an *expectant* of whatever Tyndale should be able to accomplish; and one can more easily conceive than express how he must have hailed the arrival and the very first sight of the New Testament at Oxford. It certainly had been longed for, and it came at last.

Fryth was then twenty-three years of age, and not only a lover of learning, but acute and eminent in talent. Yet, once aware of the cruelties practised on Dalaber and Garret, as already detailed, and being so far at liberty, he effected his escape, and landed, like his forerunner, on a foreign shore. This could not possibly be before the autumn of 1526, so that the undivided credit of translating the New Testament, and forwarding it to his country, remains with Tyndale alone. The flight of Fryth has been placed much later, even in 1528, but it is evident that he durst not have remained so long. That he ever revisited England before he came to die at the stake, we have no certain evidence; but we now see him as the able coadjutor of his elder brother for years.

At the commencement of 1528, the New Testament of Tyndale had been introduced into England for the space of two years,

a fact which will be abundantly confirmed by the disclosures of the present period. Speaking generally of these times, Strype has said,—“the New Testament translated by Hitchen, that is Tyndale, was in many hands, and read with great application and joy; and they had secret meetings, in which they instructed each other out of God’s Word;” but after carefully examining the minute, though scattered details, a far more interesting and graphical account now comes out, not only of these two years, but of the years preceding.

From the days of John Wickliffe, if not Richard Fitzralph, the disciples of Christ were much in the same situation with those Israelites in the days of Elijah, whom God “reserved to himself.” Hidden and unknown, their number can never be ascertained, otherwise it probably would surprise us, as much as the “seven thousand” did the desponding prophet of old. But there can be no doubt that portions of the Scriptures in manuscript were read in secret, and by many with great profit, notwithstanding all the virulent opposition. Our only key to the extent of this, is to be found in the opposition displayed. Mere gleams of light obtained from the Sacred Word, were sufficient to bring down the wrath of the oppressor. During the fifteenth century, various cases of abjuration and burning for heresy had occurred, but from the commencement of the sixteenth, as light increased, the opposition became more determined and systematic. Particular periods are then to be marked as *seasons* of persecution. To say nothing of the first ten years, though disgraced by not a few instances of great cruelty; the years 1511 under Warham of Canterbury and Smith of Lincoln; 1509 to 1517 under Fitzjames of London; and above all, 1521, under Longland of Lincoln, were so many seasons of the most determined opposition to the Word of God. Nor should it be unobserved that all these persecutions, including even the last, were on account of opinions, *not* gathered or received from any foreign land or Continental Christian. Whatever those opinions were, they were *indigenous* to this country, and are mainly to be ascribed to certain portions of the Sacred Writings in English manuscript. Before, and even long before the name of Luther was heard of by the people, these opinions were sifted, debated, and maintained; nay, as late as 1521, though the writings of the German Reformer were then publicly denounced, they were as yet locked up in Latin, so that, amidst all the barbarities of that year, under Longland, we hear of no punishment inflicted for Lutheranism so called. It is certainly, therefore, to be regretted that even British historians, in too many instances, should have so hastily looked over to Germany, as *accounting* for the commencement and progress of all that occurred in their own country in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. After an examination of the official records of the day, and other original manuscripts, more patient and laborious than that in which any man has ever since engaged, it is not surprising that John Foxe should dwell on the retrospect with delight, and confess his inability to do

it justice ; while he as distinctly ascribes this work of God to his own Word in the *vernacular* tongue, and to this alone, though not yet in print.

We have glanced at all this as justly due to what may be styled the age of *manuscript*. But as the invention of printing was itself an era, so assuredly was that of the reception of the Sacred Scriptures in print into Great Britain. This might be fairly inferred from the history already given ; but it is now worthy of special notice, that for three or four years before the arrival of Tyndale's first editions, a people seem to have been signally prepared for their reception. We could not with propriety notice them at an earlier period, as it is chiefly by the severities of the *present* year, that they come out to view. From the examinations upon oath, about to be noticed, we could now enumerate above a hundred of these people by name, and state their places of abode, but these were merely the persons detected, exposed, or punished. Many, many more there must have been, whose record is on high. They met together, chiefly in London, but also at different places in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Buckingham. They called each other *Brother*, and said that they were *Brothers in Christ*. They had the four Gospels separately and in one volume ; some of Paul's Epistles in another ; the Epistles of Peter and that of James ; all in English manuscript, however inferior the translation, or inaccurate, through frequent transcription. In regard to the Epistle of *James*, in some parts it was a great favorite, and far from startling at it, as the German Reformer himself did at first, and for some time, *they* could repeat it from memory ; even one young woman was detected who could say the whole. Their high esteem for the Oracles of God, was to be seen in the price for them in whole or in part.

These friends in London seem to have held their meetings from about 1523, very frequently in the house of one William Russel in Coleman Street, at the gate of Bird's Alley, over against St. Stephen's Church ; when Father John Hacker, as they called him, and sometimes others, read and explained the Scriptures. We have already pointed out the spot to which the authorities first sent to seize books ; and it is now not unworthy of notice that very near, and even round it, notwithstanding "the secret search," the Word of God continued to be read and prized—it even "grew and multiplied." The great fire in London of 1666, it is true, consumed all those parts, but of the eighty-nine churches burnt down, at least fifty-four were rebuilt, and on the same ground. Bird's Alley is gone, but the church remains where it was ; and if any one wish to stand on the same spot where, amidst all the wrath and blasphemy of the day, the Sacred Volume was *then* perused with the keenest interest, he has only to walk along that part of King's Arms Yard which yet remains, till he come "over against" St. Stephen's Church, Coleman Street.

Similar meetings were held in Essex. The largest was in Colchester itself, but there were friends at Witham, Braintree, Saffron

Walden, and Birdbrook, as well as at the Friary of Clare, or Stokeclare, in Suffolk. In the north of Essex the parish of Bumstead was, as the persecutors would have said, a hot-bed of heresy.

So early as September 1526, two plain country men from thence came to London, in search of the *new printed* Testaments, and going to Austin Friars, there met with Dr. Barnes, who, it may be remembered, was then a prisoner at large. One of these men had been in possession of Tyndale's New Testament, which he procured from Colchester about the month of *April* before. These men reported the curate of this parish, Richard Foxe, as favorable to inquiry, and begged a letter from Barnes to him. He gave them one, sold a Testament to each, and after their return, the curate, and even two friars, Topley and Gardiner, seemed to be making progress; but besides them there were a number of persons, male and female, scattered throughout these parts, still farther advanced. It will be remembered that Myles Coverdale, one of Barnes' students, came up to London after him, at the time of his melancholy abjuration in February 1526. We shall trace him now preaching in this part of Essex, in company with Richard Foxe. Thus, on the 29th of March 1528, one of these friars, Thomas Topley, heard him preach at Bumstead church, and such doctrine as, in connection with subsequent conversation, shook his mind with regard to various superstitions. But the persecutions we are now about to notice must have scattered, for a season, all these groups in this county, as well as the meetings in London; more especially as Wharton the Vicar-General of Tunstal moved down into Essex in *July* this year, searching after his prey. It is then that we shall hear more of Coverdale.

Many of those, however, throughout the land, who had either purchased or perused the Testament of Tyndale, were now about to find that it was "through much tribulation they must enter into the kingdom of God;" and it would have been well if then the brother had not betrayed his brethren, the husband his wife, and the father his child! Not three months before, the country had been in the greatest extremity, through scarcity amounting to famine, and not a few had pined away in disease. London, also, as we have seen, had more especially felt the pressure, but no sooner had plenty returned by the importation of foreign grain, and bread had fallen in price, than the same city became the seat of bitter and sifting persecution. The country at large had just suffered severely through the crooked and ambitious policy of Wolsey; and now the best of his Majesty's subjects, simple hearted and unoffending people, are to be molested through the cool malignity of Tunstal. He had before this preached his sermon, in which he boasted that he had found more than 2000 errors in the printed New Testament. Tunstal's infamous injunction also, of October 1526, had hung over the people for fourteen months, without being rigorously followed up. It was unavoid-



able, as he had been so engrossed by foreign political affairs. It was, therefore, in the opening of 1528, that one feature of his character began to be more fully developed, of which in general a very strange, not to say erroneous, estimate has been given. Sir T. More and he were united, as men familiarly say, like hand and glove; and, therefore, it was to be expected, that he should pronounce him to be inferior to none "in the integrity of his principles, and the sweetness of his disposition." Godwin says that "he was a very rare and admirable man, with *nothing* wrong but his *religion*, and yet he was a *profound* *divine*, as many of his works yet do testify." "He had," says even Gilpin in his life of Ridley, "true notions of the *genius* of Christianity! He considered a good life as the end, and faith as the means; and *never* branded as an heretic that person, however erroneous his opinions might be, in points less fundamental, who had such a belief in Christ as made him live like a Christian. He was just, therefore, the reverse of his early patron Warham;" and he concludes by affirming, "that Tunstal thought *persecution* one of the things most foreign to his function!" We allow that the reverse of this, in some points, was the character of Warham; but was it less so of Tunstal? Both were men of learning and talent, and Tunstal's taste in letters was superior to most of his contemporaries; but let any one hold fast opinions which they conceived would, even ultimately, affect the hierarchy, and neither of them scrupled for a moment in proceeding to the greatest extremity. Tunstal, it is true, was still, and of quiet behavior, cautious, and had great command over his passions; a worldly-wise man, who contrived to thread his way through those difficult times, so that he died in his bed, at the advanced age of 85. But, on the other hand, if works bear witness, by these he must be judged. What signifies learning, however eminent, except it be applied to some laudable and beneficial purpose? And though it should be accompanied with apparent sedateness, and much sagacity in worldly affairs; all these in union, so far from concealing great and radical defects in moral character, only render them the more atrocious. To say nothing of the violence of Tunstal's language when writing to Erasmus, in earlier life, or of the incontinence with which he has been charged, certainly no man who was so frequently employed by Wolsey, and served his purpose so well, could by any possibility hold fast his integrity, or walk uprightly; and Tunstal being most celebrated as a courtier, and at *such* a time, the reader may be left to judge of his veracity. As for humanity, what though he might have an aversion from shedding blood, or rather a dread of shedding it? What shall we say as to his cool barbarity in sifting and cross-examining, then threatening and re-examining, till the poor creature quivered, and became perplexed, trembled and abjured? Not satisfied, see him seize on the abjured parties, and, through his sophistry, compel them at last to expose and even accuse their nearest and dearest relatives and friends! No, he was an ingenious tormentor, distinguished for

his patient dexterity in producing mental misery; and we may rely on it, that Tyndale, who new his doings well, though he did not charge him with shedding so much blood, had good reason for designating him as he did,—“that still Satan, the imaginer of all mischief.” “Cursed,” said Jortin, when speaking of him, “cursed are those theological principles, which produce such sad effects even in good-tempered men, and eat up so much of their honor and humanity!” The only mistake in this exclamation, is that of styling such principles *theological*. The truth was, that none of those men, even the mildest, understood the sacred rights of conscience, because their own was “seared with a hot iron.” They were, for the time, the “rulers of the darkness of this world,” while the praiseworthy people whom they tried to devour or exterminate, were, in fact, however poor and despised, a chosen band of wrestlers “against spiritual wickedness in high places.”

At all events, whatever Warham had been in days that were past, we shall find that Tunstal was “the grand Inquisitor” in 1528. In January his underlings were busily preparing for his sitting in judgment; and then followed those numerous cases, from February to May inclusive, which are upon record, in his Register.

The shrewd and systematic method adopted by Tunstal seems to have been to find out the most intelligent or influential men, among these people who were to be cross-examined, and by effectually threatening *them*, so detect many of the rest. In January or the beginning of February one man was found, and before long other two if not three. In the midst of these harassing times, it was not to have been expected, that all would prove faithful; but surely these early readers of the printed New Testament, upon English ground, had not anticipated that any of their leaders would fail and betray them! Yet so it was for poor Hacker, the first man referred to, being, as Strype says, “hard set upon, made a discovery, by interrogatories put to him upon oath, of a great many of his friends and followers both in Essex and London.” Following out this clue, at least three other men followed the sad example; John Pykas of Colchester, with John Tybal and Thomas Hempsted of the parish of Bunstead. These poor men now stood in the character of “persecutor’s evidence,” and were to be called upon, whenever it was found necessary! Hacker, to save himself, had betrayed at least *forty* of his friends, with whom he had often read the Scriptures, the majority of whom resided in London, and the others, as many more, in the county of Essex alone, as amounted to above a hundred in all! Happily, these were but a part of the whole; but here was a field, quite sufficient for the Bishop and his Vicar-General. The former required only to assemble his deeply-prejudiced assistants, and the reader may be curious to know who were those men who first sat in judgment upon Tyndale’s translation, and the earliest possessors of the precious volume. Tunstal had taken care to secure around him more than a dozen of men to preside, either altogether, or by turns,

and they are styled in the Register "all learned men," of course. Besides Geoffrey Wharton, D.D. his Vicar-General, and John Darel, B.D., Wharton's official, Matthew Grafton and Henry Bousfel, Notaries, there were Robert Ridley, D.D., and John Royston. Professor of Theology, Richard Sparchforde, M.A., Thomas Forman, S.T.P., John Tunstal and Thomas Chambre, Chaplains, Nicholas Tunstal, Thomas Dowman, Thomas Pilkington, and James Multon.

*Wharton*, to do him justice, would seem to have been not so bitter as some others; he died next year. *Royston* had been far more indebted to Humphrie Munmouth, than even Tyndale. Yet Munmouth is about to be molested and imprisoned, and Royston is here! *Sparchforde* had been promoted in 1522 to the living of Hackney; but the most conspicuous of these assistant persecutors was *Robert Ridley*, already noticed. The Tunstals, as well as Ridley, were related to the Bishop.

In now turning to the disclosures made by persecution in the early part of this year, we shall find them doubly important as to evidence on one point, namely, the period in which the New Testaments of Tyndale were first introduced into England. Independently of the abundant proof already given, they show that Tyndale's quarto and octavo editions were purchased and perused throughout the year 1526; and that Tunstal's injunction, in October of that year, was not groundless, when it affirmed that they were spread throughout "all his diocese, in great number."

From the Register itself we select the following cases.

I. *February 24, 1528.*—"Dr. Geoffrey Wharton, aforesaid, sat judicially, in the long Chapel of St. Paul's Church, London, near the Northgate. And then appeared before him Sir Sebastian Hennis, curate of the parish Church of Kensington; who confessed that he had two books; viz. the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, translated by William Hotchin, *Priest*, and *Friar* Roye; and 'Unio Dissidentium,' containing in it the Lutheran heresy. But Hennis being, by the said Wharton, Vicar-General, absolved from the sentence of excommunication, that *had been* by the canon passed against him, he enjoined him, by oath upon the holy Gospels, that he should not for the future keep any of the said books, or any other containing heresy in it; nor knowingly read, sell, pawn, or any other way dispose of such books; nor knowingly converse, or hold familiarity with any person suspected of heresy, nor favor them. And, moreover, he enjoined the said Sir Sebastian, under pain of excommunication, that after he had obtained license to depart, he should not tarry nor abide within the City of London (*being so dangerous a place to be infected with heresy*,) above a day and a night; but go thence elsewhere, and not approach near the city anywhere, *four miles in circuit*, for the space of *two years*." We have no trace left as to what became of this man; but it is cheering to observe that there appears to have been no abjuration on his part. He was thus banished for possessing the English New Testament, but as no mention is made of the pre-

cise period in which he acquired it, we pass on to the next, or one of the earliest instances in proof of this point.

II. *March 2.*—John Pykas of Colchester, with Thomas Matthew and Henry Rayland from the same place, appeared before the Vicar-General, being cited to answer to certain articles, and next day, 'Tuesday the 3d of March, Tunstal himself appeared. "Cuthbert, Bishop of London, sitting judicially, in the chapel within his palace at London, ministered in word against John Pykas, the articles which were ministered to John Hacker, and all things contained in the same; adding, that he had, and retained in his keeping, the New Testament in the vulgar tongue, translated by William Hotchyn and *Friar Roy*, notwithstanding the condemnation, publication and monition made thereupon. Upon the ministering of which and other things, the same reverend father took, *ex officio suo*, for witnesses, John Boughton of Colchester and *John Hacker!*" "*March 7.* John Pykas made answer to the articles ministered to him, before the said Bishop, sitting judicially in the chapel of his palace in London,"—which answer was to this tenor:—"That about five years last past, at a certain time, his mother, then dwelling at Bury, sent for him; and moved him that he should not believe in the Sacraments of the Church, for that was not the right way. And then she delivered to this respondent one book of Paul's Epistles in English (manuscript;) and bid him live after the manner and way of the said Epistles and Gospels, and not after the way that the Church doth teach."—"Also about *a two years last past!*" (or March 1526,) "he bought in Colchester of a Lumbard of London, *a New Testament in English and paid for it four shillings, which New Testament he kept, and read it through many times.*"

This instance, so early in point of date, is also very distinct, carrying us back to March if not February 1526; and from the price paid, equal to between two and three pounds sterling, seems to have been Tyndale's largest Testament. But the fact was, that Pykas was not merely the purchaser of one copy, but the seller of others, as will appear in the next case. This poor man, a baker by trade, aged thirty-three, having abjured; "after this," says Strype, "Pykas and Hacker, the chief leaders of the rest, were thus sifted, and by imprisonment, severities, and threatening, brought to confess all the 'known men and women,' as they were then called, even *their friends, their brethren, their nearest relations, and those that themselves had brought into those opinions*; they were enjoined penances, and abjured and sworn to be witness against others, and to betray all!"

III. With this first distinct testimony before us, it is curious enough, that it was upon this very day that Tunstal issued his well-known "*License* to Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, to read and retain the books containing the Lutheran heresy." The date in his Register is as follows—"Dat. vij die Martii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo xxvij, et nostre cons. *sexto*," that is, 7th March 1528; as he became Bishop of London

in Oct. 1522, and their year ran on to the 25th of March. This was the most unfortunate step that More ever took. The license was granted *mainly* with a view to the refutation of Tyndale's translation and other writings, as will appear by the event. Tunstal, in high spirits, expected that he would "play the Demosthenes" in *English*, as he had done in Latin; but we have yet to see what became of two Lords Chancellor, in succession, *Wolsey* and *More*, when brought under the power of Tyndale's pen.

IV. *April 28.*—This confession is formally entitled, "Confessio Johannis Tyball de Bumstede ad Turrin, facta et recognita per eundem Johannem coram Reverendo in Christo Patre Dno. Cuthberto. London, Episcopo, in capella infra palaciam London. xxviii. die mensis Aprilis, anno Dni. mill<sup>o</sup> quingen<sup>mo</sup>. xxviii. Quam postea signavit."—"Examined, he saith, 'that about *two years ago*, (or April 1526,) he companied with Sir Richard Fox, curate of Bumstead, and shewed him all his books that he had; that is to say, *the New Testament in English; the Gospel of Matthew and Mark in English*; which he had of John Pykas of Colchester; a book *expounding the Pater-noster, the Ave Maria. and the Credo*: certain of Paul's Epistles after the *old* translation.—And so in process of time, by reason of things contained in the said books, and disputing and instructing, he brought Sir Richard Fox to his learning and opinions. Furthermore, he saith that *at Michaelmas last past was twelve months*, (September 1526,) this respondent and Thomas Hilles, came to London to Friar Barnes, *then* being at the Friars Augustines in London, to buy a *New Testament in English*, as he saith. And they found the said Friar Barnes in his chamber; where there was a merchantman reading in a book, and two or three more present. And when they came in, the Friar demanded them from whence they came; and they said from Bumstede, and so forth in communication they desired the said Friar that they might be acquainted with him—because they would have his counsel in the New Testament which they desired of him. And he saith that the said Friar Barnes did perceive very well that Thomas Hilles and this respondent were infected with opinions, because they would have the New Testament. And then farther they shewed the said Friar, that one Sir Richard Fox, curate of Bumstede, by their means, was well entered in their learning; and said, that they thought to get him whole, in short space. Wherefore they desired the said Friar Barnes to make a letter to him, that he would continue in that he had begun: which Friar did promise so to write to *him* a letter at afternoon, and to get *them* a New Testament.

"After that communication, the said Thomas Hilles and this respondent shewed the Friar Barnes, of certain old books that they had: as of the four Evangelists, and certain Epistles of Peter and Paul in English; which books the said Friar did little regard, and made a twit of it, and said—'a point for them! for they be not to be regarded toward the new *printed* Testament in

English; for it is of more cleaner English.' And then the said Friar Barnes delivered to them the said New Testament in English, for which they paid three shillings and two pence; *and desired them that they should keep it close, for he would be loath that it should be known*, as he now remembereth. And after the deliverance of the said New Testament to them, the said Friar Barnes did liken the New Testament in *Latin* to 'a cymbal tinkling and brass sounding;' but what farther exposition he made upon it, he cannot tell. And then, at afternoon, they fetched the said letter of the said Friar, which he wrote to Sir Richard, and read that openly before them; but he doth not now remember what was in the same; and so departed from him; and did never since speak with him, or write to him, as he saith. Also he saith that about a half year ago (November 1527) he delivered the said New Testament to Friar Gardynere, which he never had again. Also he saith that Helen Tyball, his *mother*, and Alice Tyball, his *wife*, be guilty in all the foresaid articles," &c.

Here there is a very distinct reference to all the books mentioned by Ridley. The New Testament; Matthew and Mark, separately; and even the Introduction to the *Romans*; for the fact is, that at the end of the Introduction we have "Here followeth a treatise of the Pater-noster, very necessary, and profitable, wherein, yff thou marke, thou shalt perceave what prayer is, and all that belongeth to prayer." Here, also, the New Testament was possessed in *April*, and another copy purchased in *September 1526*; but this last purchase is the more interesting, as it corroborates the statement already given, that Barnes was at this very season a free *prisoner* at Austin Friars; as well as acting in the way which brought him again under suspicion. As for Tyball himself, we know not when he died, but we can trace him five years after this period. The season of John Fryth's imprisonment must have been one of great excitement among the friends of truth everywhere. Tyball had then come up to London, and one evening, the 19th of April 1533, he was seized, (through a vile informer, Holt, the King's tailor,) in company with *Hewet*, the future fellow-martyr of Fryth; Hewet was sent to the Lollard's tower, but Tyball was bound with ropes and carried to the Bishop's house, put into a close room, and watched by a priest's servant. The next day Stokesley came in from Fulham, and examined him and others. He had been four times in prison already, and therefore says Foxe, he was "five times in bonds for Christ,"—"but by God's provision he was delivered out of prison, although he could not enjoy his house and lands. The tenor of his injunction was, that he should not come within seven miles of his own house, which made him fain to *sell all that he had in Essex*!"

Tyball speaks of a companion named Thomas Hilles, and we have found his confession in full, among the Harleian Manuscripts. Though merely entitled, "the confession of a Lollard," it agrees so exactly with the story of Tyball that there can be no

question as to the "Lollard" being this very man. He states that he also purchased a Testament, which he read from house to house, and retained till March 1528, when he sold it to Richard Fox.

By the beginning of May, Tunstal had removed from the chapel in his palace, down to one near Charing Cross, in the manor of Nix, the bishop of Norwich, of whose temper and spirit we have had such ample evidence. On the 11th, he was still sitting in judgment on the poor people from Essex; but the spirit of persecution was now gathering strength, and, on the 14th, Sir Thomas More comes in view. On that day, he and Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower, as members of the Privy Council, sent for Humfrie Munmouth, as he subscribes his name. He was far too important a character to be passed over; and his being so is a proof that there had not been, till this year, any severe search after supposed offenders. Not satisfied, they went with him to his house, and examined all his letters and books. This generous man, with whom Tyndale had lived, who corresponded with him afterwards, and aided him all the time he remained in Hamburgh, was now committed to the Tower, "on suspicion of heresy, for some books found in his house." Five days after this, on Tuesday the 19th of May, he addressed a petition to the King's Council. It is entitled—"Unto the most honorable Lord Legate and Chancellor of England, and to the honorable Council unto your Sovereign Lord, King Henry VIII., the 19th of May, and in the 20th year of his reign; beseeching your Grace, and all my Lords and Masters, to have pity on me, poor prisoner in the Tower of London, at your pleasure." In this petition, he confesses, among other books—

"Also I delivered (to the father confessor of Zion) a book of the New Testament, the which book my Lord of London had. Also I had a little treatise that the priest, Tyndale, sent me, when he sent for his money," *i. e.* from Hamburgh in the close of 1524. "And all those books, save the books of the New Testament, lay openly in my house, for the space of *two* years, or *more*, that every man might read on them that would at their pleasure."

Munmouth's testimony brings us to the same period with that of Pykas; but as for the Testament, no doubt, Tyndale would take care that, if possible, his generous patron should have one, at least as soon as Garret was carrying them *from* London to Oxford, in January 1526. It may here be added, that in earlier life Munmouth had visited Rome itself, which may have had a similar effect on him as it had on some others. When the times improved, he was an Alderman of London, and served as Sheriff there in 1535. His will is dated 16th November 1537, by which he leaves a silver cup, and gilt, equal in value to £120 sterling, to Cromwell, that he might be kind to three preachers there mentioned, among whom was Dr. Barnes. Soon after this, Munmouth died, having commended his soul unto Christ Jesus, "my Maker and Redeemer, in whom, and by the merits of whose blessed passion, is all my whole trust of clean remission and forgiveness of my sins."

But of all the confessions now made, the following is not the least important. It includes the disclosures of a man who had been very active before this, and, notwithstanding, as much so as he could, even afterwards. This was *Robert Necton*. By him we learn that Mr. Fyshe, whose tract, "the Supplication of Beggars," had created such commotion in February 1526, had actually returned to London, and was living *there*, long before that year had expired. We now find also Mr. Richard Harman, an English merchant at Antwerp, had acted in concert with Fyshe, and had contrived modes of secretly conveying the Sacred Volume into England. The account which Necton gives of his first engaging in the business of sale and circulation, is no less curious, from its being at the instigation of such a man as George Constantyne, who, though originally bred a surgeon, by this time had entered the Church, and hence is styled *Vicar*. Of course, therefore, he had to proceed with the greatest caution. He would not go direct to Fyshe himself, but *informs* Necton, and then from *him*, he bought whatever copies he wished. Constantyne, one of the most singular characters of the day, survived the present period, at least, thirty-two years. At certain periods, doing all that in him lay to promote the circulation of the Word of God; at another, betraying the whole cause; he is here introduced incidentally, for the first time, but he will come before us again and again, when some notice must be taken of his singular and varied life.

The reader now only requires to be reminded, that such a man as this Robert Necton, is not to be regarded as poor and dependent, perambulating the country to obtain his bread by selling books—far from it; the occupation was too hazardous then for any mere hireling. Thus, Necton speaks of living at his *brother's* house in Norwich, and this was no other than the Sheriff of the city, as will appear in 1531. His confession was as follows:—

"He bought, at sundry times, of Mr. Fyshe, dwelling by the White friars, in London, *many* of the New Testaments in English; that is to say, now five, and now ten; and sometimes more, and sometimes less, to the number of twenty or thirty in the *great* volume. The which New Testaments, the said Mr. *Fyshe* had of one Mr. *Harmand*, (Harman,) an Englishman, being beyond sea; but how many he had, this respondent cannot tell.

"And this respondent saith, that about a year and a half ago (1526) he fell in acquaintance with Vicar Constantyne, here in London; which shewed this respondent *first*, that the said Mr. Fyshe had New Testaments to sell; and caused this respondent to buy some of the said N. Ts. of Mr. Fyshe. And the said Mr. Fyshe, at the desire and instance of Vicar Constantyne, brought the said N. Ts. home to this respondent's house. And before that V. Constantyne caused this respondent to buy some of the said N. Ts., he had none, nor no other books, *except* the chapters of *Matthew*.

"And, moreover, this respondent saith, that, about the same time, (1526,) he sold five of the said New Testaments to Sir William Furboshore, singing-man, in Stowmarket, in Suffolk, for



seven or eight groats a-piece: also, two of the same Testaments in Bury St. Edmunds, for the same price.

"Also, he saith, Vicar Constantyne, at divers times, had of this respondent about fifteen or sixteen of the New Testaments, of the *biggest*: and this respondent saith, that the said Vicar Constantyne, divers times, bought of him certain of the said New Testaments, and this respondent likewise *of him*. Also he sold Sir Richard Bayfield two New Testaments, unbound, about Christmas last, (1527,) for the which he paid three shillings, four pence. Furthermore, he saith, that he hath sold five or six of the said New Testaments to divers persons of the city of London, whose names, or dwelling-places, he doth not remember.

"Moreover, he saith, that since Easter last, he bought of Jeffrey (Lome,) Usher of St. Anthony's, with whom he has been acquainted by the space of a year or thereabout, (by reason he was Mr. Forman, the Parson of Honey Lane, his servant, and for that this respondent did much resort to the said parson's sermons,) *eighteen* New Testaments in English, of the *small* volume; and of which New Testaments, since Easter, this respondent carried fifteen of them to Lynn, to sell; which he would have sold to a young man there—but *he* would not meddle with them, because they were prohibited; and so this respondent left the said books at Lynn, till his returning thither again.

"To the 19th article against him, beginning—'that he went about to buy a great number of New Testaments,' he saith, that about Christmas last, there came a Dutchman, *being now in the Fleet* prison, which would have sold this respondent two or *three hundred* of the said N. Testaments in English, which this respondent did not buy, but sent him to Mr. Fyshe to buy them; and said to the Dutchman, 'look, what Mr. Fyshe doth, I will do the same.' But whether Mr. Fyshe bought any of them, he cannot tell: for the which three hundred he should have paid £16—5 shillings; after, nine pence a-piece.

"To the 20th article he saith, that since Easter last, (12th April 1528,) he was at Norwich, at his brother's house, where one had complained of this respondent to (Nix) my Lord of Norwich, because he had a New Testament. Wherefore his brother counselled this respondent to send or deliver his said N. T., and said to him, if he would not deliver it, my Lord of Norwich would send him to my Lord of London. And so afterwards he sent it to London by the carrier.

"To the 21st article—'that contrary to the *prohibition* (October 1526) he hath *kept* the N. Testament'—he confesseth, that after he had knowledge of the condemnation of the said N. Testament, by the space of a year or *more*, (*i. e.* in fact, nearly a year and a half, or from 23d Oct. 1526, to the 12th April 1528, as already confessed,) he hath had in his custody, *kept and studied the same Testament, and has read it thoroughly many times*. And also has read it *as well within the city and diocese of London, as within the city and diocese of Norwich, and not only read it him-*

*self, but read and taught it to divers others.*—Per me, *Robert Necton.*”

There is no account left as to the time of Necton's death ; but after being now released, he continued to go on, much as he had done, for two or three years, when he was again apprehended. His exposure of Constantyne rendering it unsafe for *him* to remain in London, he escaped to Brabant, where he occasionally practised his first acquired profession, that of a surgeon, but passed and repassed the sea, importing books, till 1530, when he was caught. During this period, as Necton had supplied him with books, so now *he* had supplied Necton, and that with *many*. But Constantyne, once cruelly used and in fear of his life, not only exposed his old acquaintance, but different other individuals ! “ It is well known,” says Sir Thomas More, “ that Necton had himself, and a man of his also, sold *many* such books of heresy ;” and again, “ Richard Necton was, by Constantyne's detection, taken and committed to Newgate, where, except he happen to die before in prison, he standeth in great peril to be *burned* ere it be long, for his falling again to Tyndale's heresy.” This was printed of him in 1532, but we never read of his coming to this painful yet glorious death.

From the evidence now adduced it appears that in January 1526, Thomas Garret, at least, received from abroad copies of the New Testament, printed in the English language—that he immediately had given them out in London, sent them down to Cambridge, and carried them himself to Oxford, in that very month—that notwithstanding the grand burning of books at St. Paul's, on the 11th of February 1526, and the anathemas of Fisher on that day, nay, and the burning at Oxford soon after, when the Testament, amongst other books, was involved in the flames, still the work went on—that even Fyshe himself was soon after in London, and remained in it, receiving from abroad, and dispersing the precious volumes for a considerable time. Then come up these men from Essex, and, along with Mummouth, all agree in their testimony. Put upon their oath, not one among them could have any motive to falsify in regard to the length of the time in which these Testaments had been in their possession. On the contrary, could such an idea have occurred to any one of them, the temptation must have been to *shorten*, not extend the period ; for the longer it was, so much the more guilty must they have appeared in the eye of their judges. But in receiving their united testimony, how far does it carry us ? That as early as February, and downwards to October 1526, Tyndale's Testaments, both *quarto* and *octavo*, as well as the first separate edition of Matthew and Mark, were upon English ground, and reading with eagerness, not only in the metropolis, but the surrounding counties,—that, notwithstanding the fulminations from London and Canterbury, and “ the secret search, at one time,” the precious books were retained and read in secret still. Nay, we have seen one man, Necton, immediately afterwards commence his cautious opera-

tions—mentioning very distinctly, first, the quarto of Tyndale, or the *large* volume, then the octavo edition, and finally another edition, printed at Antwerp, as already described. Doubtless there had been other men before him so employed, as there were others afterwards, including himself again.

But the purposes of Infinite Wisdom in thus trying the faithful, and purifying his cause, were, for the present at least, accomplished. Tunstal, it may have been observed, had shifted his seat, from his own palace, near the old bridge of London, down to Charing Cross, and, for ought we know, this might be from *fear*; but such cool and deliberate cruelty must not continue either in London or Westminster, and so the persecution seems to have been cut short by a Sovereign hand, or the immediate visitation of God.

That fearful disease, styled by foreigners, the *Sudor Anglicus*, on account of the violence with which it seized this nation, or, as the English themselves called it, the “sweating sickness,” broke out in the end of May. The patient expired in a few hours, and often in two or three. By the 7th of June, above two thousand had died in London, and by the 30th, forty thousand had been affected, of whom died at least two thousand more. Early in June, the King himself became alarmed; the disease entered the Royal household, and proved fatal in at least three cases; and before the month ended, it had entered Wolsey’s establishment. Henry kept himself shut up, had his household reduced to the smallest number permitted by the statutes of Eltham, and his fear increased. In July, on the 5th, still more apprehensive, he directs Wolsey “to cause general processions to be made, universally through the realm, as well for good weather to the increase of corn and fruit, as also for the *plague that now reigneth*.” By the 9th, he had made his will, advises Wolsey to follow his example, and desires to hear from him every second day. “He confessed himself every day,” say Le Grand and Burnet; “the Queen did the same, and so did Wolsey.”

This was the fourth visitation of that singular disease, of which the English only died. During the prevalence of this malady, however, it does not appear that the Cardinal was so much afraid of it, as of forfeiting the entire confidence of his Master. He had appointed an Abbess to the Abbey of Wilton, which had ruffled Henry’s temper; for ever since the disclosures of Clarendieux as to Spanish affairs, he was more suspicious and apt to take offence. But Wolsey once more mollified him; by August the disease had passed away, and all went on as before. The King was hunting in September, and inviting Wolsey to take part with him in the sport. All was bustle and preparation for the arrival of Cardinal Campeggio, and Henry wished to have the use of Hampton Court for three or four days to receive him there. But we now return to more important affairs.

Though the cruel proceedings of Tunstal and his coadjutors, seem to have been cut short by frightful disease; in the course of the examinations held, the persecutors had obtained several pieces

of information, far too important in their eyes, to be either forgotten or neglected. Tyndale and Royce (erroneously supposed to be *still* with him,) were now conspicuously before them. One gentleman in particular, Mr. Harman, had been mentioned as actively engaged in importing English Testaments, and neither George Constantyne nor Mr. Fyshe could pass unnoticed. Meanwhile, since Tyndale's writings had obtained such circulation in our country, it seemed necessary that an attempt should be made to *answer* them; and so by way of adding greater horror to the heresies said to be contained in them, as we have already seen, it was during the very period when Tunstal was busy with his cross-examinations, that, with all due solemnity, he had issued his official *license* to Sir Thomas More, that he might retain and read those troublesome publications, and with all his skill in sophistry, write them down.

As for Cardinal Wolsey, after these examinations in London, he was bent on seizing the *Men* abroad, and *three* persons in particular, though other *two* were also specified. In June, therefore, he had written to Hackett, requesting that the Lady Margaret would sanction the delivery of these *three*, with a view to their being immediately sent into England. But on the 28th of that month, the envoy informed him, that after many arguments "debated pro et contra, they to me and I to them," the Privy Council had concluded, that even the *Emperor* himself might not send any heretic out of his dominions as a prisoner, except his first examination was held abroad, where he was; and even after that, the transmission of the party must be by the advice of the Inquisitors of the Faith there. They had, however, resolved that all the foresaid *three* heretics, when they could be found, should be taken prisoners, they and their books with them; but the Council requested one or two learned men to be sent abroad to confront them. If they should be "confounded or found guilty," they would either be sent over to Wolsey, or punished there, according to their deeds.

The names of these obnoxious men were *Tyndale, Royce, and Harman*. George Constantyne and Mr. Fyshe may appear to have been the other two, if *Jerome Barlow*, soon to be noticed, was not the fifth individual. Fourteen days they busily searched, but Mr. Harman alone could be found.

Hackett had found considerable difficulty when dealing with Christopher Endhoven, the German printer, in the end of 1526; but now that an English merchant and a gentleman has been seized, should the "Lords of Antwerp" still remain firm to their purpose, as then expressed, in the end, at least, our officious ambassador may find his interference to be followed by greater trouble and disgrace. Antwerp was still the *staple*, and, for commerce sake, their English merchants must, if possible, be protected; but to England for protection it was in vain to look. She was not then, what she has often been since,—and thanks to the Sacred Volume alone!—"the refuge of the oppressed;" so that the Em-

peror himself must be applied to. He was, accordingly, and by two petitions, in the *Flemish* language, on behalf of the *English* prisoners. Both are now in the British Museum, dated July 1528, and the substance of them may be thus summed up—

“Richard Harman being in prison, for having sold *New Testaments to English merchants*, having been *sent to him out of Germany*, as also being accused for lodging in his house certain Lutherans, (as all Bible men were then nicknamed,) and for eating flesh on Sunday, does plead for himself, petitioning the Emperor: He desires that *he and his wife* might be let out upon sufficient *bail*, to recover his debts upon the breaking up of the fair; lest losing that which is due to him, he should not be able to give satisfaction to his creditors.”

Hackett, however, obtained letters from Henry the Eighth, to seize Mr. Harman *as a traitor*; but the reigning Princess wished to be informed what were the particular acts of *treason*. Great interest was then made for Harman, who had, for many years, been a burghess of Antwerp. Hackett implores Commissioners to be sent from England; and, little knowing the secret politics of our Cardinal at the moment, which had destroyed his influence in the Imperial Cabinet, he is eager that the Emperor should be requested to write to Lady Margaret; otherwise, he fears that “the *great purse* of Antwerp would prove the deliverance of Harman,” his victim. And, by the 10th of September, he is obliged to confess, that “notwithstanding the *King’s patent letters*, the Lady Margaret and her Council would *not* deliver up the heretics.”

In spite of all the plans of the English ambassador, Hackett, to prolong the imprisonment of Harman and to secure his transportation to England, that he might fall into the hands of the persecutors, he was finally released, and immediately he caused Hackett to be arrested, and brought an action for damages against him, as the author of his imprisonment; but Hackett escaped punishment by pleading his official character as ambassador.

The imprisonment of Mr. Harman was followed by lasting consequences to Hackett. He was soon compelled to change his residence to Brussels, and five years after this, in 1534, he died at Douay, in debt. Mr. Harman returned to England—was commended for his zeal—was restored to favor, as well as all his privileges connected with “the English House” at Antwerp, and at the express request of the Queen of England.

This gentleman had been a devoted friend of Tyndale’s object and design, as well as of Tyndale himself, in which his wife had cordially joined with him. The printers of Antwerp managed their own business, and, by various means, imported their editions into England, which, of course, had affected the sale of Tyndale’s books; but the Testaments with which Mr. Harman was charged, were said to be *sent to him out of Germany*. Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, must therefore, to his great mortification, have very soon perceived, that he had not, as he at first supposed, purchased *all*; and, therefore, even in *Antwerp*, where Hackett

had so raged, we shall actually find Tyndale himself; and when his finances were at the lowest ebb, selling the remainder, with great advantage, next year. Nay, selling them to Tunstal, who, in 1521, had thought that, *as a Greek scholar*, Tyndale "could not fail" to find some situation!

In the midst of all this turmoil at Antwerp, however, the truth was, that Wolsey had been far from inattentive to the information received from Hackett, although he had seemed to be remiss in not answering his letters. On the contrary, as soon as he understood by his letter of the 14th of July, that "the twaine of the three," or *Tyndale and Roye*, were not to be found in Antwerp, or its vicinity, the Cardinal had bethought himself, and resolved to apply elsewhere in pursuit of them. Accordingly he writes a letter to Counsellor Herman Rincke of Cologne. In Rincke, he had a determined enemy to the "new learning, and a man, in some respects, quite to his own heart. His letter finished, a suitable agent was found in the person of Friar John West of Greenwich.

On his arrival at Cologne, with Friar Flegh, Rincke was absent from home, at the autumn fair in Frankfort; but the letter was immediately conveyed to him by a *swift* messenger; and, by the 4th of October, we have his reply, sent by the same Friar. It is in Latin; and though defective in several words, enough remains to render it an interesting and important document. A literal translation of the greater part, must not be withheld from the reader—

"The letters of your Grace to me, given by Master John West, Priest of the Observant Order of St. Francis, written the fifth of August, at Hampton Court, in your Grace's palace, were sent and conveyed to me from Cologne to Frankfort in two days, by a swift messenger, the 2nd (22nd) of September; with regard to buying up, everywhere, books printed in the English language, and as to the apprehension of *Roye and Hutchyn, i. e. Tyndale*. But neither they, nor their accomplices, have been seen in the Fairs at Frankfort since (paschate) the 12th of April, or even the first of March; and [we cannot find out] neither [their abode] whether they remain or whether they be dead, nor has John (Schoot) Scott of Argentine (*i. e. Strasburg*) said that he knew them, or their printers. But their books are full of heresy, and *against the magnificence and honor of your Grace*, [which they treat with contempt] *and with reproach*. They are — and very wicked, and opposed to Christian charity, [as well as to] his Highness, my most gracious Lord, my generous and illustrious Prince; they render [themselves odious] to all the worshippers of Christ."

He then states that he had been at Frankfort "with ready money, laboring himself personally to the utmost—but John Scott, the printer, besides a *pledge* to be given to the Jews, demanded also the reward of his own labor, and the expense of the paper; and said that he would sell them to him who would *offer him most money*." He had then labored with diligence to gather up all the books he could find, and he promises to do his utmost to appre-

hend Roye and Hutchyn, and other rebels. He refers to his former services, and thus prepares the way for the following proposal—"That a license should be granted to him, with the concurrence of Charles V., of the largest extent." "In my judgment it is fit to be continued, that as throughout the whole Roman Empire, so especially in Germany, those annoying the King of England, and the traitors against the same, ought not to be protected or endured; much less heretics, stirring up a sedition among the Christians of the whole English kingdom. On account of the force and legality of a similar license, Edmund, Duke of Suffolk, was ordered by King Philip, as was said, to be brought into England. Then also WILLIAM ROYE, WILLIAM TYNDALE, JEROME BARLOW, ALEXANDER BARKLAY, and their adherents—also GEORGE (CONSTANS) CONSTANTYNE, and many others, ought to be taken, punished, and exposed, both for destroying the Lutheran heresy, and to confirm the Christian faith!"

We are now at Frankfort great fair, and the reader may recollect of Hackett the ambassador informing Wolsey, that he heard of *New Testaments*, to the number of two thousand, having been for sale at the *spring* fair of last year; but now, when Scott is apprehended and examined, he demands a *pledge to be given to the Jews*, in security for *their* concern in such traffic, "*to Scotland and England as to the same place.*" No doubt the Jews were there last year, as well as this; and it certainly would be a very singular and memorable coincidence, if the *Jews*, for hire or gain, had assisted in *such* importations! And yet, what else can be inferred, from Scott's exaction or demand? But if so, the descendants of Abraham, to whom were committed "the Oracles of God," as recorded in the *Old Testament*, may have been unconsciously conveying to England, as an article of merchandise, "the living oracles," as recorded in the *New*: and doing this too at a period, when the nation, as such, was up in arms against the undertaking! To this people, under God, we stand indebted for a Saviour, and the Bible, but we know not that it has ever been conjectured of any other nation, that the *Jews* had any concern, however remote, in giving or conveying to it the New Testament.

We are not, indeed, to suppose that our Translator either had been at Frankfort, or that any of *his* publications are here referred to as printed at *Strasburg*; much less that any connection whatever now existed between him and Roye. With regard to Tyndale at this moment, or Fryth, of whom no notice is taken, happily Mr. Counsellor Rincke was altogether off the scent. Forty-five miles to the north, at Marburg, they were busily engaged, both with the pen and the press; yet it is quite possible that some of Tyndale's productions may have passed through this Frankfort fair. Rincke, however, had certainly laid hold of the printer employed by Roye, and these as certainly were *his* publications to which reference is made.

By the time that West and his companions arrived in England with this letter, Wolsey, so far from prospering "many happy

years," as Rincke had prayed, probably never had one day of unmingled enjoyment. The confidence of his own Royal Master had begun to decline, and Rincke but little knew the game that Wolsey was playing at that moment with the Emperor; otherwise, neither he nor Hackett could have expected him to have any influence, upon any subject, with Charles. Thus the remainder of the Cardinal's wrath was restrained, and happily Rincke never obtained the license or Commission for which he panted; besides, his politics must have soon changed with the times. His son had been in England before, and now that he came a second time, he has been supposed to have remained for some time, though of this we have found no positive evidence.

As for Friar West, he entirely failed in apprehending any of the men pointed out. It must have been still more mortifying to him that, while he was wandering on the Continent, in his disguised habit, *Roge*, the very man whom Wolsey wished to have, above all others, had actually paid a visit to *England*; and to crown all, West, upon returning to his monastery, not only received no thanks for his toil, but very soon found it a great deal too hot for him. The "new learning" had begun to spread even there! He might, as we have found, write to Hackett in November, telling him how the King and the Cardinal were engrossed, and could not answer his letters; but by the next month, he himself could not gain access even to Wolsey, and was at his wits' end.

The chase was now over till Henry *himself* began, for thus ended, at least, the Cardinal's hunt after heretics so called! After this, he will have quite enough to do, in taking care of himself. It was Providence ruling and overruling all things, for the sake of His own Word.

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## SECTION VI.

TYNDALE'S PROGRESS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT—PERSECUTION IN ENGLAND—THWARTED ONCE MORE—TUNSTAL AT ANTWERP—WOLSEY'S CAREER—TYNDALE'S INFLUENCE IN THE PALACE—CRANMER FIRST EMPLOYED—WOLSEY'S FALL—LORD CHANCELLOR MORE—RISE OF CRUMWELL—PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED—COMMOTION THERE—MORE, THE BISHOPS, AND THE KING, IN LEAGUE AGAINST THE SCRIPTURES—COVERDALE SENT TO HAMBURGH—ANOTHER OR FIFTH EDITION OF THE TESTAMENT.

It has been customary to speak of Tyndale's *Pentateuch* as published in 1530, but this is incorrect. The five books might be afterwards bound up, but originally they were neither printed at the same press, nor published together, but separately. In the order of importation, at least, the account of the creation and the early history of mankind in Genesis, seems to have been followed by Deuteronomy, that compendious repetition or summary of the



law, with explanatory additions. At all events before the end of *their* year 1529, or the 25th of March, 1530, these two books are among those publicly denounced; and those *alone* under the following titles:—"The Chapters of Moses, called Genesis—the Chapters of Moses, called Deuteronomos." When we come to the spring of 1530, the five books of Moses will be more fully noticed.

During this year, the state of his native land had continued to oppress the mind of Tyndale. However modest and unpretending in his character, as he could not be unacquainted with the great effects produced by what he had already done, so he must have felt that he was raised up for a certain purpose; and that with the progress of events or the condition of his country he must endeavor to keep pace with his pen. The correctness and celerity, as well as power, with which he did so, will appear alike remarkable.

One distinguishing feature of our Translator's character, was loyalty to his King, blended with love to his country. The latter he had discovered by commencing with "the Parable of the unrighteous Mammon," and the former, or rather both, by his next publication, "the Obedience of a Christian man." Deeply interested as he was, however, in the best interests of the reigning monarch, he would not stoop to flatter him, much less wink at the course he now pursued. Hence this year his small publication on the subject of matrimony, and his exposition of I Corinthians, vii. chapter. The former, a warning as to its abuse, the latter, illustrative of the sin attending its gross violation—an abounding evil of the age.

Marriage was then a question of vital importance to the virtue and happiness of his country; dreadfully trampled on and invaded by the priesthood of the day, and now, by the highest authority of the land, in his own person, threatened to be dissolved. It became, therefore, such a man as Tyndale to take up the subject. His voice was solitary indeed, but it had now a power, which, probably he had never anticipated; it went also through the land, for whatever he now published was sought for and read; and not the less so, that everything he put forth was so denounced.

Fryth was engaged about this time in translating from the German a small work, entitled, "The Revelation of Antichrist," one of the first books printed in English against the Roman Pontiff. He published it, with a long prefatory epistle and an antithesis at the end, under the assumed name of Richard Brightwell. It was printed "at Malborow, in the land of Hesse, the 12th day of July 1529, by me Hans Luft."

About this period both Tyndale and Fryth had removed from Marburg; and by the month of August, in Antwerp itself, a negotiation with Tunstal, respecting books, took place.

The work of persecution went on in England. Among those who were examined, the most eminent was a respectable citizen and leather-merchant of London, John Tewksbury. His case was

the more interesting from his having possessed a *manuscript copy of the Bible*, and his openly deponing that he had been studying in the holy Scriptures from the year 1512. He professed, however, that he had been brought to the knowledge of the truth by the reading of "*Tyndale's New Testament*," and his subsequent publication or exposition of the Parable of the Wicked Mammon. "In the doctrine of justification," says John Foxe, "and all other articles of his faith, he was very expert and prompt in his answers, in such sort as Tunstal and all his learned men were ashamed, that a leather-seller should so dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures, and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him."

The number of Bishops presiding at the examination of this good man, proves at once the importance of his case, and the extent to which their alarm and hatred had now gone. Besides Tunstal himself, there was West of Ely, and Clark of Bath, with Standish of St. Asaph, and Longland of Lincoln. These men had the truth told them on this occasion, and were even warned. Amongst other things, Tewksbury had the boldness to say,—“I pray God that the condemnation of the Gospel and translation of the New Testament, be not to your shame, and that ye be not in peril for it.” They continued disputing with him day after day, for more than eight or ten days together; his first appearance being on the 13th of April. At last he abjured, though, like Bilney, only for the present.

As old Thomas Fuller said—“It takes more to make a valiant man, than being able to call another coward,” though in reporting such abjurations, one cannot but revert to the first grand and public recantation of Barnes, at St. Paul's. He might, before that year ended, be selling New Testaments confidentially, and in private, but this could never compensate for the mischief he had done, by his great and sad failure. Its influence must have been yet felt, in preventing that bold decision which would have been followed by the crown of martyrdom. Thus, this worthy man Tewksbury, only required another to precede him, in the year 1531, when we shall find him gather courage, deeply repent, and follow with great and determined courage to the stake.

How criminal was that man, who, with cool deliberation, thus spent his days in laying a snare, or in weaving a net for the feet of these saints? By him, indeed, they were not put to death; they were left by him for Stokesly to butcher, though the guilt of this righteous blood must ever rest upon Tunstal, as well as his successor.

But again, and that a third, if not the fourth time, a gracious Providence interposed. This, too, was about the very *same* month as in the two preceding years; not by disease, indeed, as last year, but by a method as effectual, the occupation of Tunstal abroad. In 1526 the authorities were scattered by prevailing sickness. In 1527 they were so again by political affairs. In

1528 they were scared, as we have seen, by the "Sudor Anglicus," and this year they are again diverted from their prey by pressing affairs of state. These men could discern some of the signs of the times, but they could not, or rather would not, observe the finger of God.

Tunstal, cool and fresh, was ready to engage whenever state policy demanded his services, and the proof of his being as yet the leading persecutor of the truth, is plainly seen in this, that when once he departed, the storm in a great degree subsided. In a very short time, however, far from forgetting Tyndale's operations, we shall find him fully as busy, in another way, abroad, as he had been at home.

On the 30th of June, Tunstal and Sir Thomas More, with Dr. Knight, the King's Secretary, received their commissions, and left England for Cambray, where Hackett met them. Altogether they watched over their own King's interest, so far as it was involved in the treaty of Cambray; remaining in attendance till the 5th of August, when, what was called "the Women's or the Ladies' peace," was finally concluded. It has, however, been but seldom observed, that at the same time and place, another treaty was signed, betwixt our King and the Lady Margaret, in the name of the Emperor; *Tunstal*, *More*, and *Hackett*, being the commissioners. It embraced "the continuation of *traffic for merchants* between the two countries, and the forbidding to *print or sell* any Lutheran books on either side."

Thus it is that we are introduced, very naturally, to the period when Tunstal's zeal for the *burning* of the Scriptures emphatically began to display itself. No doubt he, as well as the Bishop of Norwich, had cheerfully borne his share of the first purchase by Warham in 1527; but he was eager to seize this fine and favorable opportunity of proving his own zeal. He was now in the north of France, and could easily take Antwerp on his way home. With three such men, all equally hostile, the subject of heretical books must have been fully canvassed, involved as they were in a formal treaty. The *first* was bent on *burning* them; he had licensed the *second* to read them only that he might write them down, and his first production, written in 1528, had just come out as he left London; and as for the *third*, John Hackett, he had first suggested both burning and persecution, and not as yet succeeded to the extent of his wishes; though it was only four months since he had been affronted at Antwerp, and so deeply felt the indignity. The high privileges of Antwerp, however, remained inviolate, for they had been fully and expressly recognized in the recent treaty, as well as those of all the other Hanse-towns under the Emperor's sway. No choice being thus left, as to the mode of procedure, the policy of *purchasing* books in order to *burn* them, and thus prevent progress, was discussed. This, indeed, might ultimately promote the cause they desired to damage, and More shrewdly suspected it certainly would. "So much," said he to George Constantyne, afterwards, "so much I told the

Bishop, *before* he went about it." Tunstal's zeal, however, could not thus be quenched. Knight proceeded to Italy on the King's business; More returned home; Tunstal went by way of Antwerp, and the following story of his "exploit" there, is worthy of notice, on account of its natural consequences. It is introduced by Halle immediately after the treaty of Cambray, and it is copied by Foxe, as happening in the year 1529. We give the narrative with an eye on both authors.

"Here, it is to be remembered, that at this present time, one Augustine Packington, a mercer and merchant of London, the same time was in Antwerp, *where the Bishop then was*; and this Packington was a man that highly favored Tyndale, but to the Bishop showed the contrary. The Bishop, desirous to have his purpose brought to pass, communed of the New Testaments, and how gladly he would buy them. Packington then hearing him say so, said—'My Lord, if it be your pleasure, I can in this matter do more, I dare say, than most of the merchants of England that are here, for I know the Dutchmen, (*i. e.* Germans) and strangers that have bought them of Tyndale, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your Lordship's pleasure to pay for them, for *otherwise* I cannot come by them but I must disburse money for them—I will then assure you to have every book of them that is imprinted, and is here unsold.' The Bishop said—'Gentle Mr. Packington, do your diligence and get them; and, with all my heart, I will pay for them, *whatsoever* they cost you; for the books are erroneous and nought, and I intend surely to destroy them all, and to burn them at Paul's Cross.' Augustine Packington then *came to Tyndale*, and said—'William, I know thou art a poor man, and hast a heap of New Testaments and *books* by thee, for which thou hast both endangered thy friends, and beggared thyself; and I have now gotten thee a merchant, which, with ready money, shall despatch thee of all that thou hast, if you think it profitable for yourself.'—'Who is the *merchant*?' said Tyndale. 'The Bishop of London,' said Packington. 'O, that is because he will burn them,' said Tyndale. 'Yes,' quoth Packington. 'I am the gladder,' said Tyndale, 'for these two benefits shall come thereof—I shall get money to bring myself out of debt, and the whole world will cry out against the burning of God's Word—and the overplus of the money that shall remain to me, shall make me more studious to correct the said New Testament, and so newly to imprint the same once again, and I trust the second will much better like (please) you, than ever did the first.' So, forward went the bargain—the Bishop had the books—Packington had the thanks—and Tyndale had the money!"

This story may be allowed to remain substantially correct, though the latter words put into the mouth of Tyndale, must be received as the embellishment of Packington, or rather, perhaps, of the old chronicler Halle, who was fond of a good story. Certainly Tyndale never expressed himself precisely in these terms. "*After this*," says Foxe, "Tyndale corrected the same New Testament

again, and caused them to be new imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England!" The further illustration of this assertion, will occur before long. In the meanwhile the books purchased by Tunstal were sent home, but they were not committed to the flames till it could be done with the greatest effect.

Tunstal and More having both returned to London, the proceedings at Cambray were reported and highly approved. Before Sir Thomas was sent into France, the King had sounded him as to the divorce. He was then opposed to it, and as much so now: but as he had succeeded to admiration in procuring more money from the Emperor than had been expected, and Henry might anticipate that, like most men, he only had his *price*, and would come round, he was about to elevate him to the Chancellorship. Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Thomas More had never cordially agreed, for in many points they were perfect contrasts. Under the auspices of the latter, amiable in domestic life, having no thirst for pomp or display, and superior to the love of money, some great change was at hand. The fall of Wolsey was followed by the appointment of More to the high trust which the Cardinal had long held.

Throughout the last year of declining influence, vexations, in quick succession, awaited the Cardinal. About May he had wished to proceed once more into France, upon a mission to Cambray, (on which we have found that Tunstal and More were sent in June,) but the King pointedly refused, as he could no longer confide in him. Again, Sir T. Cheney, for having in some way offended the Cardinal, had been excluded from the Court, when Lady Anne Boleyn interposed and secured his return, whether Wolsey would or not. But finally, and as if to crown all, and after we have witnessed how eager he had been to apprehend *Tyndale*, he must be brought in contact with one of *his* publications. The story, in full, is to be found in Foxe's manuscripts, now in the Museum, and it has been quoted by Strype. Lady Anne Boleyn had been in possession of a copy of Tyndale's "Obedience of a Christian man," for though the time drew nigh, it had not then been pointedly condemned by *Royal* authority. She had lent this book to one of her female attendants, named Gainsford; but one day as she was reading it, a young gentleman, also in the service of Lady Anne, Mr. Zouch, father to the knight, afterwards of that name, snatched the book away, and was very unwilling to restore it. He had been induced to read it, and was so affected that, as the story goes, "he was never well but when he was reading of that book." Wolsey had ordered all about the court to take special care, and prevent such writings from being circulated there, lest they should chance to come into the hands of the King; but this very caution proved the means of bringing to pass what he most dreaded! The Dean of the Chapel-Royal, Dr. Sampson, saw this publication in the young man's hands, who was reading it in the chapel, not improbably tired of the unmeaning service. Calling Zouch, he took the publication from him,

and delivered it to the Cardinal. In the meantime, Lady Anne, inquiring for her book, the attendant, fearful lest her mistress, as well as herself, should come into trouble, fell on her knees, and told her all the circumstances. Her mistress expressed no displeasure with the parties in her service, but replied with emotion,—“Well, it shall be the dearest book that ever the Dean or the Cardinal took away.” Lady Anne forthwith applied to Henry, and upon her knees “desired the King’s help for her book.” Upon the King’s *token* it was delivered up, and Lady Anne carrying the volume or tract to his Majesty, requested that he would read it. The King did so, and professing to be pleased with the contents, added “this book is for me, and all Kings, to read.”

This story is fully confirmed by Wyatt, with some slight variation. Lady Anne “was but newly come from the King, when the Cardinal came in with the book in his hands, to make complaints of certain points in it, that he knew the King would not like, and withal to take occasion with him, against those that countenanced such books in general, and especially *women*; and as might be thought, with mind to go farther against Lady Anne more directly, if he had perceived the King agreeable to his meaning. But the King, that somewhat before distasted the Cardinal, finding the *notes* Lady Anne had made, all turned the more to hasten his ruin, which was also furthered on all sides.

This incident therefore must, in substance have occurred; although Foxe goes on to build by far too much upon it. The words, in Henry’s mouth, were probably nothing more than a compliment to the lady; or at best, they expressed only a transient feeling, similar to one of old, in the mind of King Herod towards John the Baptist. But be this as it might, Campeggio was off to Italy, and the sun of royal favor had set upon Wolsey forever.

On Wednesday the 3d of November, at the Chamber in Blackfriars, Parliament met; when Lord Chancellor More, in his eloquent oration, gave the first overtures of the King’s intentions. The Cardinal’s fall,—the state of the Church,—and the “*new learning*,” formed the pith of this opening speech. The King was present when the Cardinal was glanced at, and in no courteous terms.

As for the various subjects then styled ecclesiastical, they were incorporated or interwoven with civil affairs. The abuses, says Herbert, having now come at last to the King’s knowledge, he remitted their redress to the Lower House of Parliament. The Mortuaries, or the exactions from the children of deceased parents,—the enormous expense of Probates, or proofs of wills,—Pluralities to the extent of eight or ten livings, engrossed by one man,—abounding non-residence,—*Priests* being Surveyors, Stewards of estates, Farmers, and Graziers in every county,—*Priors*, and other ecclesiastics, being the buyers and sellers of Wool, of Cloth, and all kinds of merchandize. Such were the grievances then to be redressed.

Three bills were therefore drawn up, by the appointment of the Burgesses of Parliament,—the first relating to Mortuaries, the second to Probates, and the third embracing all the other evils.

The first, when sent up to the Lords, was rather courteously received; the second, concerning Probates, followed in two days; but on this, Warham, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the other bishops frowned. Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, spoke with greatest violence and warmth. In the parliament chamber, says the contemporary chronicler, he said openly these words,—“My Lords, you see daily what bills come hither from the Common house, and *all is to the destruction of the Church; see what a realm the kingdom of Bohemia was, and when the Church went down, then fell the glory of the kingdom*,—now with the Commons is nothing but *down with the Church*,—and all this, me seemeth, is for lack of *faith* only.”

These last expressions once reported to the Commons, they sent their speaker, Sir Thomas Audley, with thirty members, to the King. Henry, also dissatisfied, promised to call for the Bishop, and send them reply. Accordingly, Warham and six of his brethren, besides Fisher, had to appear, when the latter apologized, saying, he meant “the doings of the *Bohemians* were for lack of faith.” The King received his representation, but the Commons were still by no means satisfied with this “blind excuse.”

After this, the Commons referred to the laws and constitutions of the Church, as enforcing these bills, but the “Spirituality” defended the *existing* state of things by “presumption and *usage*.” One commoner, a gentleman of Gray’s Inn, had the courage to reply,—“The usage hath ever been of thieves, to rob on Shooter’s hill, *ergo*—is it lawful?” Of course very great offence was taken at the comparison, as if the fees for Probates were to be considered robbery. The Commons stood firm, and the temporal Lords began to lean to their side, but the bills could not yet pass.

Meanwhile the Lords assented to a bill of *their own*, and sent it down to the Commons, which will remind the reader of years gone by, as it referred to measures introduced by Wolsey, and ultimately supported by the present Chancellor, then Speaker of the House of Commons. This was a bill releasing the King of all such sums as he had *borrowed* from his subjects, in the fifteenth year of his reign. The measure, of course, was felt severely by the Commons, and the more so, as it would render them unpopular with their constituents; but as the majority of members were the King’s servants, and others were gained over, the bill passed.

By way of gratitude in return, the King granted, with certain exceptions, a general pardon of offences, and aiding the Commons for the redress of their grievances, he caused two new bills to be presented afresh to the Lords, to which they at last assented, although that in reference to the probate of wills was peculiarly offensive to the Bishops.

The Commons then sent up their third bill, in reference to pluralities, non-residence, farming, &c. At this the Priests not only

railed on the Commons as heretics, but the Bishops, in the Upper House, says Hall, "would in no ways consent." At last the King interposed. Causing eight members from each House to meet and confer in the Star Chamber, the Temporal Lords present united with the Commons, and next day the bill, somewhat qualified, passed into a law.

It is of importance now to observe, that before this Parliament was prorogued, on the 17th of December, there was one other measure respecting which there was *no* dissension among the Bishops, nor any division between the two Houses, and this was how to deal with the *new learning* come into the land. "It had been," says Lord Herbert, "secretly admitted into many places of this kingdom with much approbation, so that even the most ignorant began to examine whether the errors then ordinarily controverted, did belong to the *doctrine* or the *government* of the Church." This subject, it should be remembered, had been noticed among the "overtures of the King's intentions," in this short session, and whether suggested by the new Chancellor, must appear by what followed. Sir Thomas More might smile at Tunstal's simplicity, in having purchased *books* at Antwerp to burn them in London, by and bye; but at the same time, whatever his pen or his power could do, was now to be employed against the *authors* and the *possessors* of all such publications. With his pen he had been busy ever since he was licensed, in March last year; and now, as Lord Chancellor, he will enjoy the gratification of employing his power, and immediately upon his entrance into office.

Sir Thomas More has certainly been fortunate, even to a proverb, in his biographers. At once the pride and the pet of the literary world, they have drawn his character on this principle—that "what offends the eye in a good picture, the painter casts discreetly into shades; so that any writer laid under the necessity of bringing to light the generally concealed features of the man, must run the risk of being charged with a sin against taste. It is, however, chiefly with his official character, and as the opponent of Tyndale and Fryth, that we have here to do. His official movements against them are matter of history, and as for his sentiments and feelings, there is no necessity for calling witnesses to prove what they were. Plentifully were they expressed by himself, through many folio pages.

Wolsey being degraded, had the spirit of persecution rested only in *his* breast as Prime-Minister, of course it must now have abated under his successor. Notwithstanding, therefore, the prodigious faults of the fallen Cardinal, let us inquire, and render him impartial justice.

It must have been observed, that the criminal charges preferred against Wolsey by the Lords, were presented to the King, with More at their head; and that the 43d article included these words,—"besides all his other heinous offences, the said Lord Cardinal hath been the impeacher and disturber of *due and direct correction of heresies*, being highly to the danger and peril of the whole



body and good Christian people of this realm." The neglect of Warham's letter was now no doubt remembered; but they specially referred to Wolsey's inhibiting the Bishops who desired to repair to Cambridge, in 1523, for the correction of such errors as were said to reign among the students and scholars there; in consequence of which, they now affirmed, these errors had "crept more abroad, and took greater place." This was a charge which, when the whole article is read, evidently came warm from the heart of all the prelates who were present; and Wolsey, in various instances, certainly had not allowed them to run riot, to the extent they demanded; his own interests, at the moment, forbidding the gratification of their malice. The loftier flight of his own personal ambition had so engrossed his mind, that the fiery and unmitigable zeal of these men must have frequently been felt by him as an annoyance, retarding his progress; and now, that he is to be crushed, they were rejoicing in hope of other days under his successor—better in their estimation, but *bitter* days and nights to those who either stood in their way, or dared to oppose them.

As it regarded, therefore, what the Bishops longed so much to enjoy—"the *direct* correction of heresies," the reader will bear in mind the embassy on which More with Tunstal had been lately sent; but more especially the closing treaty at Cambray, which they had arranged and signed. It was the first amicable arrangement of any kind, between the Emperor and Henry, for a considerable time past. Charles, before this period, had twice issued what were styled, "Placards," throughout his dominions, and, in fulfilment, it seems, of this treaty, on the 14th of October he had issued a third. By this, all those who had relapsed after abjuration, were to be burnt—as for others, men were to die by the sword—women to be buried alive! All were warned against receiving any heretic to their houses, on pain of death and confiscation of goods! Suspected persons were to receive no honorable employment; and, in order to find out heretics, one-half of their estates was promised to informers!

Was there then no echo in England to this ferocious placard? or did More and Tunstal pay no regard to the treaty they had signed? So far from this, the subject was one to which both immediately bent all their energies. For months past, indeed, the pen of More, dipped in gall, had been busy on the subject of suppressing heresy; arguing for persecution unto death, in his strange and characteristic "Dialogue;" and the first time he opens his mouth in Parliament as Chancellor, he has it among the overtures of the King's intentions. His appearance in print, since the month of June, as the determined opponent of Tyndale, had fully shown the man, for five months before his elevation to the Great Seal; and the spirit now displayed by him afforded no comfortable prospect for those who had espoused the truth, and were promoting its diffusion at great hazard and expense.

"As soon," says Burnet, "as More came into favor, he pressed the King much, to put the laws against heretics in execution, and sug-

gested that the Court of Rome would be more wrought-upon by the King's supporting the Church, and defending the faith vigorously, than by threatenings: and, *therefore*, a long proclamation was issued out against the heretics, many of their *books* were prohibited, and all the laws against them were appointed to be put in execution, and great care was taken to seize them as they came into England."

The facts of the case may be more distinctly stated. Tunstal, as well as More, must perform his part; and Warham also, now that Wolsey is out of the way, has no objections to go all lengths with his fellows. Accordingly, before the opening of this Parliament, the Convocation had been summoned to meet. They did so on the fifth of November, when at their *first* meeting a reformation of abuses was proposed; and with that an inquiry was made concerning heretical *books*. A committee of *Bishops* was appointed with relation to *heretics*. On the 19th of December, two days after Parliament had risen, *secresy* was enjoined, and again a second time, on pain of excommunication, so eager were they to catch the prey. They closed their Convocation on the 24th, or a week after Parliament, and then came out that proclamation which, as Foxe says, was made throughout all England, the year of our Lord 1529, and the 21st year of Henry VIII.; commencing, "*The King our Sovereign Lord*," &c.—"*The Bishops*," he tells us, "were the procurers of this fierce and terrible proclamation, devised and set out in the King's name;" but there can be no question that the Chancellor's influence was united with theirs in this matter. Indeed, the style in several places will show, that it must have been their joint production. More and Tunstal, no doubt, drew it up; and as the Chancellor's hand is so visible throughout, this consequently may be regarded as about the first of his official papers. A few of the items must not be omitted.

"First—that no man within the King's realm, or other dominions subject to his highness, hereafter presume to *preach, teach, or inform*, anything openly or privily, compile and write any *book*, or keep any *school*, contrary to the determination of Holy Church. That no man willingly favor or maintain any such person. That all persons having such books and writings deliver them up, within fifteen days.

"Furthermore, if any person be convicted, before the Bishop or his Commissary, in any case above expressed, the *Bishop* may keep in prison the said person or persons, as it shall *seem best to his discretion*, and may set a fine, to be paid to the behoof of the *King*, except where the said persons ought totally to be left to the secular power.

"Also, if any person within this realm do abjure, and after their abjuration relapse, they ought to be relinquished to the jurisdiction *secular*—wherein *faith* is to be given to the *Bishop*, or his Commissary. The *Sheriff* of the county, or *Mayor* of the city, town, or burgh, to be present at the sentence given by the Bishop or his Commissary, and receive the said persons to further execution.

"Also, the *Chancellor, the Treasurer of England, the Justice of the one Bench and of the other, Justices of Peace, Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailies*, and other officers, shall make oath on taking their charge, to give their whole power and diligence, to put away and make utterly to cease and destroy, all heresies and errors commonly called *Lollardies*. They shall *assist* the Bishops and their Commissaries—shall favor and maintain them as often as required by *them*.

"Moreover, the *Justices of the King's Bench, Justices of Peace and of Assize*, shall *inquire* at their Sessions of all those that hold *errors or heresies*, and who be their maintainers, the common writers of *books*, as also of their *schools*, sermons, &c.

"Furthermore, as all offenders 'appertain to the Judge of Holy Church, and not to the Judge secular,' they be delivered to the Bishops or Commissaries, by indenture between them, to be made within ten days, or sooner, after their arrest; if those persons be not indicted for other things, whereof the knowledge belongs to the Judge secular. In which case, after they be acquitted before the latter, that they be conveyed in safe guard to the Commissaries, there to be acquitted or convicted after the laws of Holy Church.

"That no person is henceforth to bring into this realm, or to sell, receive, take, or detain, any *book or work*, printed or written, against the faith Catholic—the decrees, laws, and ordinances of Holy Church—or in reproach, rebuke, or slander of the King, his counsel, or the Lords spiritual and temporal. In case they have any such books they shall immediately bring them to the Bishop of the diocese, without concealment or fraud: or if they know any person having any of the said books, they shall detect them to the said *Bishop*, all favor or affection laid apart, and that they fail not thus to do as they will avoid the *King's* high indignation and displeasure."

That no man might pretend ignorance, a list of the books restrained or forbidden, specially named by the Bishops, was also published; including ninety-four distinct tracts or books in Latin, and at least twenty-four in English, the great majority of which were by Tyndale or his friends, viz.:—

By *Tyndale*. The New Testament—The Parable of the Wicked Mammon—The Obedience of a Christian Man—Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans—Exposition of 1st Cor., vii. chapter—The chapters of Moses called Genesis—The chapters of Moses called Deuteronomy—The Matrimony of Tyndale.

By *Fryth*. The Revelation of Antichrist, with an Epistle to the Christian Reader. By *Fyshe*. The Supplication of Beggars—The Sum of Scripture. By *Roye*. A Dialogue between the Father and the Son—The Satyre on Wolsey, or Burying of the Mass. Besides various others, "Godly Prayers"—The Psalter—Hortulus animæ, in English—The Primer, or A. B. C. against the Clergy. &c.

This proclamation was issued about the beginning of the year 1530.

"The Bishops," says Foxe, "had that *now* which they *would* have ; neither did there lack, on their part, any study unapplied, any stone unremoved, any corner unsearched, for the diligent execution of the same."

Here, then, we have the first *Royal* proclamation interdicting printed books, and pursuing the importers, the possessors, or authors of them to death by fire. This was one of the first fruits of the *new* administration, and it marks the present period as an era in the history of persecution for conscience' sake ; since the government of the country, that is, the King and his Council, were now fully committed. The only formal public instruments hitherto issued, were the injunctions of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Tunstal, Bishop of London, in the close of 1526 ; and up to December 1529, this persecution had been an affair of the "Spirituality" alone. The King, it is true, had approved of what they did in 1526, and, before then, was himself writing to the Netherlands, and eager about the burning of books. But his name, as Sovereign, had never, till this period, been employed to strike terror into the hearts of his *own* subjects, to make *heresy* and *treason* convertible terms, and lay the entire civil power at the feet of the Bishops.

Wolsey, unquestionably, had great influence over his Majesty, but he had never employed it in persuading him thus publicly and personally to enbrue his hands in the blood of his subjects on English ground ; this was reserved to distinguish the administration of Sir Thomas More ; so that the chief redeeming point in the character of the lofty and overbearing Cardinal, must stand in contrast with the greatest blot in that of his unostentatious and learned successor.

Once in possession of power, the mace as well as the pen must be employed to prevent the progress of the "new learning ;" so that if Wolsey had chastised the people with whips, More, as led by these Bishops, seems determined to do so with scorpions.

And what was the existing condition of this prelatial cause, which the new Lord Chancellor was so eager to defend and maintain ? It consisted mainly of priests, and according to his own admission in his "Dialogue,"—"he wot well that *many* were very lewd and naught,"—but "let the priest be never so vicious, and so impenitent, and so far from all purpose of amendment, that his *prayers* are rejected and abhorred ; yet the profit of his *mass* was to every one else, just as good as if he were the most virtuous man !" And again,—“If the Church say one thing, and the *Holy Scriptures* another thing, the faith of the Church is to be taken as *the word of God*, as well as the Scripture, and therefore to be believed.” These are a few of his own express words ; but no solitary selected expressions can convey an adequate idea of the virulence, not to say the verbosity, and fallacious reasoning of this

writer. It certainly would exhaust the patience of most readers, in the present day, to wade through his folio Dialogue.

Such was, in part, the state of things in England at the close of this year and commencement of the next. It was purely with a view to enlighten and bless his country and to deliver it from thralldom, that Tyndale had hitherto labored, assailing only what was positively sinful, and worthy of destruction. No English writer had drawn his pen against him till this summer, when Sir Thomas More put forth his laborious Dialogue. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, he had severely condemned, *artfully approving of a new translation*, to meet the pressure from without,—a translation of course by the Bishops; one of which Crammer said about eight years after this, that he had no idea of its being accomplished "till one day after Doomsday."

No choice therefore was now left to Tyndale, but to encounter this "ornament of the Pontifical chair,"—"one of the greatest prodigies of wit and learning," according to Anthony Wood, "that this nation ever before his time had produced." Tyndale, however, entertained no fear of him, and he will not long remain without a sufficient answer. On the whole, it is now evident that this had been a most busy season, nor is it difficult to perceive the occasion or cause of all the turmoil. For while the "nether house of parliament," as Foxe calls it, had been "communing of their griefs wherewith the spirituality had before time grievously oppressed them;" the Convocation had been communing also, with mingled grief and indignation, over the "*new learning*" come into the land. Some might say that the hand of Tyndale was in all this, and in one sense it was, but then he was not in the country. Properly speaking, the commotion is to be ascribed to the Word of God, however denounced, which he had translated, and sent home, to fight its own way.

Before the close of this year, however, if we look abroad once more, we are cheered by observing that the great cause went on. The Government at home had been absorbed in *human* legislation, and confounded by its perplexities. All the while, Tyndale had been diligent in preparing more of the *divine* law for his countrymen, and it will be home presently. He had been employing the press at Marburg, but had left it himself for Antwerp.

An edition of Tyndale's Testament has been long assigned to about this period, though we are not able to fix it, by adducing such curious evidence as in preceding cases. Hackett, however, as early as May 1527, has hinted at as many as 2000 having been for sale at Frankfort; and Joye affirms that the Dutch, as he calls them, had printed it a *third* time. We may, therefore, with all safety, put down another, or the *fifth* edition, to 1529. It is quite possible that there might have been one last year, as well as this; but, at all events, Tyndale himself will reprint his Testament next year.

## SECTION VII.

TYNDALE'S PROGRESS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT—PRACTICE OF PRELATES—STATE OF ENGLAND—WOLSEY'S FINAL RUIN, SICKNESS, DEATH—PERSECUTION GOES ON—KING AND PRELATES DENOUNCE THE SCRIPTURES—LATIMER'S BOLD REMONSTRANCE—NEW TESTAMENTS BURNT—ANOTHER, THE SIXTH EDITION—VIGOROUS IMPORTATION—DEATH OF S. FYSHE.

WE have come to a more noted period in our Translator's eventful life. From the variety and importance of his publications which had now appeared in print, it was evident that the past and the present had been years of great and incessant activity on his part; nor were his opponents less active. The bench of Bishops, now headed by the civil power, were firmly leagued together, and arrayed against him. Considering all that Tyndale already knew, it is quite apparent from his writings, that he had, long before this time, been prepared in spirit for martyrdom. Resolved to tell the whole truth, and, as far as he knew, nothing but the truth, his path lay right before him. When pressed out of measure, he might and did seek for quiet and safety, that he might pursue his work; but he was of one mind—and no peril, no prospect of danger, could turn him. Depending on the sword of the Spirit for success, and feeling, as he had translated, that "the wrath of the God of heaven appeareth against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who *withhold* the truth in unrighteousness," he must have resolved to suppress nothing, or sooner "die upon his shield,"—a better than that of the ancient warrior, because the shield of faith.

Tyndale's translations of the five books of Moses were soon in circulation through his native country. His treatise entitled "The Practice of Prelates," was also this year in England; and his "Answer to the Dialogue of Sir Thomas More," will follow. After disposing of Wolsey and the prelates in general, he had taken up the production of Wolsey's successor in office. Two Lords Cancellor against one poor expatriated Exile, might seem to be fearful odds, but time will show who gained the victory.

That portion of the Sacred Volume now sent into England, has frequently been referred to by previous authors, as being "the first edition of Tyndale's *Pentateuch*;" but that this is incorrect, will at once appear from the following collation.

Genesis, in *black* letter, 76 leaves, with this colophon at the end,—“Emprinted at Marlborow, in the land of Hesse, by me, Hans Luft, the yere of our Lorde. M.D.XXX., the xvii dayes of Januarii.” Exodus, in *roman* letter, 76 leaves; Leviticus, *roman* letter, 52 leaves; Numbers, in *black* letter, 67 leaves; Deuteronomy, in *roman* letter, 63 leaves. There is a separate title and a prologue to each book; at the end of Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy, and at the beginning of Numbers, are tables ex-

pounding certain words. There are a few notes in the margins, and throughout the whole, ten wooden cuts. There is no colophon or date, except that already given, attached to Genesis. From all this, but especially from inspection, it is evident that these five books were printed at separate presses; Genesis for certain, and probably Numbers, at Marburg. Deuteronomy, and for aught we know, Exodus and Leviticus, at Hamburgh. That they were circulated at first *separately*, in England, is evident, because they were thus distinctly denounced; first, Genesis and Deuteronomy, and then the whole five books, but still distinctly noted. At the same time, when the whole were finished, Tyndale meant them to be bound together, as he then printed a general preface, which may have led to the popular description of "the Pentateuch, first edition."

The rarity of these five books, entire, is almost equal to that of the first octavo New Testament of 1525. Only one *perfect* copy is known to exist, which once belonged to Mr. Wilkinson, and is now in the library of the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville. The next best copy, as it has been completed, in the finest facsimile, from the preceding, once belonged to Mr. Tutet. It was purchased at the sale of his books, by the late Mr. Heber, and from his collection by Mr. Grenville; who only seems to have parted with it, on obtaining his present unique perfect book. We know not what the perfect copy cost, but this second was advertised for sale in 1836, by Thorpe of London, at fifty guineas. Little did Tyndale imagine that, at the distance of more than three centuries, the labor of his hands would be so highly estimated.

Besides these two, all the other copies known to exist, are incomplete. That in the Museum at Bristol, wants the book of Genesis; that in Zion College, presented by Mr. Lewis, the book of Deuteronomy, and besides, the marginal notes are *cut off*, as directed by Act of Parliament in January 1543! The copy in the British Museum wants the first and last and two other leaves; the one at Cambridge is also imperfect. In the Bodleian library at Oxford, there is a beautiful copy of Genesis alone.

Tyndale's next publication was "the Practice of Prelates;" and, as far as it regards the subjects introduced, as well as the manner in which they are handled, it is, in some respects, the most remarkable of all his controversial writings. More than ever bent upon the emancipation of his country from mental bondage, he longed to see the *throne* established in righteousness; but he could entertain no hope of this until the power behind it, which had risen above the throne itself, was laid prostrate. "If that King of the grasshoppers," said he, "which devourereth all that is green, were destroyed; then were the kingdom of our catterpillars at an end."

Exposing the proceedings of Parliament as only so many strokes of policy, Tyndale showed that they had been merely clearing away the brushwood, or lopping the branches of a tree,

which would grow again, while it ought to have been *uprooted* from the soil of England. "The root yet left behind, whence all that they have for a time weeded out, will spring again, by little and little, as before ; if they, as their hope is, may *stop this light of God's word that is now abroad.*" These few last words show the soul of our Translator. The authority of the Divine word, was, in his mind, paramount to every other consideration, and this was the cause of his now speaking out so boldly ; but it certainly was no common proof of talent and of an enlarged mind, that so early after Parliament rose, Tyndale should be able to send such a publication into England ; embracing, as it did, not merely the corruption of past ages traced to its source, but the national doings of the day, down to the end of March in the present year, if not later.

As far as intelligent and skilful, though pungent, warning could go, Tyndale had thus nobly done his duty. He had fully exposed the once aspiring Cardinal, now sinking into ruin, and the enormous expense entailed on the country by his tortuous administration ; he had faithfully warned his Sovereign, and put the country on its guard, as to the state persecution, which, we have seen that the new Chancellor as well as the prelates had advised. Few men, if indeed any one of that age, could have written such an exposition of the times, as Tyndale had just given ; and yet his labor for this year was not at an end. He had commenced his reply to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, and in the printed edition of his works it is said to have been *made* in 1530 ; but as it certainly did not appear in print till next year, we defer till then saying more of a production which Henry the VIII. was so eager to see, that a part of it at least was actually *written* out, by his Envoy in Brabant, and sent him for perusal before its publication. This, too was done without Tyndale's knowledge, and it is mentioned now simply as a proof of his powerful influence, as well as the interest attached to anything which might come from his pen.

In the meantime Wolsey's secret movements to regain his lost popularity and his correspondence with Rome being detected, he was arrested for high treason on Friday the 4th of November, and on the 6th he was upon his way to London : the *very day* he had fixed for his being enthroned at York, as Archbishop. "The Lords of Norfolk and Suffolk have told me," said the French ambassador, in writing to his court on the 10th of November, "that they have many important matters against him, and many grave accusations ; and among these, *as the King informed me*, that he has been machinating against his Majesty, both in the kingdom and abroad ; and has mentioned to me where and how ; and that one of his own servants had discovered it, and laid the accusation. These new things much aggravate the old ones. I greatly lament his misfortune, but cannot remedy it."

Wolsey professed himself to have no fear, but he could not disguise it ; the shock was unexpected at the moment, and he soon



sunk under it ; for though he set out on his journey in safe keeping, he could move no farther than Leicester Abbey. The most melancholy feature of his dying hour was, that he literally expired with the language of a persecutor on his lips. Addressing himself to Sir William Kingston, the Constable of the Tower, whom Henry had sent down to convey him, he said :—" Well, well, Master Kingston, I see the matter against me, how it is framed ; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. I pray you, with all my heart, to have me most humbly commended unto his royal Majesty. And say furthermore, that I request his Grace, *in God's name, that he have a vigilant eye to depress this new sect of Lutherans, that it do not increase within his dominions through his negligence*, in such a sort, as that he shall be fain *at length to put harness upon his back to subdue them ;*" and after exhausting himself by a long harangue in the same style, referring to *Wickliffe* and Sir John *Oldcastle*, he closed with these words,— "*from the which mischief, God, of his tender mercy, defend us !*" Master Kingston, farewell. I can no more, but wish all things to have good success. My time draweth on fast. I may not tarry with you. And forget not, I pray you, what I have said and charged you withal : for when I am dead, ye shall peradventure remember my words much better." " And even with *these* words," adds Cavendish, " he began to draw his speech at length, and his tongue to fail ; his eyes being set in his head, his sight failed him."

He had arrived at this Abbey only on Saturday evening, and now breathed his last, at eight o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, the 29th of November. The body was dressed in his robes, and in less than *twenty-two hours* committed to the grave ; for by six o'clock on Wednesday morning. Cavendish, his confidential servant, and the other parties, had left for London.

Thus the man who had been literally clothed in purple or scarlet and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day,—having daily in his hall three special tables spread for his principal officers ; who had the highest nobility for his household servants ; his steward, treasurer, and comptroller in waiting, with their white robes, as in the King's palace ; his master-cook, in damask satin, with a chain of gold round his neck ; with hundreds of individuals, of various ranks, in daily attendance on his person : This man, who had a most penetrating judgment, in consequence of a well-furnished mind ;—who had raised himself from humble rank to the highest degree of power, of wealth, and of worldly dignity, which had ever been enjoyed by any English subject ;—who had not only governed England for the space of twenty years, but influenced the most important affairs of Europe ; and during that period had been courted, flattered, caressed, by the Kings of the civilized world ;—this man dies, not merely in obscurity, but disgrace ; and though the charge of high treason hung over him unrefuted, with his last breath he enforces persecution !!

In vain had he for years been preparing for himself a monu-

ment of brass, of exquisite workmanship and at great expense. He may be buried in an abbey, but the very grave, will, before long, be so treated, that no man in England shall be able afterwards to point to the spot where his bones were laid ! Since 1524, or in other words, for the last six years of his prodigious power, though uncertain whether he should be interred in Italy or England, Wolsey had been preparing for posthumous glory. "He had begun," says Lord Herbert, "a monument for himself long since, (wherein, as appears by our records, he had not omitted his own *image*.) which one Benedetto, a statuary of Florence, took in hand in 1524, and continued till 1529, receiving for so much as was already done 4250 ducats ; the design whereof was so glorious, that it exceeded far that of Henry the Seventh. Nevertheless, dying in this manner, King Henry made use of so much as he found fit, and called it his. Thus did the tomb of the Cardinal partake the same fortune with his college, as being assumed by the King."

About the year 1716, the very place of interment could not be ascertained. "That great lover of antiquity, Brown Willis, Esq.," says Carte the English historian, "having an extraordinary veneration for Cardinal Wolsey, as the original founder of Christ Church in Oxford, desired me to *try* if I could find out the sepulchre of the Cardinal, which I did, hoping that when I had provided tools and laborers, some others would have contributed with me to the expense : but finding that only *one* person would contribute *twelve-pence*, I desisted."

"In the year 1787," says the Cambridge Chronicle of the 2d of June, "as a laborer was digging for potatoes upon the spot where the high altar was *supposed* to stand, he found a human skull, with several other bones, all perfect. From the situation of the place, and other circumstances, it was conjectured, at the time, that this *might* be the identical skull of Wolsey !"

Thus, when he died, he carried nothing away, neither did his glory descend after him. Perhaps there never was another instance in the history of this country, which reminds one so strongly of that "great power" which the King of Israel said he saw "spreading like a green bay tree,—yet he passed away, and lo. he was gone : yea, I sought him, but he could nowhere be found !" Monuments, indeed, he left behind, which still remain as proofs of his taste in that age, as well as of his prodigious wealth ; nor is the nation, even at this moment, entirely free of a peculiar influence, which, as *Vicar-General*, he first imparted to Henry the Eighth.

The first person who excites notice in 1530, was that poor old and blind, literally blind man, the Bishop of Norwich once more. He felt sorely annoyed by the circulation and effects of these English books. Three years ago, he had contributed, with great good will, towards the purchase made by Warham, of Tyndale's New Testaments,—a vain expedient, as might have been anticipated, to prevent their getting into the hands of the people. But he was as warm in the cause as ever, and his own words will best display

the spirit with which he was agitated, though now in the eightieth year of his age! His letter is addressed, as before, to his friend, the Archbishop.

"After most humble recommendations, I do your Grace to understand, that I am accumbered with such as keepeth and readeth these erroneous books in *English*, and believe and give credence to the same, and teacheth others, that they should so do. My Lord, I have done that lyeth in me for the suppression of such persons; but it *passeth my power*, or any 'spiritual' man for to do it. For divers saith openly in my diocess, that the King's Grace *would* that they should have the said erroneous books, and so maintaineth themselves of *the King*. Whereupon I desired my L. Abbot of Hyde, to shew this to the King's Grace, beseeching him to send his honorable letters, under his seal, down to whom he pleases in my diocess; that they may show and publish that it is *not* his pleasure, that such books should be had or read, and also punish such as saith so.—The said Abbot hath the names of some that cracketh in the King's name, that their false opinions should go forth, and will die in the quarrel; that their ungracious opinions be true; and trusteth by Michaelmas day there shall be more that shall believe of their opinion, than they that believeth the contrary. If I had known that your Grace had been at London, I would have commanded the said Abbot to have spoken with you; but your Grace may send for him, when ye please, and he shall shew you my whole mind in this matter, and how I thought best for the suppression of such as holdeth these erroneous opinions; *for if they continue any time, I THINK THEY SHALL UNDO US ALL!*

"The said Abbot departed from me on Monday last; and sith that time I have had much trouble and business with others in like matters; as they say, wheresomever they go, they hear say, that the KING's pleasure is, *the New Testament in English shall go forth, and men shall have it, and read it*. And, from that opinion, *I can by no means turn them*, but (except) I had greater authority to punish them than I have. Wherefore, I beseech your good Lordship to advertise the King's Grace, as I trust the said Abbot hath done before this letter shall come unto your Grace, that a remedy may be had.

"But now it may be done well in my diocess; for the gentlemen and the commonality be not greatly infected; but merchants, and such that hath their abiding not far from the sea. The said Abbot of Hyde can shew you of a Curate, and well learned, in my diocess, that exhorted his parishioners to believe contrary to the Catholic faith. There is a College in Cambridge, called Gunnell Hall, of the foundation of a Bishop of Norwich. I hear of no clerk that hath come out lately of that College, but *savoreth of the frying-pan*, though he speak never so holily.

I beseech your Grace to pardon me of my rude and tedious writing to you; the zeal and love that I owe to Almighty God cause me this to do! And thus Almighty God long preserve your Grace

in good prosperity and health. At Hoxne, the xiii day of May, 1530, Your obediensary and daily orator."

But there was no occasion for this miserable old man being so urgent. Little did he know how deeply Warham and his brethren were impressed with the impending danger, if these books were not seized and burnt. The highest authorities were now all alive to the perils of the hierarchy. For some time the united strength of the most able opponents in the kingdom—Lord Chancellor More, Warham, Tunstal, and Gardiner, had been employed in framing an authoritative list of all the heresies detected in Tyndale's writings, with a denunciation of them all. Tyndale's *name*, too, in connection with his *New Testament and Pentateuch*, was now still more distinctly branded, even by royal authority. These prelates and their assistants had contrived to find out about two hundred heretical sentences in only six publications, of which one hundred and seven were charged upon "Tyndale and Fryth."

"All which great errors and pestilent heresies, being contagious and damnable, with all the books containing the same, with the *translation* also of Scripture *corrupted* by William Tyndale, as well in the *Old Testament* as in the *New*, and all other books in *English* containing such errors; *the King's Highness, present in person*, by one whole advice and assent of the Prelates and clerks, as well of the Universities, as of all other assembled together, determined utterly to be repelled, rejected, and put away out of the hands of his people, and not to be suffered to get abroad among his subjects."

After this followed a long "Bill in English to be published by the Preachers," that his Highness' pleasure and determination should be known in "all his Realm."

This original document, closely written on eight skins of parchment, may still be seen in the Library at Lambeth Palace. At the end there is an array of twenty names, pointing out the most noted persons *present* on this occasion, to which they add, "with many more learned men of the said Universities, in a great number assembled, then and there together witness to the premises required and adhibited." But although the language employed was no doubt intended to convey the idea, it by no means follows, that they *individually* assented; far from it. A minority there was, we know from other sources, though we cannot give their names. More and Warham, Tunstal and Gardiner, the framers of the whole, besides others, of course cordially approved of every word; but *Hugh Latimer* was among the number present, and this has perplexed or misled more critics than one. Perhaps he had no business to be there, however anxious to know what was going on; but the occasion of his being in such bad company admits of explanation, after which he will appear in his noblest character.

Latimer had been preaching ever since he saw Wolsey at Whitehall, and before then he had argued for the Scriptures being given to *all*. For some time, also, before the present period, it had been in his favor, that his old opponent, West, the Bishop of Ely, took

part with Queen Catharine, and was one of her Advocates. Henry, eager to have the assent of the University of Cambridge to his divorce, had sent down Dr. Butts, the physician to promote this object. Latimer, whatever may be said, approved of the divorce, and, therefore, so pleased if not aided the Doctor, that he invited him to accompany him to London. Introducing him to the King, he had been officiating before him at Windsor in the month of March. In the afternoon of Sunday, the 27th, while Latimer was preaching, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Dr. William Buckmaster, arrived with the University's letters for his Majesty. The King was not altogether satisfied with their decisions, but Latimer was already high in favor. "At afternoon," says Buckmaster himself, "I came to Windsor, and also to part of Mr. Latimer's sermon, and after the end of the same, I spake with Mr. Secretary—and so after evensong I delivered our letters in the chamber of presence, all the Lords beholding. His Highness gave me there great thanks, and talked with me a good while. But by and bye, he greatly praised Mr. Latimer's sermon, and, in so praising, said on this wise: 'This displeaseth greatly Mr. Vice-Chancellor yonder. Yon same,' said he unto the Duke of Norfolk, 'is Mr. Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge,' and so pointed to me." The next day, after another conversation with Henry, the King having told him that he would have their final and a better decision, Buckmaster was dismissed home after Easter; but Latimer still remained, and continued preaching.

Meanwhile Warham's party were already sitting in council at Westminster, and Latimer, not having left London, was present among others, on the 24th of May, but *his* account of the meeting afterwards was this. Referring his Majesty to that very day, he tells him, "As concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors were they, whose *evil living* and *cloaked hypocrisy* these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that (although) there were three or four that *would have had the Scripture to go forth in English*, yet it happened there, as it is evermore seen, that the most part overcometh the better; and so it might be, that these men did not take this proclamation as *yours*, but as *theirs*, set forth in your name; as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hindrance and trouble, and brought it in great penury."

These proceedings, says Burnet, were printed in June, but when once they were sent forth through the country, so far from having assented to them, they proved the urgent motive to one of the noblest acts of Latimer's varied life—his well known letter to Henry VIII., of this year. The words already quoted are taken from it, and though it be an anticipation, by way of dispatching all we require to say of Latimer at present, a few sentences more will explain his views and feelings, as to these Bishops and their doings.

"Your Grace," says he, "may see what means and craft the Spirituality (as they *will* be called) imagine to break and withstand the *acts*, which were made in your Grace's last Parliament,

against their superfluities.. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ."

Alluding then to the results of this proclamation, he goes on to say, "Therefore pleaseth it your good Grace, to return to this golden rule of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is this, 'by their fruits ye shall know them.' For where you see persecution, *there* is the Gospel, and *there* is truth; and they that do persecute be void and without all truth; not caring for the clear light which 'is come into the world,' and which shall utter and shew forth every man's works. And they whose works be nought dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, letting (obstructing) as much as they may, *that the Holy Scripture* should *not* be read in our *mother tongue*, saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection; and so they persuade, at the least way they would fain persuade, your Grace to keep it back. But here, mark their shameless boldness, which be not ashamed, contrary to Christ's doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of bushes, and to call light darkness, and darkness light, sweet sour, and sour sweet, good evil, and evil good, and to say, that *that* which teacheth all obedience, should cause dissension and strife. But such is their belly wisdom, wherewith they judge and measure every thing (in order) to hold and keep still this wicked *Mammon*, the goods of this world which is their *God*; and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot see the clear light of the sacred scripture, though they babble never so much of it.

"But as concerning this matter, *other men* have showed your Grace their minds, *how necessary it is to have the Scripture in English*. The which thing also your Grace hath *promised* by your last proclamation: the which promise, I pray God that your gracious Highness may shortly perform, even to-day before to-morrow. Nor let not *the wickedness of these worldly men* detain you from your godly purpose and *promise*."

Nor was Tyndale's New Testament, or even the Pentateuch, only arrived this year, forgotten on this occasion. "For what marvel is it," says he, "that they being so nigh of your Council, and so familiar with your Lords, should provoke both *your Grace and them* to prohibit these books, which before, by *their own* authority, have forbidden *the New Testament*, under pain of everlasting damnation? For such is their manner; to send a *thousand* men to hell, ere they send *one* to God: and yet the New Testament, and so I think by the *other*, (the Pentateuch or the old) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault." Thus repeating to Henry the precise language of our Translator, though now so denounced by name.

Even the Lord Chancellor More was not spared. "And take heed whose counsels your Grace doth take in *this* matter. For there be some that for fear of losing their worldly worship and honor, will not leave their opinion; which rashly, and that to please men withal, by whom they had great promotion, they *took upon them to defend by writing*, so that now they think that all

their felicity, which they put in this life, should be marred, and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which they have *so slanderously* oppressed should be *now* put forth and allowed.

"Wherefore they be sore drowned in worldly wisdom, that think it against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance: whom I pray God that your Grace may espy, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness before God: that you may do that which God commandeth, and not that which seemeth good in your own sight, without the Word of God: that your Grace may be found acceptable in his sight, and one of the *members* of His Church; and according to the office that he hath called your Grace unto, that you may be found a faithful *minister* of his gifts, and *not a defender of his faith*; for He *will not* have it *defended by MAN, or man's power*, but by *His Word only*, by the which He hath evermore defended it; and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

"Wherefore, gracious King, remember yourself. Have pity upon your soul, and think that the day is even at hand when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword. In the which day, that your Grace may stand steadfastly, and be not ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have, as they say, your *quietus est* sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to Him that suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honor and praise forever, Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your Grace. Anno Domini 1530, Imo. die Decembris."

Certainly no monarch was ever more pointedly addressed, or more seasonably and faithfully warned. It seems, therefore, unaccountable that Latimer should have ever been supposed to assent to such proceedings, merely because his name was mentioned as being present. The calumny, however, no doubt unwittingly, has been bound up, even with the reprint of Tyndale's New Testament, in our own day. At that moment, indeed, the Bishops might think it fortunate to have such a name appended, but had they foreseen the result, it had never been there. Meanwhile Latimer had done what he could to damage this Royal and Prelatical Bull.

To return, however, to these Bishops as a body; having in May secured their object, in so far as a *Royal* proclamation could go, it seems to have been with a view to greater effect, that a second grand and more public *book-fire* was then determined. The first had been the result of Wolsey's "secret search" in 1526; the present was the consequence of the negociation at Antwerp last year. Warham's purchase in 1527, was disposed of, or consumed, without show; but Tunstal had reserved his books till now. Tyndale by name, and his translation, had both been branded by royal authority, and the Bishop, no doubt, thought it a fortunate moment for fulfilling his purpose. "I intend, surely," said he at

Antwerp, "to destroy them all, and to burn them at Paul's Cross." Accordingly, says Halle, "this year in *May*, the Bishop of London" (formerly, now of Durham) "caused all his New Testaments which he had bought, with many other books, to be brought into Paul's Church Yard, in London, and there were openly burned." That Tunstal was acting for Stokesly, till his return from the Continent, and recording what was doing in the diocese till then, is evident from several documents at the *close* of his Register.

There was, however, a great difference between the effects of this burning, and that in the year 1526. Then the people, generally, were not aware of the value of what they saw consumed; but it was far otherwise *now*, and this alone is a proof that the cause of Divine Truth, which the Bishops would fain have crushed, was making decided progress. This burning "*had such an hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that people from thence concluded, there must be a visible contrariety between that book, and the doctrines of those who handled it; by which both their prejudice against the clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament was increased.*"

In corroboration of this statement, it is certain that neither the purchase at Antwerp, nor the burning at Paul's Cross, had any effect on the importations into this country, except the reverse of what was intended and desired by the enemy; and before long Tunstal himself was fully sensible of this. "Afterwards," says Halle, "when more New Testaments were imprinted, they came *thick and threefold* into England, the Bishop of London," (now of Durham,) "hearing that still there were so many, sent for Augustine Packington, and said to him—'Sir, how cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad, and *you* promised and assured me that you had bought *all*?' Then, said Packington—'I promise you, I bought all than *then* was to be had; but I perceive they have made more *since*, and it will never be better, as long as they have the letters and stamps; therefore, it were best for your Lordship to buy the stamps too! and then you are sure.' The Bishop smiled at him, and said—'Well, Packington, well;' and so ended the matter."

But while Wolsey was descending to the devouring grave, and the Bishops, with the King at their head, were imagining a vain thing, the printing press was as busy as ever. Another edition of Tyndale's New Testament was executed this year, and it is the more worthy of notice, that there appears to have been a positive connection between him and it.

It has, indeed, been often stated, that with the money received from Tunstal, Tyndale reprinted the New Testament, and Hamburgh has also been mentioned as the place where one edition was printed. Tyndale had, as we have seen, gone to Hamburgh, and there is no evidence to be found of his having returned to Antwerp during the whole of this year. But whether it was executed in Hamburgh or elsewhere, of his having now printed an



edition, though he had no time as yet to *revise* the version, there can be little or no doubt. Foxe, and Strype, and Tanner, expressly assign this edition to Tyndale, the last stating Marburg as the place of printing. But there are corroborating circumstances as to the book itself. It is not till the close of this year, or rather the following spring, that we hear of Tyndale having *a brother*, and resident in London; and if the records of the Star Chamber are to be received as evidence, it is there distinctly stated, that he "sent the Testaments, and divers other books, to his brother, John Tyndale, a merchant in London." This impression, too, has been pronounced to be more correct than the Antwerp editions, at least so said the late Bishop Tomline: and when we come to John's apprehension and appearance before Sir Thomas More, as well as the importations by Richard Bayfield, little doubt will remain as to this reprint coming from the original translator, although he had not found leisure as yet to improve the translation.

About the end of this year an incident occurred, which may seem unaccountable, as out of keeping with the usual current of events; were it not that the capricious temper of the monarch admitted both of words and actions, directly at variance with each other. Mr. Fyshe, the author of "the Supplication of Beggars," we found had been in London in the summer of 1526, as well as in 1528; and, according to his wife's representation, in Foxe, "he had been absent now the space of two years and a-half." His tract, as we have seen, had interested Henry, when first he saw it in 1526; and this excellent woman having gained access to the King, he engaged that her husband should "come and go safe, without peril, and that no man should do him harm," if she brought him to the royal presence. Emboldened by the King's words, she went and brought him. His Majesty conversed with him, it is said, for above three hours, and, in the end, desired him to take his wife home, for she had taken great pains for him. Fyshe had fled formerly for fear of the Cardinal, and now he replied—"he durst not so do, for fear of Sir Thomas More the Chancellor, and Stokesly the Bishop of London." The King, taking the signet from his finger, recommended him to the Lord Chancellor, charging him not to molest him. More received the signet as a sufficient safeguard, of course, but inquired if he had any discharge for his *wife*? She had displeased the *friars*, by not allowing them to say their Gospels in Latin in her house, as they did in others, and insisted that they should say them in *English*. Next morning, More actually sent his man for her, but her young daughter being sick of the plague, prevented his approach, as well as any farther molestation. Within six months after this, Mr. Fyshe himself died of the same disease, and was interred in St. Dunstan's, *the very same church where Tyndale had been accustomed to preach* in 1523. The Chancellor, in his loose and mendacious style, represented him as recanting before he died, of which there is not the slightest evidence. His widow was afterwards

married to a gentleman of the same profession as her first husband, Mr. Baynham, of whom we shall hear before long.

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## SECTION VIII.

FORMIDABLE OPPOSITION—PURSUIT AFTER TYNDALE BY THE KING AND CRUMWELL—STILL IN VAIN—TYNDALE'S ANSWER TO SIR T. MORE—EPISTLE OF JOHN EXPOUNDED—JONAH, WITH A PROLOGUE—CRITICAL STATE OF ENGLAND—RENEWED PERSECUTION—BROTHER OF TYNDALE—BILNEY—BAYFIELD—MANY BOOKS IMPORTING—CONSTANTYNE CAUGHT—ESCAPES—PERSECUTION ABROAD—POWERFUL REMONSTRANCE FROM ANTWERP WITH CRUMWELL, INCLUDING THE KING AND THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

THE principal feature of the present year was that of determined opposition to Divine truth, abroad as well as at home ; for although one man had been raised up by God to lead on the faithful, unquestionably it was truth alone which occasioned all the uproar, not the opinions of men. And as to our native land especially, if we should still farther discriminate, it was through the Book of God, in our native language, that Divine truth now penetrated into the heart of this country.

Last year had witnessed the Royal denunciation of our Translator by name, as well as all that he had then published ; but since then, by his "Practice of Prelates," he had advanced one step farther in combating the darkness and superstition which covered the land. That tract has been read by men of every grade, from the palace itself, down to the hamlet ; by citizens of London, and husbandmen in Essex, in Suffolk, and elsewhere. Here he had not only implored, but warned the King to beware of persecution, and faithfully gave his judicious opinion with regard to the divorce ; that miserable question still in discussion throughout Europe. By this year, however, Henry had nearly got this question framed, according to his own liking, and as he was soon to bring it before Parliament, he must have felt incensed by Tyndale's reference to its proceedings, not to say that the next would lie open to a second review. Besides, Sir Thomas More had but lately come into office, and he, with the Bishops, had cordially concurred in advising persecution, having secured the royal name to sanction and enforce their measures. The safety of Tyndale, therefore, was now in far greater hazard, than it ever had been in the days of the Cardinal. Wolsey had been roused from his lair, chiefly by the Satyre of Royle, and his chase of the prey had ended with his own downfall ; but the truth and good sense contained in Tyndale's last production, was like a spur by far too sharp for the passions and the pride of such a man as Henry the Eighth. His anxiety to seize the man, or allure him into the kingdom, will be found to harmonize with the growing ferocity of

his character. Tyndale's escape, during this year, must have illustrated the tender care of a gracious Providence; but the mystery now is, how he had contrived to make such progress at the press. Yet once engaged, he had determined not only to maintain his ground, but advance in the prosecution of his great enterprise. This year was, therefore, distinguished by the appearance of not fewer than three distinct pieces. His answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue; his Exposition of the First Epistle of John; and his translation of the Prophet Jonah, with a long preface or prologue.

The annoyance and persecution of Tyndale personally, however, preceded the appearance of any of these pieces, and it is due to their contents that this should first be noticed. Denunciation of the Scriptures, and of all that he had published, would now no longer suffice. The King was incensed, and before the summer of this year, would have dealt with anything of Tyndale's as Jehoiakim, did of old with Jeremiah's roll. The Priests of the day also, as in the case of another ancient Prophet, had thought of the man, if not said,—“the land is not able to bear all his words.” The strong arm of power must be stretched out to reach him if possible, and, no doubt, there were not a few who imagined, that his days were now numbered. Amidst all *other* affairs, the apprehension of Tyndale at this period, held a place in point of importance, which has never before been fully explained. It would certainly be too severe, to ascribe all the measures adopted to Henry alone, even though he should appear most conspicuous, and engaged in eager pursuit, through the instrumentality of three, if not four, individuals; for still the head and hand of Sir Thomas More, and the hearts of the Bishops, sanctioned all; but it will be far more melancholy, if Crumwell, so lately come into power, should appear to be a most willing agent, and even Cranmer, for many a day, nay, throughout the whole of Tyndale's lifetime, evince no sympathy whatever!

The Government persecution of our Translator, which had now commenced, lends a peculiar emphasis to every page he had already emitted, but more especially to the publications of the present year.

In December last, the aunt of Charles, Lady Margaret, or Regent of the Low Countries, had died, and the Emperor had nominated his sister, Mary, Queen of Hungary, to succeed. She, however, did not assume the reins of government until October of this year. Whether this interregnum was deemed favorable to the apprehension of Tyndale, is not distinctly expressed; but certainly no time was lost in taking advantage of it; and it was during this season that he was next so keenly pursued. Hackett, who is already well known to the reader, returned to England after Lady Margaret's decease, bearing a letter, dated 3d January, 1531, from the Emperor to Henry; but he was sent abroad again that same year, and had an audience in June, at Ghent, with Mary, the new Regent. Most gladly would *he* have apprehended the Translator

of the books he had so repeatedly burned ; but, independently of him, or immediately after the death of Margaret, if not before, it had been resolved to send two accredited Envoys to the Low Countries, one of whom, if not both, were charged with special instructions in reference to Tyndale. The first, Mr. Stephen Vaughan, was much employed in commercial and pecuniary negotiations, down to as late a period as 1546. The second was Thomas Wriothsley, uncle to the first Earl of Southampton, afterwards Lord Chancellor, and the second Earl. The first, by far the most candid of the two, was stationed at Barrow and Antwerp, and the second, a uniform enemy of the truth, repaired to Brussels. The draught of their credentials afterwards, upon Lady Mary's appearance, and as corrected by Henry's *own* hand, is now in the Museum.

So early as the 22d of January, Vaughan writes to Crumwell ; and, on the 26th, we have his first letter to the King himself, which discloses how much in earnest his Majesty had been, to lay hold on this eminent man, or get him within his grasp.

This letter he accompanies with another, in which he thus speaks of Tyndale :

"It is *unlikely* to get Tyndall into England, when he *daily heareth* so many things from thence which feareth him. After his book, answering my Lord Chancellor's book, he put forth, I think he will write no more ! *The man is of a greater knowledge than the King's Highness doth take him for, which well appeareth by his works. Would God HE WERE IN ENGLAND.*"

Vaughan's impression was that *various* individuals were now out in pursuit, and had been commissioned to seize the same man, or entice him into England. Tyndale also had replied to Vaughan, though still he could not find him out. In the meanwhile, chancing to meet with a part of the intended answer to Sir Thomas More, in *manuscript*, he immediately informs Crumwell, and actually sits down to copy it out for the King. February and March had passed away, when at last, and most unexpectedly, Tyndale himself gave him the benefit of a personal interview.

Vaughan's predecessor, Hackett, would have apprehended Tyndale immediately, and would have consigned him to his native land, without a sigh, not as a heretic only, but as a *traitor*. Hackett, however, had been providentially removed from Antwerp, and Vaughan will turn out to be a man of a very different stamp ; though certainly he does not seem to have been aware that he was acting with too much temper and candor, to secure the approbation of his fiery and impetuous sovereign. But be this as it may, in his next letter, very soon after this, Vaughan had made mention of *John Fryth* also, wishing to know from his Majesty what was his pleasure in regard to him, if he should happen to meet with him.

Crumwell writes to Vaughan a crafty epistle, suggesting means by which Tyndale might be brought within reach of the secular

arm. But Tyndale would not be deceived by any of the professions of kindness which were made by these subtle foes.

He proceeds with vigor in his work. His offer to Henry of "*a bare text of the Sacred Volume*," as a "*sine qua non*," was all-important; only that text must be a genuine and intelligible one, otherwise, Tyndale was to pursue his own path. But although we cannot follow our Translator to the exact place of his retreat, we now come with far greater advantage, to whatever he may publish. He had a character to maintain, which was still most shamefully traduced, and traduced alike by his opponent in controversy, by Master Crumwell, and the King. The Scriptures he had translated, besides the cause of God and his truth, which he had so promoted in England, alike required him to speak out.

Sir Thomas More had employed sarcasm and sophistry throughout three hundred folio pages, chiefly against Tyndale and his translation. But why such a laborious and wordy production, if manifest error, and only one solitary heretic were all the host to be devoured? Yet thus unwisely did Sir Thomas proclaim the power of his opponent; while one page after another only proved, that he was contending for victory, and not for truth.

The translation of the New Testament into the vernacular tongue was, however, the great eye-sore to Sir Thomas, though what he styled the wickedness of Tyndale's other productions, was plentifully denounced. Tunstal had boasted of his having found two thousand errata, and More had spoken of a thousand texts by tale, as being erroneous, but now they are all reduced to the general rendering of about six words. Tyndale had translated *ecclesia* into Congregation, and not *church*,—he used *elder*, and not *priest*,—knowledge or acknowledge, and not *confession*,—repentance, and not *penance*,—favor, and not *grace*,—love, and not *charity*. These were his mighty offences, and no wonder that More at least *professed* to be shocked and offended, for certainly these simple and faithful renderings, once read in their connection, shook to its very foundations that fabric which the Chancellor had strained all his powers to defend. We have said *professed*, as there is so much evidence that Sir Thomas was still a free-thinker to his dying hour. In reply, Tyndale appealed to the Greek original, and to More's acquaintance with the language, before himself, and completely triumphed.

Before leaving this controversy for the present—one which interested and agitated so deeply at the time, and the effects of which remain to the present hour—it may be remarked, that, independently of his sound reasoning, there was in Tyndale's style and manner, a solemnity, of which the Lord Chancellor was more than half afraid, and which he knew neither how to manage or evade. This grave style of writing sometimes referred to himself, sometimes to the translation, and at others, to the parties in opposition.

In reference to himself, More having said—"When Tyndale was apposed of his doctrine, ere he went over sea, he said and

sware he meant no harm." To this Tyndale replies—"He sware not, neither was there any man that required an oath of him; but he now sweareth by Him, whom he trusteth to be saved by, that he never meant, or yet meaneth any other harm, than to suffer all that God hath prepared to be laid on his back, for to bring his brethren unto the light of our Saviour Jesus; which the Pope, through falsehood, and corrupting such poets as ye are, leadeth in the darkness of death."

Referring to the subject of translations in the mother tongue, so hardly driven was the Chancellor, that he had the weakness to insinuate that there were ancient translations, (Saxon or English,) which it was *not* unlawful to read!

"As for other old ones," he had said, "that were *before Wickliffe's days*, remain lawful, and be in *some* folks hands had and read."—"What," replies Tyndale, "may not M. More say by authority of his poetry? There is a lawful translation that no man knoweth! which is as much as no lawful translation. Why might not the Bishops shew *which* were the lawful translation, and let it be *printed*? Nay, if that might have been obtained of them with large money, it had been printed, ye may be sure, long ere this. But, sir, answer me hereunto—How happeneth it that ye defenders translate not one yourselves, to cease the murmur of the people, and put to your own glosses, to prevent heretics? Ye would, no doubt, have done it long since, if ye could have made your glosses agree with *the text* in every place. And what can you say to this, how that, *besides they have done their best to disannul all translating by Parliament, they have disputed, before the King's Grace, that it is perilous, and not meet*, and so concluded that it shall not be, under a *pretence of deferring it for years—where M. More was their special orator, to feign lies for their purpose.*"

And as for *all* the parties now in opposition—"Mark," says Tyndale to his reader, at the outset—"Mark, whether it were ever truer than now; the Scribes and Pharisees, Pilate, Herod, Caiaphas, and Annas, are gathered together against God and Christ: but yet, I trust, in vain; and he that brake the counsel of Ahitophel, shall scatter theirs. Mark, whether it be not true, in the highest degree, that for the sin of the people, hypocrites shall reign over them. Wherefore, it is time to awake, and to see, every man with his own eyes, and to judge, if we will not be judged of Christ when he cometh. And remember, that he which is warned, hath none excuse, if he take no heed. Herewith, farewell in the Lord Jesus Christ, whose Spirit be thy guide and doctrine, and the light to judge withal."

But even this answer was not sufficient in Tyndale's apprehension. He regarded Sir Thomas as the official attorney in their spiritual court; and as he had put forth, after this Dialogue, another thing in folio, entitled, "the Supplication of Souls," &c., by way of reply to the notable tract of Fysher—"the Supplication of Beggars," it must not be allowed to pass, although Tyndale did

not choose to name Sir Thomas. It was this piece which led him to designate More as "the Proctor of Purgatory," elsewhere; and as he had resolved to print an exposition of the first Epistle of John, he there, without any controversial form, met, most judiciously, even more than had been advanced by the Lord Chancellor, in relation to purgatory and the worship of saints, image worship, and other evils; explaining to the people how they might detect false teachers.

From these two consecutive publications, one is at no loss to ascertain what were Tyndale's sentiments on two important points: the existing state of literature among the priests, and the condition of those who at least professed to be Christians.

But to crown all in the year 1531, nothing could possibly have been more seasonable or appropriate, than "*Jonah*," that book of sacred writ, which Tyndale now printed for his country. The critical position of England, and the situation of the Translator himself, sufficiently account for its appearance, at this moment. Tyndale was now getting fast into the heat of the battle. The Bishops of England, as a body, with Tunstal the ablest of them all, were against him; the Lord Chancellor, as a man and as a licensed writer, was against him, nay, the wrath of the King, as "the roaring of a Lion," was against him. On high principle, for the sake of Divine truth alone, he had to encounter an entire people in the persons of its rulers; nor was he slow to advance. The book of *Jonah* spoke alike to the peasant and the prince. It contained the memorable example of a great King bowing before the majesty of the Voice of God. "The people of Nineveh believed God—from the greatest of them, even to the least of them;" and this was precisely what Tyndale longed for the people of England to do; and would their haughty and licentious monarch have now only risen from his throne, and laid aside his robes, like the King of Nineveh, and urged his subjects "to cry mightily to God," saying, "let them turn every one from his evil way, and *from the violence that is in their hands*,"—nothing could have filled the Translator with higher delight. The Ninevites "repented at the preaching of Jonas," but for more than five years, the New Testament had been in England, and even Scotland, and "a greater than Jonas was there." Tyndale besides, to evince the ardor of his mind, had prefixed a long prologue to the book,—an admirable production, and peculiarly adapted for the moment.

But now, and notwithstanding all, as it is well known, neither Henry nor his advisers were to be moved from their course. It was, as we shall find, a year of most savage cruelty, though Tyndale was now "pure from the blood of all men, having not shunned to declare to them the whole counsel of God."

Parliament opened on the 6th of January, and the Convocation assembled the next day. The moment, therefore, had now come, when Henry could send Crumwell, with his own signet, to the Convocation. "Crumwell, coming boldly into the clergy house,

and there placing himself among the Bishops, began to make his oration—Declaring unto them the authority of a King, and the office of subjects;—and especially the obedience of Bishops and Churchmen under public laws, necessarily provided for the profit and quiet of the Commonwealth: which laws, notwithstanding, they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the King's royal estate, falling under the law of *Premunire*,—in that they not only had consented to the power legantine of the Cardinal, but also in that they had also all sworn to the Pope, contrary to the fealty of their Sovereign Lord the King,—and therefore had forfeited to the King *all* their goods and chattels, lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had!" The Bishops remonstrated, of course, but it was all in vain; only, as they desired a respite, they were allowed time to consider what they should, or rather must, do. Thus the precedent of Wolsey, in sacrificing all that he had, proved like a mill-stone round the neck of every man who had been under him! He had, in past days, been the idol, the boast, and glory of his order; but what would they not, or did they not, say of him now? Still, whatever might have been the principles or opinions of these men, the reader must be fully aware, from what has been already stated, that nothing could be more harsh or inconsistent, nay unjust, if not illegal, on the part of Henry, than the entire proceeding, even although it had ended here: but here, neither the King nor Crumwell intended it should end. Meanwhile, the southern province, or that of Canterbury, agreed to offer the King not less than one hundred thousand pounds, or £20,000 annually for five years to come. The northern province, or that of York, some time after, compounded for eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds.

If we were to believe Crumwell, when writing to the Continent, in April, soon after the Convocation of this year had adjourned, as far as the King was concerned, he could not now appear, except as clothed in the white robes of innocence and peace. When trying to entice *Tyndale* into England, as into a sanctuary, he had talked of "the most gracious benignity"—"the piteous regard *natural*"—"the mercy and grace" of that "most virtuous and benign Prince and Governor," Henry the Eighth! Let the events immediately preceding and following such language, now be observed.

The Convocation having not only yielded so far to Henry's ambition, but given him the promise of a sum equal to above £350,000 annually, for five years to come; perhaps he thought that, by way of *courtesy* in return, he must comply with the wishes of this body; but be this as it may, we shall presently find the Clergy and the Star Chamber in perfect harmony. It was the triumphant reign of Sir Thomas More, for the one party, and of Stokesly Bishop of London, for the other.

Immediately after agreeing to the preamble of the Bill of Subsidy, or in the 50th Session of the Convocation, inquiry had commenced, at Stokesly's motion, into the opinions of *Latimer*, *Bil-*



ney and Crome ; and by the 69th Session Warham was examining *John Lambert* before two notaries. In the intermediate space finding no *living* victim, the very bones of the dead did not escape them ; but emulating the example of 1428, when they dug up the bones of Wickliffe, they pronounced judgment on the deceased William Tracy, Esq., of Todington, because in his last will he had committed his departing Spirit to God, through Jesus Christ *alone*, and left no part of his property to the priests, to pray for his soul.

It was while these transactions were going on, Sir Thomas More and Mr. Brian Tuke introduced the business of Henry's divorce before Parliament, by laying before it the sentence of certain Universities, and the opinions of individuals, amounting to a hundred, in its favor, soon after which the House was prorogued, and the Convocation also dissolved, to the month of October.

But before then, two of the earliest victims of the present year had been apprehended and punished ; and just as if the entire honor of this arduous contest must redound to the praise of our first Translator, these were no other than his own younger brother, John, and a devoted friend, Thomas Patmore, both merchants in London. They appear to have enjoyed the double honor of passing through the hands of Sir Thomas More and Stokesly, or the Star Chamber, and the Bishop's Court.

With regard to the first court, the following statement is from Foxe's manuscript, which seems fully to ratify the idea that Tyndale had reprinted his New Testament in 1530.

"There were soon after the coming over of the New Testaments in English, translated by William Tyndale, which he sent to his brother, John Tyndale, a merchant, apprehended, the said John Tyndale, and Thomas Patmore, a merchant, and a young man that dwelt about London Bridge, by the Bishop of London, and brought before Sir Thomas More, being the Chancellor, and by him committed to ward. After they were brought forth before the Lords in the Star Chamber, and there were charged with the receiving of Tyndale's Testaments, and divers other books, and delivering and scattering the same abroad in divers places in the city of London, which they *confessed*, and therefore had judgment—That they should be sent to the Counter of London, and there to remain until the next market-day, and then each of them to be set upon a horse, and their faces to the horse's tail, and to have papers upon their heads, and upon their outward apparel, that is to say, upon their gowns or cloaks, to be tacked or pinned thick with the said *New Testaments* and other books. And at the Standard in Chepe (Cheapside) should be made a great fire, whereinto every of them (the three) should throw their said books ; and, farther, to abide such fines, to be paid to the *King*, as should be assessed upon them ; which penance they observed." Foxe then adds—"this is extant, to be seen in the records of the Star Chamber."

At this period it was not unusual for More, when he suspected

his victims might be condemned for anything else, to deliver them over, by an indenture, into the paw of the Bishop of London, but at all events, both these worthy men now fell into Stokesly's hands. Tyndale was punished by him "for sending *five marks* to his brother William Tyndale beyond the sea, and for receiving and keeping with him, certain letters from his brother!" As for Patmore, who was charged with saying "that the truth of Scripture hath been kept from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now," &c.—"he had long hold with the Bishop. First, he would not *sware*—then he would appeal to the King; but all would not serve. He was so wrapt in the Bishop's nets, that he could not get out; but at last he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the *King*, an *hundred pounds*."

In the month of May, a second edition of Sir Thomas More's "Dialogue" was published; and now, during the rest of the year, persecution became general. Stokesly and the Lord Chancellor, in London; Warham, and Fisher, and Longland, elsewhere, were all busy; and by the month of August, it seemed as if Henry and his advisers had stepped into blood, and would have struck down any man who presumed to question or oppose their measures. We might repeat the sad tale of many, but select only a few cases as being peculiarly characteristic of the times. The particulars are at once humiliating and painful. We have to read them also amidst the fires that were now kindled in England; though, amidst all the lurid glare, it is easy to perceive the rapid and decided progress of truth, or the glorious extent of that cause, for which Tyndale only lived, and at last died.

The first victim to the flames was Bilney. For though he had fallen, and, in his own apprehension, past redemption, to him was given the honor of leading the way in England at this period, of resistance "unto blood, striving against sin." If we except the case of John Hiton, of which we know little, he was the first burnt, after the burning of the Scriptures for more than five years past. How long he had remained in prison after his abjuration, cannot distinctly be ascertained; but after his release and return to Cambridge, he was in the deepest distress of mind for a long season. His agony of mind was so great, that Latimer affirms, "his friends dared not suffer him to be alone, day or night. They comforted him as they could, but no comforts would serve! And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them to him, was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword!" It was Tunstal who had been the tempter, and the instrumental cause of all this mental anguish. At last, however, his conscience was quieted only by the same blood of atonement, which at first had given him such peace and joy. And ere long, determined no more to dissemble or conceal the truth, he took farewell of his friends at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, saying that he must now go up to *Jerusalem*. He then went into Norfolk, preaching first from house to house, and then in the open fields. Making no secret of his former abjuration, he warned all to be-

ware of following his example. He appears then to have gone down through Essex, and not improbably visited London itself, as the "Jerusalem" he had referred to; for at one period, six weeks before his apprehension, we find him as near to it as *Greenwich*. There he committed four of Tyndale's New Testaments, with a budget of books, to a faithful friend, Laurence Staple, who conveyed them to Cambridge, and was afterwards called to sharp account for so doing. But at last Bilney proceeded to Norwich itself; and having given a New Testament of Tyndale's, and his book on "Obedience," to a convert residing there, he was soon apprehended by authority of the old Bishop. He immediately sent up to Sir Thomas More for a writ; and if it be correct, as generally stated, it must have been with his wonted hilarity that he replied—"Go your ways, and burn him first, and then afterwards come to me for a bill at my hand." At all events, Bilney was soon condemned to die at the stake, and delivered to the Sheriffs; one of whom was no other than Thomas Necton, the brother of Robert, already mentioned as a great distributor of Books. From dread of the Chancellor and the Friars, Necton officially was obliged to receive him; when he implored Bilney's forgiveness, and was not present at his death. The night before his execution, the dying martyr, quite composed, resigned, and even cheerful, among other passages of Scripture, dwelt much on this one—"Fear not; for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee: and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." It was not that Bilney expected any other than mental support, or that he superstitiously anticipated exemption from pain; but "a pain for the time," said he, "whereon, notwithstanding, followeth joy unspeakable." At the stake, he closed his devotions with the beginning of the 143d Psalm; and the second verse—"Enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no flesh living be justified"—he repeated, in deep meditation, three times. He had been led through the Bishop's gate to this spot, called the Lollard's pit, and there expired in the flames, on Saturday morning, the 19th of August, amidst the most cruel enemies, and not a few decided friends.

If the reader is not aware of the fact, he will be gratified in knowing that the identical copy of the Latin Bible once belonging to Thomas Bilney is still in existence. At least it is said to be in one of the libraries at Cambridge. Many annotations are inscribed upon its pages with *his own* hand; and it is certainly an interesting circumstance that the passage in *Isaiah*, already quoted, which consoled the owner of the book when in prospect of the flames, is particularly distinguished with a pen, in the margin. The words if not so marked with his own hand, must have been by others at the time, for they received the words as the legacy of a martyr;

they had them fairly written on tables or in books, and derived comfort from them till their dying day.

Mr. *Richard Bayfield's* history cannot fail to gratify the reader, as among the very hazardous, yet innumerable instances of the importation of books, he occupied a conspicuous place. Blest himself, at a very early period, with a copy of Tyndale's New Testament, he labored for a considerable time to bring them into the country, along with other valuable books; and now, when examined by Stokesly, with what view he had done all this, he at once replied—"To the intent that the Gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more glorified in this realm among Christian people."

The year and place of Bayfield's birth cannot be ascertained, but by his own confession he entered the monastery of St. Edmondsbury as a monk in 1514, and took orders as a priest in 1518. After the return of Dr. Barnes from Louvain to Cambridge, in 1523, he used to visit a Dr. Ruffam, then in that monastery, who had been one of his fellow-students abroad, and Bayfield, being chamberlain of the house, became interested with the conversation of the visitor. From him he ere long received a copy of the New Testament in Latin, but two citizens of London, Maxwell and Stacy, who were zealous for the circulation of the Scriptures, and went round the country, with this in view, presented him with Tyndale's English New Testament. From the subsequent history of his life, it is evident that this must have been one of the *earliest* copies given away in the country parts. After being at Cambridge with Barnes, he seems to have not returned to his abbey, but proceeding to his friends, Maxwell and Stacy, in London, he remained there in concealment for a short time in the close of 1526. At this early period, as appears by Foxe, he was a suspected person. It is true he talks, in a vague way, of Bayfield suffering imprisonment and cruel treatment for two years and nine months, but this was merely an anticipation, or rather loose summing up of all his trials. At all events, he fixes the period of his first escape beyond sea; Dr. Barnes being then in *the Fleet for God's Word*, which continued till August 1526; though Bayfield remained, in fact, two months longer.

On his first going abroad, Foxe says, "this Bayfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficial to Master Tyndale and Mr. Fryth, for he brought substance with him, and was *their own hand*, and sold all their works, both in France and England." This is a general description of Bayfield's life and services, during at least four different voyages to the Continent, within the last five years. His first return to England was sometime in the year 1527. It had so happened that in October 1526, just before leaving England, he met, in Lombard Street, with three parsons of his own standing, Edmund Pierson, James Smith, and Miles Garnet, when some conversation ensued, by no means pleasant to their ears, but sufficiently explicit as to Bayfield's sentiments. Having therefore now returned, it must have been but a very short

time before Pierson detected him, as by the 13th of September 1527, we find his accusation against Bayfield recorded at full length in Foxe's history.

Once brought before Tunstal, in 1528, he was enjoined for penance "to go before the cross in procession, in the Parish Church of St. Botolph's Billingsgate, and to appear before the Bishop again on the 25th of April," 1529. The first part he fulfilled, but not the latter. He had gone to the Continent, but what may seem strange, he did appear, and presented himself before Tunstal on the 20th of June: and it was still more so, if he then had brought over with him any books of the "new learning." However, there being no fresh witnesses against him, the Bishop merely pronounced upon him sentence of banishment from the city and diocese of London. But in the face of this, as Bayfield entertained no reverence for their ecclesiastical authority, he went on more determined than before. In May or June 1530, he arrived at Colchester, with a cargo of books, which were all successfully sold or circulated: an importation specially to be noted, as it was immediately after the "burning" at St. Paul's, if not at the moment; immediately after the Royal proclamation had been framed, which Latimer so reprobated; and it is one among other proofs of books then coming *thick and threefold* into England, to the annoyance of Tunstal. Abroad once more, Bayfield returned with a second importation in November, but landing at St. Catharine's, the whole parcel fell, as a coveted morsel, into the hands of Sir Thomas More. Nothing daunted, and at the very season when Vaughan and Crumwell were trying to inveigle Tyndale into England, Bayfield had another cargo upon English ground. These he landed safely in Norfolk, about the beginning of April, and not being detected, they were of course circulated far and wide, to the farther vexation of the poor, infirm, and literally blind Bishop of Norwich, as well as his brethren. But at last, in the fall of this year, coming to his old friend Mr. Smith in Bucklersbury, the frequent receiver of his books, he was betrayed; and being traced to his book-binder's in Mark Lane, he was first committed to the Lollard's Tower, where, and afterwards in the Bishop's coal-house, he was most barbarously treated. Being now, however, steadfast in faith, he had made up his mind to die; and though tortured to accuse others who had bought his books, and three times in the consistory of St. Paul's put to his trial, as to whether he would abjure, he remained unmoveable. From such men as now bore sway, he could expect no mercy, and he received none; indeed, Stokesly displayed all the ferocity of his character, and behaved in the most brutal manner. Being condemned, actually upon a Lord's-day, the 19th of November; on Monday, when he came to be degraded, as they phrased it, not satisfied with the mere ceremony, Stokesly with a blow of his crosier, struck with such violence on the breast of Bayfield, that, falling backward, his skull was almost fractured, and he swooned away! When once he recovered himself, the good man "thanked God that he was (not degraded but) delivered

from the malignant Church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the sincere Church of Jesus Christ militant here on earth; and I trust anon," said he, "to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the Church triumphant forever." Nor was he mistaken, for that day he was in paradise. After this outrageous conduct, he was led forth to Newgate, and in about an hour afterwards committed to the flames. He remained alive for so long as half an hour, but continued in prayer to the end without moving!

How many persons, in a greater or less degree, had been, or were now engaged in the importation of books, it is impossible to say; but if we take this one valuable agent as an index, and refer merely to his last successful adventure, it will be evident, that amidst all the fury of opponents, a tide had set in, which it was beyond the power of man to stem.

According to the list of books exhibited against Bayfield, at the head of the whole, in point of number, we have William Tyndale. This zealous importer had brought this year—The five books of Moses, in distinct tracts or volumes—The New Testament, including the prologue to the Romans—The parable respecting Mammon—The obedience of a Christian Man—The Practice of Prelates, and even The Answer to More; or ten different publications in all. There was also one of Fryth's on Purgatory. We give the principal names of the authors, with the number of publications by each.

By Tyndale there were at least *ten*, all in *English*, and in Latin we find

By Luther, . . . 5	By Ecolampadius, 4	By Pomeranus, 3
— Melanethon, 5	— F. Lambert, . 4	— Capito, . . 2
— Bucer, . . . 5	— Brentius, . . 4	— Zuinglius, 1

Besides eight others by various authors—and the Sum of Scripture—The Primer—The Psalter—The A. B. C. against the Clergy—and The Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Ploughman. There were, in short, *fifty-seven* distinct publications—"of all which books," Bayfield is charged with having brought "a great number into this reahn of England."

On the 3rd of December, or only a fortnight after having tortured and murdered this excellent man, Stokesly proceeded to the denunciation of books. "The first Sunday of Advent," says the manuscript, "in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and xxxi., these books following were openly at Paul's Cross, by the authority of my Lord of London, under authentical seal, by the Doctor that day preached, prohibited and straitly commanded of no manner of man to be used, under pain of suspension, and a greater pain, as more largely appeareth in foresaid authority." This list of books is valuable, as verifying the present history. We therefore give it verbatim, only arranging the books under their respective authors. No *Latin* works are mentioned.

*By Tyndale.*—The New Testament in English, with an introduction to the Epistle to the Romans—The first book of Moses called Genesis—A prologue in the iid book of Moses called Exodus

—A prologue in the third book of Moses called Leviticus—A prologue in the iijth book of Moses called Numeri—A prologue in the vth book of Moses called Deuteronomye—The Parable of the Wicked Mammon—The Obedience of a Christian Man—An Exposition into the viith chapter to the Corinthians—The Matrimony of Tyndale—The Practice of Prelates—An Answer of Tyndale to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, in English—Jonas, in English.

*By Fryth.*—The Revelation of Antichrist—A Disputation of Purgatory.

*By Fyshe.*—The Supplication of Beggars—The Sum of Scripture.

*By Roye.*—The Disputation betwixt the Father and the Son—The Burying of the Mass, in English, in rhyme—A book against the Seven Sacraments.

A. B. C. against the Clergy—Ortulus Anime, in English—A book against St. Thomas of Canterbury—A book of Thiorpe or of John Oldcastle—The Primer in English—The Psalter in English, by Joye—A Dialogue between the Gentleman and the Ploughman. N. B. All *English*, for they formed the heavy artillery.

In the course of only eight or ten days after this interdict, both Stokesly and More were busy with another martyr, *John Tewksbury*, who, in 1529, on being examined before Tunstal, answered well, but getting entangled by his sophistry, abjured. Moved now by the noble example of Bayfield, he resolved to confess the truth at all hazards. On Saturday the 16th of December, Stokesly being down at Chelsea, condemned him on the spot, in the house of the Chancellor, and they delivered him to the sheriffs. Stokesly had been consecrated or installed *Lord Bishop of London* on the 20th of December last; and so whether it was to give the anniversary some further celebrity, or as an appropriate memorial of the day—yet so it was—the sheriffs delivered this worthy man to the stake, and he perished in the flames at Smithfield, on St. Thomas' Eve, the 20th of December!

Before concluding this first year of Henry's supremacy, among the men apprehended, we must on no account omit *George Constantyne*, were it only on account of the consequences. We first heard of him in 1528, when the examination of Robert Necton occasioned his flight. Since that time he had been in Brabant, and having been originally bred a surgeon, he had there, by his own account, practiced as such. At the same time, he evidently had taken a deep interest in the importation of books, and coming over himself this year, had, as well as Bayfield, brought books with him; but he was not possessed of similar fortitude, nor was he ever, like him, to wear the crown of martyrdom.

Falling into the hands of Sir Thomas More, he appears evidently (by More's own expressions in the preface to his next *folio* against Tyndale, to have been, in some degree, smitten with the man and his shrewdness. He must have conversed with him frequently, and at great length, as will appear presently.

"After divers communications, amongst other things, Master More asked of him, saying—'Constantyne! I would have thee be plain with me in *one* thing that I will ask; and I promise thee, I will shew thee favor in *all* other things whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you: I know they cannot live without help. There *are* some that help them, and succor them with money; and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and, therefore, knowest from whence it came. I pray thee tell me who be they that help them thus?'—'My Lord,' quoth Constantyne, 'I will tell you truly: it is the *Bishop of London* that hath holpen us; for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments, to burn them; and that hath been, and yet is, our only succor and comfort.'—'Now, by my troth,' quoth More, 'I think even the same; for so much I told the Bishop *before* he went about it.'"

The communications of Constantyne at this moment, there is now no doubt had excited great attention. Crumwell will be seen, presently, to ground his *foreign* correspondence upon them; and, by the man's own account in 1539, the King himself had conversed particularly with him. "His Majesty reasoned with me himself almost nine years ago,"—and Constantyne then presumed to form his own opinion of the *depth* of the King's learning. But More was the chief cross-examinator, and Constantyne, very harshly treated, was now at the lowest point of degradation throughout his varied life.

Sir Thomas, by his official severity, at last constrained the man, through fear, to affirm much more than he could have substantiated, respecting people abroad, including even *Mr. Vaughan*, the English Envoy, himself; and as these forced confessions came out, they soon found their way across the sea, and greatly alarmed the Envoy, who wrote to Crumwell exculpating himself. But not long afterward, and, to the no small mortification of our Lord Chancellor, Constantyne contrived to escape from his iron chain, and sailing for the Continent, he arrived in safety at Antwerp, on the 6th of December.

Vaughan, by this time, was effectually roused, and wrote a letter to Crumwell, in which he denies having any sympathy with the Lutherans or the Tyndalians, but begs to assure his Majesty, "that he will *with no policy, nor with no threatenings of tortures and punishments take away the opinions of his people*, till his Grace shall fatherly and lovingly reform the clergy of his realm. For *there* springeth the opinion. From *thence*, riseth the grudge of his people. Out of *that*, men take and find occasions to complain."

Constantyne again went on, importing books: but it will be remembered that we have given these instances merely as a characteristic specimen of this sad year. "For why stand I here," says Foxe in one place, "numbering the sand?" And again,—"*So great was the trouble of those times, that it would overcharge any story to recite the names of all them, which during those bitter days, before the coming in of Queen Anne, either were driven out*



of the realm, or were cast out from their goods and houses, or brought to open shame by abjuration. *Yet, nevertheless, so mightily the power of God's gospel did work in the hearts of good men, that the number of them did nothing lessen for all this violence and policy of the adversaries ; but rather increased in such sort, as our story almost suffereth not to recite the particular names of all and singular such as then groaned under the persecution of those days."* But still besides those whose names are given, there must have been many who were never detected. By these furious proceedings, the deep interest abroad, not one whit diminished, was increased, and in more places than one, for of course the parties molested, fled to different ports.

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## SECTION IX.

TYNDALE'S PROGRESS—EXPOSITION IN MATTHEW—HIS SENTIMENTS UNDER PERSECUTION—THE KING NOT APPEASED—RENEWED PURSUIT OF TYNDALE—NOW BY SIR THOMAS ELYOT—STILL IN VAIN—STATE OF ENGLAND—PARLIAMENT—THE BISHOPS FINED—THE KING'S AFFAIRS—PERSECUTION GOES ON—BAINHAM—LATIMER—MORE AGAINST TYNDALE—FRYTH ARRIVES IN ENGLAND—IN PERIL—IN THE TOWER—WRITING THERE IN DEFENCE OF THE TRUTH, AND ADDRESSING THE CHRISTIANS IN ENGLAND.

ALREADY Tyndale had given the New Testament, the Pentateuch, and the Prophet Jonah, to his native land. Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, in the gospel by Matthew, now engaged his attention, as demanding to be expounded, owing to the errors which still reigned triumphant ; and his exposition first came out sometime this year. In this fundamental portion of the Sacred Volume, he represents the Saviour as "opening the kingdom of heaven," which the enemies "had shut up, that other men should not enter."

"He restoreth the key of knowledge which they had taken away," having also "broken the wards, with wresting the text contrary to its due and natural course, with their false glosses. He plucketh away from the face of Moses, the veil which the Scribes and Pharisees had spread thereon, that no man might perceive the brightness of his countenance. He weedeth out the thorns and briars of their pharisaical glosses, wherewith they had stopped up the narrow way and strait gate, that few could find them."

Before this, we have had occasion to observe that Tyndale was almost immediately in possession of whatever was transacted in England ; more especially by the King, and his obsequious or subdued Parliament ; and, of course, he must have been fully aware of their doings in the spring of last year. His opinion of the change for which Henry and Crumwell had been so eager, may be inferred from various passages now put forth. Already he had shown him-

self a most loyal subject, and an ardent admirer of good government; in desiring, above all things, that his King and country should be rescued from spiritual thralldom: but in desiring this, he was no less ardent in drawing the line of distinction between the *world* and the *Church*. As to the latter, he longed for its restoration to its original spirituality, and simple grandeur; and as to his much-loved native land, that the throne should be established on a safe and righteous basis.

When he comes to expound the last clause of the Lord's prayer, he says—

“Finally, no King, Lord, Master, or whatever ruler he be, hath absolute power in this world, nor is the *very thing* which he is called, for then they cease to be brethren, neither could they sin whatsoever they commanded. But now their authority is but a *limited power*.”

The power of Tyndale's writing lay in his drawing from the life, and his discerning, with superior judgment, the precise moment when certain truths required to be pressed upon the notice of his country. His views, whether of civil government, or the Church of God, were far above his age, and few there must have been who could then understand him.

It was now six years since his translation of the New Testament had been denounced and committed to the flames; and not less than four, since his person had been in danger. By the authorities in England, from the year 1528, he had been a man sought for, but never yet seized. His pursuers too, seem to rise in point of rank, as we proceed. The first was Friar West, who, but for his commission from Wolsey, had remained in oblivion. Hackett, most gladly, would have sent Tyndale to England, even by the foulest means, and, according to his own logic, as a traitor; but he could never find him. Vaughan was incapable of so base an action, though Tyndale favored him with, at least, two interviews; and from what we have read, it may safely be inferred, that *he* would never more engage in hunting after heretics,—having, according to his own confession, been “so beaten with his own labors.” He well deserves, however, to be remembered as the only man of the age, who lifted up his voice against the extreme folly of *persecution for opinion*. Henry had no man near him so enlightened at the moment, or if he had, not one who dared to speak out, not even Crumwell himself; for though so pointedly charged by Vaughan, it may be presumed that he never had shown that envoy's letter, or reported its contents, to the King.

But be this as it may, Henry was not appeased. Tyndale had gone on to publish, it is true, and besides his Answer to Sir Thomas More, his translation of Jonah was now in England; but his Majesty was no admirer of the King of Nineveh, nor were his ministers like the nobles of that great city. The person now put in commission, and by the King himself, to pursue the best of his subjects, was no other than the well-known Sir Thomas Elyot, a literary man, author of “The Governor,” and other publications

Vaughan had been patronized by Crumwell, yet thought for himself; but Elyot was the very intimate, if not bosom friend of Sir Thomas More, as well as a favorite of the King's, so that no zeal can be lacking now, even if Tyndale should not be apprehended. In all the histories yet published, Elyot is first mentioned as sent by Henry the VIII. to Rome, about his divorce in 1532; but he was on the Continent last year. He was with the Emperor in November at Tournay, and had then been abroad some time. Vaughan had met him there; and on the 9th or 19th of December, 1531, he writes to Crumwell:—

“Maister Ellyot, the King's Ambassador, this day sent me a letter from Tournay, with another enclosed to you, wherein I think he desireth you to be a solicitor to the King's Majesty and to his honourable council for him, that he may from time to time have answer of his letters, and be made thereby more able to do the King honour in these parts. It is not well done that he should be *so long* without letters.”

The Emperor, leaving the Low Countries in the beginning of January this year, directed his journey towards Ratisbon, in order to hold a diet there. Taking Mentz on his way, he had not arrived till February or the beginning of March, but to this city Elyot followed him. Whether his correspondence had been still neglected, as both Henry and Crumwell were absorbed in Parliamentary affairs at home, does not appear, but the ambassador had been anxious to revisit England. This desire, however, could not be gratified, and on the 14th of March, we have the following letter, dated from (Regensburgh) Ratisbon, addressed to the Duke of Norfolk, the successor of Wolsey, as Prime Minister of England, and as determined an enemy as the Cardinal ever was.

“My duty remembered, with most humble thanks unto your Grace, that it pleased you so benevolently to remember me unto the King's Highness, concerning my return into England. Albeit the King willeth me, by his *Grace's* letters, to remain at Brussels, some space of time, *for the apprehension of Tyndale*, which somewhat minisheth my hope of soon return; considering that like as he is in wit moveable, semblably so is his person uncertain to come by. And, as far as I can perceive, hearing of the King's *diligence* in the apprehension of him, he withdraweth him into such places where he thinketh to be farthest out of danger. In me there shall lack none endeavour. Finally, as I am all the King's, except my soul, so shall I endure all that shall be his pleasure, employing my poor life gladly, in that which may be to his honour, or wealth of his realm.

“Pleaseth it your Grace, according as I have written to the King's Highness, the Emperor being yet sore grieved with a fall from his horse, keepeth himself so close, that *Mr. Cranmer* and I can have none access to his Majesty, which almost grieveth me as much as the Emperor's fall grieveth him.”

Every one who has paid any attention to these times, cannot fail to be excited by the mention of Elyot's companion and asso-

ciate, and more especially as this is the earliest distinct notice of Cranmer when abroad, which appears on the face of these manuscripts. He had been at Rome for some time in 1530, but returned to England in 1531, where we find him at Hampton Court in June, and in close attendance upon his Majesty there. As busy as ever in Henry's one affair, from thence, on the 13th of that month, he dates a long letter to Lady Anne's father, the Earl of Wiltshire, criticising the book of Cardinal Pole, on this business; and as he remained at home till January, he could not fail to be intimately acquainted with all the sad occurrences of last year. In that very period the fatal fires had been kindled, and were blazing in England. Then the martyrdoms of Bilney, or Bayfield, and of Tewksbury, had taken place; there were the grievous cross-examinations and cruelties of More and of Stokesly; and the public denunciation, by the latter, of Tyndale's writings, in December; and yet here is Cranmer, associated as ambassador and fellow-traveller with the man who has been charged, by their King, to seize the Author! But still it were nothing short of an injury done to posterity, to represent any man, whoever he may have been, as interested in a cause *before* he really was, even so far as to evince sympathy for the cruelty and death endured in it; and the truth of history does not furnish us with even a vestige of such interest or feeling in Cranmer, for some time to come. One eminent service in relation to the Scriptures, he will perform for his country, which will come before us, in its proper place, five years hence; but at *this* momentous period, let the men who bore the brunt of this never-to-be-forgotten contest; the men who died with their face to the foe—

“ Who neither fear'd the darkest hour,  
Nor trembled at the tempter's power;”

let them enjoy the place to which they alone are entitled; an eminence unapproached by others, whether from shame or fear, from worldly policy or criminal ignorance. No unbiassed writer can now wittingly confound Tyndale and Fryth with any other men, who in the days of peril, persecution, and universal obloquy, either dared not, or could not, speak one word; nor will he allow *their* characters to be obscured by any, who never came forth till after the battle of eleven years' duration was fought and won. Since the year 1526, Divine truth, like concealed leaven, had been in vigorous operation, enlightening, saving, and sanctifying the souls of men; but the Translator, after his long unaided warfare, had washed his robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, before that Cranmer had ever once expressed his approbation of the translation. It will not be till in a moment of surprise, and after finding himself in a dilemma, that he will speak out. But even this will not occur till five years more have passed away.

It was on the 24th of January this year that Cranmer had received his credentials as ambassador to the Court of the Emperor, when he immediately left England, and must have overtaken

Elyot somewhere on the Rhine. The letter, from which we have already quoted, narrates their progress towards Ratisbon.

For about six months *Cranmer* continued to reside chiefly at Nuremberg, and Elyot at Ratisbon. In prospect of the Turkish invasion, Charles was now in treaty with the German Protestant Princes to secure their co-operation against the common enemy of Europe, who proudly insisted that no man should be called Emperor except himself. These negotiations commencing in April terminated on the 23d of July at Ratisbon, on which day Elyot wrote again to the Duke of Norfolk.

This letter, however, conveyed no very welcome news to Henry at least; though the Princes (seven in number, and twenty-four Cities,) regarded it as the first religious peace in Germany. None were now to be molested on account of *opinions* till the meeting of a General Council; all judicial processes relating to religion were to be *suspended*, and all law suits for the restoration of Church property were null and void—concessions which were published throughout Germany, by imperial proclamation. These were measures, too, in perfect accordance with those which Vaughan had urged upon Henry the Eighth, through Crumwell; yet so bent was our English Monarch upon his favorite project, and the gratification of his own will, that even the prospect of such relief to thousands of the best minds in Europe, had no charms for him; and Cranmer had been engaged to employ all his skill in *preventing* such enjoyment! He had been “instructed to make a *secret* visit to the court of Saxony, to deliver letters both to the Elector and the other Princes who had joined the Protestant league, and to assure them, by conversation also, of his Sovereign’s friendship. Henry was disposed, like the French King, to foment between these confederates and the Emperor any ill humor. It was his project of revenge for the Imperial opposition to the divorce; but it had no important result. The pacification of Nuremberg indeed was effected within a few days after this effort to impede it, and Cranmer had to relate to his Sovereign, instead of dissension, the principal terms of that memorable treaty.”

How long before the 14th of March, Elyot had been charged with his commission from the King to seize Tyndale, does not appear; but as he chose to say, that he was “*all* the King’s except his *soul*,” from the first moment he must have been on the look out; and as he had been moving from place to place for about two months before he arrived at Ratisbon, he could then speak from some experience of Tyndale “withdrawing” himself, “as far as he could perceive.” Now, however, he was far distant from Brussels, and there he must remain. Providentially, for Tyndale at least, he was detained month after month; and if Cranmer failed in his “secret visit,” so did Elyot as to his “commission” from the King. A storm was gathering in the East which occasioned every monarch in Europe to pause and think; it was the invasion of Solymán, the grand Turk, with an army of three hundred thousand men. Elyot’s letters, therefore, were now full

of little or nothing else, if we may judge by his very long epistle to Norfolk on the 11th of August. And thus was he *diverted* from a pursuit which must have forever disgraced his memory, if it had ended in the apprehension of England's greatest benefactor. Tyndale has yet four years to live.

Sir Thomas More and Stokesly still went on as the most eminent and busy persecutors of the Truth. In December last, a gentleman of his own profession had fallen into the hands of the Chancellor—Mr. James Bainham, the son of Sir Alexander Bainham, a knight of Gloucestershire, who had married the widow of Mr. Fyshe, already noticed. He had been seized by the Sergeant-at-arms, and carried out of the Middle Temple down to More's own house at Chelsea. This was another victim to console him for the recent escape of George Constantyne. Imagining that there must have been others of the profession who had imbibed the same opinions, the Chancellor particularly degraded himself by his cruelty to this excellent man; for after being shamefully handled under his own roof, if not also in his own garden, he was afterwards conveyed to the Tower, and there, in his presence, tortured by the rack till he was lamed. He would, however, neither accuse any gentlemen of his acquaintance in the Temple, nor disclose where his books lay concealed. His worthy partner in life also, no more able to see the face of Henry, and who might have been repulsed though she had, now fell into trouble. Denying the books to be at her husband's house, she was thrown into Fleet Prison, and their goods confiscated. After all this torment, Bainham was handed over to Stokesly; and being urged to confess the truth, he said—"That he had had 'the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tyndale,' (till) within this month, and thought he offended not God, in using and keeping the same, notwithstanding that he knew the King's proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the Church, at Paul's Cross; but for all that, he thought the Word of God had not forbid it. Confessing, moreover, that he had in his keeping, (till) within this month, these books—The Wicked Mammon,—the Obedience of a Christian Man,—the Practice of Prelates,—the Answer of Tyndale to Thomas More's Dialogue,—the Book of Fryth against Purgatory,—the Epistle of George Gee, alias Clerke.—Adding, that in all these books he never saw any errors; and if there were any such in them, then, if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the said books. And as concerning *the New Testament in English*, he thought it *utterly good*, and that the people should have it, *as it is*."

Notwithstanding all this, it is to be lamented that Bainham began to waver in a state of doubtful perplexity, between life and death; so that, after two months' confinement, he read his abjuration, was fined twenty pounds (equal to £300 now) to the King, and being released on the 17th of February, was dismissed home. He was, however, scarcely a month at large before he lamented his conduct most bitterly.

In the early part of this year, there was another instance of cruelty, too notable to pass unnoticed, although it did not terminate fatally. This referred to no other than Hugh Latimer, and Stokesly was the prime mover. He had summoned Latimer to appear before him, but he contemned the message, referring to the Bishop of Salisbury as his ordinary. Stokesly then applied to Warham, and Latimer was summoned to appear before him on the 29th of January. According to Latimer's own statement, the case was remitted to five or six Bishops, and he appeared before them thrice every week. Firm and resolute for some time, he refused to subscribe the articles they presented. For this he was declared contumacious, and afterwards excommunicated. In order, however, to bring him to some submission, it was resolved to take *off* the sentence, if he would sign two of the articles, namely, one respecting the observation of Lent, and another concerning the crucifix and the lawfulness and profit of images in Churches, for the worship of Jesus Christ and his Saints!

He subscribed the two articles already mentioned, and a further hearing was appointed. Unwilling to let him go, when the day arrived a new complaint was produced, respecting a letter he had written to one Greenwood of Cambridge, upon which Latimer appealed to the *King* as head of the Church of England, and was ultimately restored to his functions.

If the laborious Lord Chancellor had been busy in persecuting his fellow-subjects at home, he had been no less so with his pen, in opposition to Tyndale abroad. His friend, Sir Thomas Elyot, might be "doing his best endeavor" to seize the man, but More was determined to overwhelm and expose him as a writer and translator. His huge publication being now, in part, ready, must be put forth. The first three books of it, with a long preface, printed by the son of his brother-in-law, Rastell, appeared with this title, "The confutation of Tyndale's answer, made by Sir Thomas More, knight, Lord Chancellor of England—cum privilegio." He had *six* books more to come, although the present *folio* extended to 363 pages, thirty-seven of which filled his preface! This, it will be observed, was printed before he had resigned the seals, in May; so that, between cross-examinations of worthy men, on the one hand, and proof-sheets against Tyndale on the other, he must have been engrossed indeed.

In the meanwhile, another opponent had started up, and fretted him not a little. Fryth's publication had arrived, and was now greedily read in England, and the Chancellor undertook to dispose of him.

But it would have been prudent in Sir Thomas, to have let Fryth alone, as the interference only exposed him, in the end, to a double defeat. Even Tyndale was younger than himself, and he was more than his match; but John Fryth was only twenty-eight years of age, when his book was published, last year. Besides, the Chancellor had crowed by far too soon, as he had then no idea that in a few months after, Fryth himself would come

over, and not only confront him upon English ground, though writing from a dungeon, but overcome in argument the Bishops assembled, with Cranmer at their head.

Fryth proceeded to London, and there saw those friends of truth to whom *Bainham* had first made his confession, a few months before. The danger, however, was extreme—but there was to be no more anything bordering upon abjuration—no more halting between two opinions, or between life and death—in Fryth's case. He had come to read a lesson to the *Martyrs of England*, and he read it nobly, by his tongue, nay, by his pen, and finally by the flames. It was altogether a sight which had never been seen in England since the days in which he himself had been reading the first imported Testament, or was immured in the dungeon at Oxford. Yet though of so decided a character, that he afterwards astonished both friends and foes, Fryth still accounted it his imperative duty to avoid apprehension if he could; and, according to the Divine commandment, first fled from place to place, rather than his enemies should be involved in the guilt of blood. He changed his raiment and place of abode again and again, but could not remain long anywhere, even among friends. Sir Thomas More had now heard of his being in England, and "beset," says Foxe, "all the ways and havens, yea, and promised great rewards, if any man could bring any tidings of him."

While, however, he was yet at large, there was a Christian brother, of whom Fryth says, "for his commendable conversation, and sober behavior, he might better be a bishop, than many that wear mitres, if the rule of St. Paul were regarded in their election." He had applied to Fryth for his opinions respecting the Lord's Supper, and after complying with his earnest request, "he desired me," he adds, "to entitle the sum of my words, and write them for him, because they seemed over long to be well retained in memory. This was done with no intention of its being read, *except* by select or choice friends, who had already received the truth; for they knew the spiritual and necessary eating and drinking of his body and blood, which is received but with the ears and faith, and only needed instruction in the outward eating; which thing," adds Fryth, "I only declared." By this time, More especially, if not Stokesly, had various spies on the lookout in London; base men, who insinuated themselves among the best of the city. Two of these are named—one Withers, and William Holt, the foreman of Mr. Malte, tailor to the King. The latter was the guilty man, who betrayed confidence. Having seen the manuscript of Fryth, he begged a perusal of it, and once obtained, he carried it forthwith to the Chancellor. But two other copies were conveyed to him by similar men, which gave Fryth occasion to warn his friends, from the Tower, afterwards.

Sir Thomas More, however, as if conscious of his incompetence to answer "the young man," for so he generally called him, had now become more cautious, though it was only a few months since his vaunting preface was abroad. This must have been the more



mortifying, when Fryth let out the secret; for referring to his manuscript, he tells us,—

“Mr. More, which of late hath busied himself to meddle in all such matters, (of what zeal I will not define,) hath sore labored to confute it; but some men think that he is ashamed of his part, and for that cause *doth so diligently suppress the work which he printed*; for I myself saw the work *in print*, in my Lord of Winchester’s house, upon St. Stephen’s day last past, (26th Dec. 1532.) But neither I, neither all the friends I could make, might attain any copy, but only one written copy, which, as it seemed, was drawn out in great haste. Notwithstanding, I cannot well judge *what* the cause should be that his book is kept so secret; but this I am right sure of, that he never touched the foundation that my treatise was builded upon. And, therefore, since my foundation standeth so sure and invincible—I will thereupon build a little more.”

From this passage it is evident that Fryth was not only in safe keeping, and under examination by this month of December, but that More had replied to his manuscript, and in print, and therefore he must have been in England for some months. He had been apprehended, says Foxe, at a place called Milton Shore, in Essex, where he had gone with a view to embark for the Continent, and after that had been committed to the Tower.

But with regard to that great cause for which Fryth was now in prison, and Tyndale had pursued for years, there was no possibility of stopping its onward progress. The importation of the Scriptures, as well as other books, went on. A tide had set in which no vigilance, no power upon earth, could either stop or turn aside.

We have alluded to a Congregation meeting in London, but there were groups, in secret, throughout different counties. John Fryth had seen those in London, and then proceeded from place to place, before he was to address them all from his prison. He had worshipped God along with them, and expounded the Sacred Volume they held so dear; and what was *his* deliberate opinion of those people, whom the Chancellor and the Bishops so defamed? Here it is in a Letter addressed to them, “whilst he was prisoner in the Tower of London, for the Word of God—anno 1532.”

“It cannot be expressed, dearly beloved in the Lord, what joy and comfort it is to my heart, to perceive how the *Word of God* hath wrought, and continually worketh among you; so that I find *no small number* walking in the ways of the Lord, according as he gave us commandment, willing that we should love one another as he loved us. Now have I experience of the faith which is in you; and can testify that it is without simulation; that ye love, not in word and tongue only, but in work and verity.

“What can be more trial of a faithful heart, than to adventure, not only to aid and succor by the means of others, which without danger may not be admitted unto us, but also personally to visit

the poor oppressed, and see that nothing be lacking unto them, but that they have both ghostly comfort, and bodily sustenance, notwithstanding *the strait inhibition and terrible menacing* of these worldly rulers ; even ready to abide the extreme jeopardies that tyrants can imagine ?

“ This is an evidence that you have prepared yourselves to the cross of Christ : This is an evidence that ye have cast your accounts, and have wherewith to finish the tower which ye have begun to build. And I doubt not but that He, which hath begun to work in you, shall, for his glory, accomplish the same, even unto the coming of the Lord, which shall give unto every man according to his deeds. And albeit God, of His secret judgments, for a time keep the rod from some of them that ensue his steps ; yet let them surely reckon upon it, for there is no doubt but all which will devoutly live in Christ, must suffer persecution : for ‘ whom the Lord loveth, he correcteth, and scourgeth every child that he receiveth ; ’ for what child is that whom the Father chastiseth not ?

“ Of these things, God had given me the speculation before ; and now it hath pleased him to put them in use and practice upon me. *I ever thought, and yet do think,* that to walk after *God’s Word* would *cost me my life*, at one time or another. And albeit that the King’s Grace should take me into his favor, and not to suffer the bloody Edomites to have their pleasures upon me ; yet will I not think that I am escaped : but that God hath only deferred it for a season, to the intent that I should work somewhat that he hath appointed me to do, and so to use me unto his glory.

“ And I beseech all the followers of Christ to arm themselves with the same supposition, marking themselves with the sign *of* the cross, not *from* the cross, as the superstitious multitude do, but rather to the cross, in token that they be ever ready, willingly to receive the cross when it shall please God to lay it upon them. The day that it cometh not, count it clear won, giving thanks to the Lord which hath kept it from you : and then when it cometh, it shall nothing dismay you, for it is no new thing, but even that which ye have continually looked for.

“ And doubt not but that God, which is faithful, shall not suffer you to be tempted above that which ye are able to bear, but shall ever send some occasion, by the which ye shall stand steadfast ; for either he shall blind the eyes of your enemies, and diminish their tyrannous power, or else, when he hath suffered them to do their best, and that the dragon hath cast a whole flood of waters ‘ after you, He shall cause even the very earth to open her mouth and swallow them up. So faithful is He, and careful to ease us, what time the vexation should be too heavy for us.

“ He shall send a Joseph before you against ye shall come into Egypt ; yea, he shall so provide for you, that ye shall have an *hundred* fathers for *one* ; an *hundred* mothers for *one* ; an *hundred* houses for *one* ; and that in *this* life, AS I HAVE PROVED BY

EXPERIENCE ; and after this life, everlasting joy with Christ our Saviour."

Such were the fruits of the Sacred Word, printed in the vulgar tongue ! In the outset, it was like but an handful of corn, sown in a most unpromising soil, on the top of a mountain, yet now that one of the sowers has come, "it cannot be expressed what joy and comfort it was to his heart to perceive" far more than the green blade above the ground. The commendation is worthy of being written in letters of gold, and especially that closing sentence.

That a Christian should receive a hundred-fold of *temporal* good, *with* persecutions, has often seemed to be a mystery, and the passage has so perplexed the expositors of more peaceful times, that they have felt obliged to escape to the supposition of celestial gratifications. How a man should *leave* one house and find a hundred, in the days when mere professors are loth to *leave* anything for Christ, has appeared to be impossible ; although the Saviour expressly confines the hundredfold to *this* life. But the exuberant love and hospitality of the primitive Christians, untie the knot, and explain the promise. On the part of our Redeemer, it was indeed a most extraordinary intimation ; informing the earliest age, not only that Christianity should gain ground, but prevail in such power over its believers and all that they possessed ; and it remained for John Fryth especially to come over, and draw out the proof that primitive Christianity had effectually taken root in England. All the believers' houses had been open to entertain him, and there was he treated with all a father's, or a mother's, a brother's or a sister's kindness. Now that he was in bonds, he was overcome with joy, by finding that such was their concern for him, and that they felt his private or personal suffering as a general calamity, or a public wrong.

And now that the year is ended what can be said, as to the Old man and the Young ? the Chancellor and his prisoner ? What else than that "wisdom excelleth folly, and as far as light excelleth darkness ;" or that "the wise man's eyes are in his head, and that it is the infatuated only, who walk on in darkness ?"

By the mercy of God, however, Sir Thomas More must now withdraw. He had resigned the Great Seal in May, but still had acted officially till towards the close of the year ; in a few weeks hence he will be entirely dismissed, and left free, and at leisure to go on with his voluminous controversy, though this should only be to his final overthrow.

## SECTION X.

ONE DISTINGUISHING FEATURE OF TYNDALE'S COURSE AND CHARACTER AS COMPARED WITH HIS CONTEMPORARIES—HIS ANSWER TO SIR T. MORE—HIS LETTER TO FRYTH IN PRISON—STATE OF ENGLAND—FRYTH'S VOICE FROM THE TOWER—STRANGE CONDITION OF ENGLAND—THE KING MARRIED—CRANMER'S PROCEDURE—GARDINER ROUSED—FRYTH'S EXAMINATION BEFORE THE BISHOPS ASSEMBLED—HIS TRIUMPH IN ARGUMENT—MARTYRDOM—ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT—ONE EFFECT OF FRYTH'S DEATH—SIR T. MORE WRITING STILL—ONE POWERFUL OPPONENT AT HOME—MORE AS A CONTROVERSIALIST—HIS PRODIGIOUS EXERTIONS—OTHER QUALITIES—FINALLY OVERCOME—THE PROSPECT BRIGHTENING.

BEFORE recurring to Tyndale's last publication, we are constrained to pause for a few moments, and observe more distinctly one marked or distinguishing feature in his character. His one object in life, was to gain over his native land to the faith of the Mediator. The foundation of all his hope of success, rested on the word of God itself. With its translation into English he began, and labored in it to his dying day. And having once conveyed the *New Testament* to England, as containing truth without any mixture of error; he might, indeed because banished from the soil, assail the love of the world or covetousness, in those who had arrogated to themselves the title of "the Spirituality," in his parable of "*the Wicked Mammon*;" he might lay down the law of "*Christian Obedience*," but built on that *faith* which he had already explained; might expose the hypocritical "*Practice of Prelates*," who had sunk his country into immorality, licentiousness and debt; or warn the whole nation by *Jonah* and his prologue.

And never was triumph more complete, than that of Tyndale and Fryth over Sir Thomas More on the subject of the Lord's Supper, though on their part it was entirely *unprovoked*. Fryth, it must be observed, was precisely of Tyndale's opinion; that Repentance and Faith, or matters of essential belief, should be first propounded and settled, previously to discussing any Christian ordinances; that the former were to be testified to the world at large; the latter, settled within the Church itself: that the *messenger* of God to guilty men, was to preach and might print on the former, but as to the latter, beware of the printing-press. The latter were to be "reasoned in peace and at leisure," among believers alone, or within the Church.

Tyndale had heard in May of Fryth's dangerous condition in the Tower, and was in Antwerp again at that time. Certainly he had not sojourned in this city since January, where he must have heard much sooner, or if there was an earlier communication from him to England it is irrecoverable. His whole soul, however, was now moved with intense feeling, and he poured it forth in a tender and final epistle, which was "delivered to Fryth

in the Tower," and must have proved most welcome; although, ere long, we shall find that, strengthened by the power and grace of his Redeemer, he had needed no *human* counsel to die with all the heroism of Stephen, the first martyr to Christianity.

Notwithstanding King Henry's ardent thirst for dominion in all things, and his having been acknowledged Head of the Church of England, he still found that he was not able to make an *Archbishop*; at least such a one as the Prelates, and even the people, would at once acknowledge; and therefore he applies to *Rome* once more. This he must have done pretty early in January, since the Bulls for Cranmer to succeed Warham are dated from the 21st of February to the 2nd of March. These were not fewer than eleven, and all connected with this one appointment; the wonted charge for which had been 15,000 florins, or £3375; but, on this occasion, it is said, no more was demanded than 900 ducats! or £180! After all he had done in forwarding his Royal master's design as to his divorce, no man could be more objectionable to the Pontiff than Cranmer; so that this compliance, and at so *low* a rate, must have been with some view to retain Henry; though assuredly Clement was now outwitted, or dreaming in forgetfulness of the thunder he had issued on the 23rd of December, forbidding intercourse with Lady Anne Boleyn. In January, however, lo! *that* Bull arrived, when his Majesty, highly incensed, determined at once to put an end to the long debated question. This he did on the morning of St. Paul's day, or the 25th of January, by being married to Lady Anne Boleyn, Marchioness of Pembroke, and daughter to the Earl of Wiltshire. The ceremony was performed in private, by Rowland Lee, one of the Royal Chaplains, afterwards Bishop of Chester. No distinct motive has been assigned for this privacy; but it is very easy to see one now, in the request sent to Rome, before the Pontiff's indignation was known. In the game now playing, few things could be more important, at this moment, to Henry, than Cranmer's elevation: but had Clement only divined what his Majesty was about, certainly no such Bulls had ever reached England. However, they did arrive safely—they exactly answered Henry's purpose and intentions—and were the *last* for which he ever applied. Cranmer was not present at this marriage, nor, by his own account, was he aware of it for about a fortnight.

We cannot affirm that there was any positive connection between the marriage of Henry to Lady Anne Boleyn and the resignation of the Chancellorship by More; but still it is very observable, that the *next* day, or January 26th, Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, delivered it the King: when his Majesty, retaining it only a quarter of an hour, re-delivered it to him, with the title of *Lord Chancellor*. Thus, though Sir Thomas More had resigned the Seals in May, he had been acting as an officer of the Crown till about this period. We have seen him, long after May, active in the pursuit and persecution of Fryth; but the mace being gone, he must now wield only the

pen. It was the solitary instrument left him to carry on his warfare; and with this he continued more busy than ever, throughout the whole of this year.

This new appointment is worthy of notice chiefly on one account. An immediate *relaxation* took place as to Fryth, in his imprisonment. In the earlier stage of his confinement here was his situation—"I am, in a manner, as a man bound to a post, and cannot so well bestow me in my play, as if I were at liberty; for I may not have such books as are necessary for me; neither yet pen, ink, nor paper, but only secretly, so that I am in *continual fear* both of the Lieutenant and of my keeper, lest they should espy any such thing by me. And, therefore, it is little marvel though the work be imperfect; for whenever I hear *the keys ring at the doors*, straight all must be conveyed out of the way—and then, if any notable thing had been in my mind, it was clean lost."

But now, though Sir Thomas Audley was as much disposed to please Henry as any of the time-servers round his person, he felt and acted very differently from his predecessor, as to the "*new learning*;" and Crumwell, who perhaps had profited by the sound advice of Vaughan, is stated to have been disposed to show favor to the prisoner. In short, had there been no deep and too successful intrigue afterwards employed, Fryth might have been permitted to depart from England. But still, in the meanwhile, there was a pause—a suspension of that violence and severity, which had run on during the reign of the last Chancellor. The very keeper of Fryth in the Tower greatly relaxed; and, "upon condition of his own word and promise, let him *go at liberty* during the *night*, to consult with good men." One happy result of all this was, that Fryth was enabled to write his full refutation of the Lord Chancellor, from the very Tower to which he had committed him, besides several other things, afterwards printed in his works.

Under these circumstances, Fryth was not idle, nor did Sir Thomas escape with impunity. "For though More wrote with as much wit and eloquence as any man in that age did, and Fryth wrote plainly without any art; yet there is so great a difference between their books, that whoever compares them, will clearly perceive the one to be the ingenious defender of an ill cause, and the other a simple assertor of truth." The palm for "wit and eloquence" has been at once assigned to Sir Thomas, upon all occasions; but if any one desires to see the "eloquent orator" and the "simple assertor of truth" in contrast, he has only to consult Fryth, who certainly does him justice, by quoting the eloquence, verbatim, such as it was, before he confutes it—

"Fryth, the young man, 'teacheth in a few leaves shortly, all the poison that Wickliffe, Æcolampadius, Huskyn, Tyndale, and Zuinglius have taught in all their books before, concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar; not only affirming it to be very bread still, as Luther doth, but also, as *these other beasts* do, saith it is *nothing else*.'—These dregs hath he drunken of Wickliffe, Æcolam-

padius, Tyndale and Zuinglius, and so hath all that he argueth here before ; which four, what manner folk they be, is meetly well perceived and known, and God hath in part, with his *open vengeance*, declared."

To this Fryth immediately gives the following memorable answer—

"I do neither affirm nor deny anything, because *Luther* so saith, but because the Scripture of God doth so conclude and determine. I take not *Luther* for such an author that I think he cannot err ; but I think verily that he both may err, *and doth err*, in *certain points*, although *not* in such as concern salvation and damnation ; for in these, blessed be God ! all these, whom ye call heretics, do agree right well. And likewise, I do not allow this thing, because *Wickliffe*, *Æcolampadius*, *Tyndale*, and *Zuinglius*, so say, but because I see them in that place more purely expound the Scripture, and that the process of the text doth more favor their sentence.—And where ye say that it is 'meetly well known what manner [of] folk they be,'"—After vindicating the other three individually, he adds, as to his dearest friend upon earth :—

"And *TYNDALE*, I trust, liveth, well content with such a poor Apostle's life, as God gave his Son Christ, and his faithful ministers in this world, which is not sure of so many *mites* as ye be yearly of *pounds*: although I am sure that, for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the Bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein, among other matters, he writeth thus—'I call God to record, &c.' Judge, Christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such, that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin ; howbeit, no man is innocent before God, which beholdeth the heart."

Thus, the one in exile, and the other in prison, testify to the blameless integrity of each other ; though no two men were so despised and respected, so hated and beloved, in the age in which they lived.

Ten days had not elapsed after Queen Anne's coronation, before Crammer, in servile obedience to his royal Master, must proceed with a widely different scene. The martyrdom of Fryth has never been sufficiently marked in English history, as there are several points of distinction between it and any *preceding* act of cruelty, in Henry's reign. In 1530, it is true, he had fully authorized a fiery persecution, but to this measure he had been strongly advised by the last Lord Chancellor ; and the cruelties ensuing had never commenced with him, nor had he yet personally sanctioned the last sentence of the law. *Bilney* and *Bayfield*, *Tewksbury* and *Bennet*, had been first seized and examined by the Bishops, and then put to death without any writ from his Majesty. The statute of Henry IV., and the warrant of Sir Thomas More, had been regarded as sufficient, and Henry only did not interpose. But Sir Thomas had now retired, and Chancellor Audley was not

a persecutor. The examination of Fryth was Henry's own deed, and though the blood of the innocent was already upon him, so far as explained, he now first degraded himself personally to the rank of a Murderer.

The importance attached to this reckless proceeding may be seen, in the eminence of the parties expressly appointed by the King to examine Fryth. These were Crammer, Gardiner, and Stokesly, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, or Henry's own brother-in-law, and the Earl of Wiltshire. The story altogether, is one of the most affecting, and graphic in the history of the times.

"Fryth's long confinement in the Tower, without examination, was so heinously taken of the King, that now my Lord of Canterbury, with other Bishops and other learned men, were at once appointed to examine him. And for that there should be *no concurrence of citizens* at the said examination: my Lord of Canterbury removed to Croydon, unto whom resorted the rest of the commissioners. Now, before the day of examination appointed, my Lord of Canterbury sent one of his gentlemen and one of his porters, whose name was Perlebean, a Welshman born, to fetch John Fryth from the Tower to Croydon. This gentleman had both my Lord's letters, and *the King's ring*, unto my Lord Fitzwilliams, (first Earl of Southampton) constable of the Tower, (then living in Cannon Row, at Westminster, in extreme anguish and pain from a disorder,) for the delivery of the prisoner. Fitzwilliams, more passionate than patient, understanding for what purpose my Lord's gentleman was come, damned and cursed Fryth and other heretics, saying—'Take this my ring unto the Lieutenant of the Tower, and receive your man, your heretic, with you, and I am glad that I am rid of him.'

"When Fryth was delivered to my Lord of Canterbury's gentleman, they twain, with Perlebean, sitting in a wherry, and rowing towards Lambeth: the said gentleman, much lamenting in his mind the infelicity of the said Fryth, began in this wise to exhort him—'To consider in what estate he was, a man altogether cast away in this world, if he did not look wisely to himself. And yet, though his cause was never so dangerous, he might somewhat, in relenting to authority, and so giving place for a time, both help himself out of trouble, and when opportunity and occasion should serve, prefer his cause, which he then went about to defend: declaring farther, that he had *many* well-willers and friends, which would stand on his side, so far forth as possible they then were able, and *durst* do: Adding hereunto, that it were great pity, that he, being of such singular knowledge both in the Latin and Greek; both ready and ripe in all kind of learning, as well in the Scriptures, as in the ancient doctors; should now suddenly suffer all those singular gifts to perish with him, with little commodity or profit to the world, and less comfort to his *wife and children*, and others, his kinsfolk and friends.'—'This I am sure of,' quoth the gentleman, 'that my Lord Crumwell, and my Lord of Canterbury,



much favoring you, and knowing you to be an eloquent learned young man, and now towards the felicity of your life, young in years, old in knowledge, and of great forwardness and likelihood to be a most profitable member of this realm, will never permit you to sustain any open shame, *if you will somewhat be advised by their counsel*. On the other side, if you stand still to your opinion, it is not possible to save your life. For like as you have good friends, so have you mortal foes and enemies.’”

Such was the commencement of those “sweet words,” to which Tyndale had alluded, and of which he had given such solemn warning; but there was no occasion. Fryth felt the solemnity and importance of his position, to a degree such as no man in England had ever yet reached.

“‘I most heartily thank you,’ quoth Master Fryth, ‘both for your good will, and for your counsel, by the which I well perceive that you mean well unto me. Howbeit, my cause and conscience is such, that in no wise I may not, nor cannot for any worldly respect, without danger of damnation, start aside, and fly from the true knowledge and doctrine which I have conceived of the Supper of the Lord, or the communion, otherwise called the sacrament of the altar: for if it be my chance to be demanded what I think in that behalf, I must needs say my knowledge and my conscience, as partly I have written therein already, though I should presently lose twenty lives, if I had so many. And this you shall well understand, that I am not so unfurnished, either of Scripture or ancient doctors, schoolmen or others, for my defence; so that if I may be indifferently (impartially) heard, I am sure that mine adversaries cannot justly condemn me, or mine assertion, but that they shall condemn with me St. Augustine, and the most part of the old writers; yea, the very Bishops of Rome of the oldest sort shall also say for me, and defend my cause.’”

“‘Yea, marry,’ quoth the gentleman, ‘you say well, *if you might be indifferently heard*. But I much doubt thereof, for that our Master, Christ, was not indifferently heard; nor should be, as I think, if He were now present again in the world, specially in this your opinion; the same being so odious in the world, and we so far off from the true knowledge thereof.’”

“‘Well, well,’ quoth Fryth then unto the gentleman, ‘I know very well that this doctrine of the sacrament of the altar, which I hold and have opened contrary to the opinion of this realm, is very hard meat to be digested, both of the clergy and laity thereof. But this I will say to you (taking the gentleman by the hand,) that if you live but twenty years more, whatsoever become of me, you shall see this whole realm of mine opinion: namely, the whole estate of the same, though some sort of men particularly shall not be fully persuaded therein: and if it come not so to pass, then account me the vainest man that ever you heard speak with tongue.’”

“‘Besides this, you say that my death would be sorrowful and uncomfortable unto my friends. I grant, that for a small time it

would be so; but if I should so mollify, qualify, and temper my cause, in such sort as to deserve only to be kept in prison, that would not only be a much longer grief unto me, but also to my friends would breed no small unquietness, both of body and mind. And, therefore, all things well and rightly pondered, my *death* in this cause shall be better unto me and all mine, than life in continual bondage and penuries. And Almighty God knoweth what He hath to do with his poor servant, whose cause I now defend, and *not my own*; from the which I assuredly do intend, God willing, *never to start, or otherwise to give place, so long as God will give me life.*

"This communication, or like in effect, my Lord of Canterbury's gentleman and Fryth had, coming in the wherry on the Thames, from the Tower to Lambeth.

"Now when they were landed, after some repast by them taken at Lambeth, the gentleman, the porter, and Fryth went forward towards Croydon. (nearly ten miles) on foot. This gentleman still lamenting with himself the hard and cruel destiny of Fryth, if he once came among the Bishops; and now also perceiving the exceeding constancy of Fryth, devised with himself some way or means to convey him clean out of their hands; and therefore, considering that there were no more persons there, to convey the prisoner, but the porter and himself, he took in hand to win the porter to his purpose.

"Said the gentleman to Perlebean, (walking by themselves without the hearing of Fryth,)—"You have heard this man I am sure, and noted his talk since he came from the Tower?"—"Yea, that I have, right well," quoth the porter, "and I never heard so constant a man, nor so eloquent a person."—"You have heard *nothing*," quoth the gentleman, "in respect of both his knowledge and eloquence; if he might liberally (freely) either in university or pulpit declare his learning. You would then much more marvel at his knowledge. I take him to be such a one of his age in all kind of learning, and knowledge of tongues, as this realm never yet, in mine opinion, brought forth. And yet those singular gifts in him, are no more considered of *our Bishops*, than if he were a very dolt or an idiot; yea, they abhor him as a devil therefore, and covet utterly to extinguish him as a member of the Devil, without any consideration of God's special gifts."

"'Marry,' quoth the porter, 'if there were nothing else in him but the consideration of his personage, both comely and amiable, and of natural dispositions, gentle, meek, and humble, it were pity he should be cast away.'

"'Cast away,' quoth the gentleman, 'he shall be sure cast away, if we once bring him to Croydon; and surely,' said he. 'before God I speak it, if thou, Perlebean, were of my mind we would *never* bring him thither.'

"'Say you so?' quoth the porter: 'I know that you be of a great deal more credit than I am in this matter; and therefore, if you can devise honestly, or find some reasonable excuse, whereby we may let him go, and provide for

himself, I will, with all my heart, condescend to your device.’—‘As for that,’ quoth the gentleman, ‘it is already invented how, and which ways, he shall convey himself, without any great danger or displeasure taken towards us, as the matter shall be handled. You see,’ quoth the gentleman, ‘yonder hill before us, named Bristow (Brixton) Causeway, (three miles from London,) there are great woods on both sides: when we come there, we will permit Fryth to go into the woods on the *left* hand of the way, whereby he may convey himself into Kent among his friends, for he is a Kentish man; and when he is gone, we will linger an hour or two about the highway, until that it draws towards the night. Then, in great haste, we will approach to Streatham, which is a mile and a half farther on, and make an outcry in the town, that our prisoner is broken from us into the woods on the *right* hand, towards Wandsworth, so that we shall draw as many as we may, to search the country *that* way for our prisoner, declaring that we followed above a mile or more, and at length lost him in the woods, because we had no more company: And so we will, rather than fail, lie out one night in searching for him, and send word from Streatham, to My Lord of Canterbury at Croydon, in the evening, of the prisoner’s escape, and to what coast he has fled. So that by the morning, if he have any good luck at all, he will so provide for himself that the Bishops shall fail of their purpose.’—‘I assure you,’ quoth Perlebean, ‘I like very well the device herein; and therefore, go ye to Fryth, and declare *that* we have devised for his delivery, for now we are almost at the place.’

“When my Lord of Canterbury’s gentleman came nigh the hill, he joined himself in company with Fryth, and calling him by his name said—‘Now, Master Fryth, let us twain commune together another while. You must consider that the journey which I have now taken in hand thus in bringing you unto Croydon, as a sheep to the slaughter, so grieveth me, and, as it were, overwhelmeth me in cares and sorrows, that I little mind what danger I fall in, so that I could find the means to deliver you out of the lion’s mouth. And yet, yonder good fellow and I have devised a means, whereby you may both *easily* escape from this great and imminent danger at hand, and we also be rid from any vehement suspicion.’”

One cannot conceive of *any* gentleman going so far as this, without some understanding with those *above* him, or good security that the escape would be winked at. \* Crumwell and Cranmer might wish that Fryth were *out of the way*, but the man first apprehended by More, was, as a Christian, of a superior grade to any who had yet suffered. He could be no party to falsehood, of which high and low made so little account; to say nothing of his now regarding himself as *set* for the defence of the truth.

“When Fryth had diligently heard all the matter concerning his delivery, he said to the gentleman, with a smiling countenance—‘Is this the effect of your secret consultation, thus long, between you twain? Surely, surely, you have lost a great deal

more labor in times past, and so are you like to do this. For if you should both leave me here, and go to Croydon, declaring to the Bishops, that you had lost Fryth; I would surely follow as fast after as I might, and bring them news, that I had found and brought Fryth again. Do you think,' said he, 'that I am afraid to declare my opinion to the *Bishops of England* in a manifest truth?'

"'You are a foolish man,' quoth the gentleman, 'thus to talk; as though your reasoning with *them* might do some good. But I do much marvel that you were so willing to fly the realm, before you were taken; and now so unwilling to save yourself?'

"'There was, and is, a great diversity of escaping, between the one and the other,' said Fryth. 'Before, I was indeed desirous to escape, because I was not attached, but at liberty—which liberty I would *fain* have enjoyed, (for the maintenance of my study beyond the sea, where I was reader in the Greek tongue,) according to St. Paul's counsel. Howbeit, *now*, being taken by the higher powers, and, as it were, by Almighty God's permission and providence, delivered into the hands of the Bishops, only for religion and doctrine's sake, such as in conscience, and under pain of damnation I am bound to maintain and defend: If I should now start aside, and run away—I should run from my God, and from the testimony of His holy Word—worthy then of a thousand hells. And, therefore, I most heartily thank you both, for your good will toward me, beseeching you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought, for else *I will go thither all alone.*' And so with a cheerful and merry countenance he went with them, spending the time with pleasant and godly communication, until they came to Croydon, where for that night he was well entertained in the *Porter's lodge*.

"On the morrow he was called before certain Bishops and other learned men, sitting in commission with the Lord of Canterbury, to be examined, where he shewed himself passing ready and ripe, in answering to all objections, as some then reported, incredibly, and contrary to all men's expectations. His allegations, both out of Augustine and other ancient fathers of the Church, were such, that some of them much doubted of Augustine's authority in that behalf: insomuch that it was reported, by them who were nigh and about the Archbishop of Canterbury, that when they had finished their examination, the Archbishop, conferring with Dr. Heath, privately between themselves, said—'This man hath wonderfully labored in this matter, and yet, in mine opinion, he taketh the doctors amiss.'—'Well, my Lord,' said Dr. Heath, 'there is no man who can do away his authorities from Augustine.' He then began to repeat them again, inferring and applying them so strongly, that my Lord said—'I see that you, with a little more study, will easily be brought to Fryth's opinion.'

"This learned young man being thus thoroughly sifted at Croydon, to understand what he could say and do in his cause, there was *no man willing* to prefer him to answer in *open* disputation."

Here, therefore, a pause, of several days ensued; which Cranmer himself helps us to explain. What we have already narrated had taken place between the 10th and 15th of June, and before the 17th, Fryth had been sent back to London. After his examinations were over, and before his return to London, Cranmer had called for him repeatedly, and tried to turn him, but in vain, and the Archbishop must now speak for himself. On the 17th he writes a long letter to Archdeacon Hawkins, his successor, as ambassador, at the Emperor's court; in which it must be confessed that he seems far more elated by "the gorgeous and sumptuous" display at the Queen's coronation, than depressed by the tragedy, in which, immediately afterwards, he had also played his part. Of the former he gives a long and minute account; descending to the guns fired—the dresses worn—the order of cavalcade. "Now, then, on Sunday, (1st June,) was the coronation," when he, with six Bishops and twelve Abbots "all revestred in their pontificalibus, with their crosses and crosiers, walked in procession into the church of Westminster," where "I did put the crown upon her head, and then was sung *Te Deum*." It is in this very letter, after finishing his account, that Fryth is introduced, and in the following terms:—

"Other news have we none notable, *but* that *one* Fryth, which was in the Tower in prison, was appointed by the King's Grace to be examined before me, my Lord of London, my Lord of Winchester, my Lord of Suffolk, my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord of Wiltshire—whose opinion was so notably erroneous, that we could not despatch him, but was *fain* to leave him to the determination of his ordinary, which is (*Stokesly*) the Bishop of London. His said opinion is of such nature that he thought it not necessary to be believed as an article of our faith, that there is the very corporal presence of Christ within the host and sacrament of the altar, and holdeth of this point most after the opinion of *Cæcolampadius*. And surely I myself sent for him three or four times to persuade him to leave that his imagination, but for all that we could do therein, he would not apply to any counsel. Notwithstanding now he is at a final end with all examinations, for my Lord of London hath given sentence and delivered him to the secular power, where he looketh every day to go unto the *fire*. And there is also condemned with him, one Andrew (*Hewet*), a tailor of London, for the said selfsame opinion." He then turns to other secular affairs, dating his letter, "from my manor of Croydon the 17th day of June."

On Friday, the 20th of June, Fryth came to his final appearance, before the Bishops of London, (*Stokesly*), Lincoln, (*Longland*), and Winchester, (*Gardiner*), in St. Paul's. His constancy, self-possession and Christian fortitude never forsook him for one moment; and when the question was finally put, whether he would subscribe his answers, he took up the pen, and with his own hand wrote these words—"Ego Frithus ita sentio, et quemadmo-

*dum sentio, ita dixi, scripsi, asservi et affirmavi," &c.—“I, Fryth, thus do think, and as I think, so have I said, written, defended and avowed, and in my books have published.”*

Sentence being passed, and read against him, by Stokesly, he was handed over to the Mayor and Sheriffs. By them he was committed to Newgate, and put into a dark dungeon under the gate. There, laden with irons, as many as he could bear, and his neck made fast to a post, with a collar of iron, he could neither stand upright, nor stoop down! Yet even here, by candle-light, for no other came into the place, was he continually engaged in writing—the letter to his friends, concerning his troubles, which was afterwards printed in his works, being his first effort.

Such was the power of Fryth's example, that another individual, Andrew Hewet, (also betrayed by Holt, the miscreant already mentioned,) who had been first examined in April, and was now brought up again, resolved to follow his steps. The Bishops used many persuasions to allure him from the truth, but in vain. His heart was one with Fryth's, and he told them firmly, that he would do as he had done. He was therefore condemned.

And now at the last, that Henry might have his full share of the guilt and shame of such a martyrdom, on the 3d of July it was noted to him, officially, by Stokesly, sealed with his own seal, how the matter stood, but there was *no* reply, and therefore full consent! Next morning Fryth and his companion were led forth to Smithfield.

Being both bound to the stake, “there was present,” says Foxe, “one Dr. Cooke, that was parson of the Church called All-hallows, in Honey-lane, situate in the midst of Cheapside.” The said Cooke made open exclamation, and admonished the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, any more than they would for a *dog*. At these words, Fryth, smiling, prayed the Lord to forgive him! The Doctor's words, however, “did not a little move the people to anger, and not without cause. The wind made his death somewhat longer, as it bore away the flame from him to his fellow; but Fryth's mind was established with such patience, that, as though he had felt no pain, he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow than to be careful for himself!” This painful event was felt and lamented far and near.

So early as the 17th of June, Cranmer, immediately after he had informed Hawkins respecting John Fryth, tells him that the Duke of Norfolk, the Prime Minister; Lord Rochford, the brother of Queen Anne; Sir Francis Bryan, Sir A. Brown, with Drs. Goodrich, Aldrich, and Thirlby, had been sent as ambassadors to the King of France—“and, as I suppose, they go from him to the Pope,” to Marseilles. In July, Hawkins obtained one conference with the Emperor, but he remained inflexible. “The matter was none of his;”—but “she,” Queen Catharine, “was his aunt, and an orphan. He must see for her, and her daughter was his cousin.” The envoy, therefore, soon after returned to England.

In June, probably before he knew *all* that had occurred in Eng-

land, the Pontiff was eager to keep *both* Henry and the Emperor satisfied, if possible, but the latter had the entire control, and became urgent; so that, by the 11th of July, Clement annulling at once the judgment given by Cranmer, a provisional excommunication of Henry was issued, unless he separated from his new Queen before September, or, at the latest, by the end of October. The King then recalled the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Rochford from France, and, on the 30th of the same month, signed an appeal from the condemnation of the Pope to a *General Council*. It so happened that the Duke of Orleans, a boy of fifteen, the second son of Francis, was about to be married at Marseilles, to Catharine de Medici, the niece of Clement, when the French King and the Pontiff were to meet at the marriage. The resolute Stephen Gardiner was instructed to be present, as his Sovereign's representative, to watch proceedings; Sir F. Bryan, and Sir J. Wallop were also sent: but, as resolute as Gardiner, and more fierce withal, Edmund Bonner was there also as ambassador. In August, Henry had forwarded to the *latter* his appeal to a general Council, which was to be communicated at the proper time. At the commencement of this meeting, in October, the Pontiff, not being with Charles, began to oscillate once more. England he would *fain* have retained, by any means, foul or fair; and so he hinted that he would now annul the first marriage of Henry, if he would only send a proxy thither. Nay, he deliberately confessed to the King of France, that he thought Henry's marriage with Catharine, and the dispensation granted by his predecessor, were both null and void in law; but then he was governed by the imperial power, which, of course, he actually hated.

When November came, however, Bonner thought it was now time for him to present and read his papers, and this he effected, to the no small annoyance of Clement. The subject matter was unwelcome, and the *manner* of Bonner so peremptory and offensive, that our former Bishop of Worcester, the Pontiff, once enraged, threatened to throw him into a cauldron of melted lead, or to burn him alive! It was time for Edmund then to make his escape, or withdraw and return to England.

The meeting of Francis and Clement, in its effects, was a most melancholy one for France. The King, it is true, "there completed the nuptials between his own son and the Pontiff's niece;" but there, also, "he made that secret compact with him, which, being adopted and pursued by other princes in his own country, and elsewhere, filled the most enlightened parts of Europe with terror, blood, flames, commotion, and misery, for above a century!" Henry was abandoning the connection, but "unhappily for his kingdom, Francis plunged into it more deeply than ever—an event the more extraordinary, that, before this time, he had talked of curtailing the Pontiff's power in his dominions, and even of receding from it, and had for some time permitted his beloved sister, (the Queen of Navarre,) and her religious friends, to enjoy and diffuse their opinions. This miserable and infatuated change of

conduct made his country, for several generations, a region of mourning, battle, and death."

With regard to that war of opinion, now effectually kindled in England, which burst forth so decidedly in February 1526, and continued without intermission, it was more than ever on the advance; but it has now become more necessary to *discriminate*, if we are to keep pace with the actual state of the country. The positive progress of Divine truth, must on no account be confounded with certain opinions debated, and movements settled, whether in Parliament or the Convocation. In England were two distinct parties, with views and intentions as distinct as heaven and earth, or as Divine truth is from mere political expediency. The former was, properly speaking, the cause of God; the latter party, though overruled by Him, involved chiefly the passions and feelings of but one man, or the Monarch, with his obsequious advisers. The former cause, *apparently* without one powerful friend on earth, was certainly, as yet, without a visible leader in England. Notwithstanding both fire and fury, the rage of Henry, and the vain imaginations of his prelates, that cause had been feeling its way, silently but effectually, in a thousand directions; and the parties benefited were scattered among the people, as "a dew from Jehovah, which tarrieth not for man, nor waiteth for the sons of men." With regard to other men, in all the discussions between the Pontiff and Henry, on the one hand, and between the latter with his Parliaments or Convocations, on the other, though religion was *verbally* connected with them, all hated, and all as yet had equally persecuted, the Truth. Yet feeble and unprotected as the cause of God might seem, it was essentially the cause of all that happened. All the other movements were but the ground-swell; so that while human passions and worldly interests were in agitation, the Almighty looked down from heaven, and in the things wherein they dealt proudly or cruelly, He was above them. In short, if the names of men are to be mentioned, the cause of Tyndale and Fryth was that of England's best hope, and the most untoward events were overruled to advance it.

The martyrdom of Fryth was the climax of those on English ground, and it was the more deeply lamented as involving the death of the dearest friend and assistant of Tyndale himself. Yet was it fit that *he* should occupy such a place in this noble warfare. The effect was felt in Parliament, and at its first sitting, on the simple petition of a poor prisoner, the subject was taken up; not, indeed, by the Lords or Bishops; not by the King, but by that instrument of national good, corrupt and servile though it was—the House of Commons. It was then, as we shall see, that heretics were taken out of the hands of the Bishops, and then that no man was to be, as many had been, immured in a dungeon, on *suspicion* of heresy. Even now the Scriptures were let alone, at least not burnt; nor was any one confined or burnt, for reading or believing them. It was not a little remarkable, nor should it



now be forgotten, that such a season succeeded the martyrdom of Fryth.

Although from June 1533 the storm was beginning to subside, opposition to the truth was by no means at an end. On the contrary, so far as the *pen* and the *press* were concerned, the present year stands most of all conspicuous. We have noticed the slight inaccuracy of supposing that Sir 'Thomas More retired to a life of study and retirement, when he resigned the Great Seal in May last, as for seven months afterwards he continued active as a persecutor. Even then, he had been writing; but it was during this year especially, that he put forth all his strength, and must have been busy, night and day, with little or nothing else than his great controversy. Had "abundance of words" been only reckoned a mark of greatness, Sir Thomas must have seemed a giant in literature; but now, the amount of his exertions in this warfare, can only be placed among its most melancholy curiosities.

We have already noticed the first part of his "Confutation of Tyndale," so called, consisting of 363 folio pages; and now came the remainder, or five books, of 573 pages more, or 936 in all! Of these ponderous volumes, 150 pages were against Barnes, and 786 in opposition to Tyndale!

An important diversion from Tyndale personally, now ensued: his cause was gathering strength. Of these two huge publications, the last had scarcely come from the press, when there sprung up another writer, and upon *English* ground, who disturbed the self-complacency of Sir Thomas not a little. He was of the Chancellor's own profession, though, in other respects, a very different man. An Oxford scholar, he had entered the Inner Temple, had long been eminent as a counsellor; and, as a man, highly esteemed. A Christian, too, he was a great admirer of the Sacred Volume, as appeared by his habitual use of it. "Every night, after his business was past, he read a chapter of the Bible to those that belonged to his house, and the substance thereof he expounded to them." It was natural for such a man to take a deep interest in the times. This year, therefore, he published anonymously "The Pacifier, or the Division between the Spirituality and the Temporality," printed by Berthelet. It was distinguished for its temperate language, and formed a perfect contrast to the controversial style of Sir Thomas. He was, therefore, the more censured for the violence of his writing, as well as his tedious verbosity. The anonymous writer was held up to him as a pattern. Excited once more, he must commence again; but he ran on to 580 pages duodecimo, entitled, "The Apology of Sir Thomas More, after he had given over the office of Lord Chancellor of England." Here he very candidly gives us the popular feeling against himself, for after all his toil, his Confutation was not read! So far from the high-sounding term "Confutation," the author has now come down to an *Apology*.

The retired Chancellor's tone was now, for a short season, more subdued; though whenever he touched on the Spirituality, so

called, his irritability returns. Referring to Tyndale and others, he says—"as for wit and learning, I nowhere say that any of them have *none*"—but now this new writer, by his matter and manner combined, greatly puzzled him. He could not believe so good a man could be an enemy to the Spirituality, and yet "he says nothing good of them." Faults, and these alone, are specified, so that he must be surrounded by some "wily shrews, who have filled his ear with such statements." Still, to the manner of this writer, he must concede the superiority, though he could not imitate it. "The pacifier can yet use his words in a fair manner, and speak to each man gently. I cannot say but that is very true. Howbeit, every one hath not like wit, nor like invention in writing; for he findeth many ways of calling evil matter in good words, which I have never thought upon, but am a simple plain body, much like the Macedonians."

This anonymous writer was *Christopher Saintgerman*. It is by no means improbable that he came forward this year, not only from principle, but from feelings of friendship, if not of kindred. His mother's name originally was *Anne Tyndale*; he being the son of Sir Henry Saintgerman, a knight of Warwickshire, by Anne, the daughter of Thomas Tyndale, Esq. We have not been able to trace the relationship, but his mother may have been, in some remote degree, related to our Translator.

By the month of August, at the latest, Tyndale's defence of Fryth against More, and Fryth's letter to him, which he had penned in the Tower, had arrived in print from abroad. The retired Chancellor then put forth his reply to Fryth, such as it was: which, though in *print* since December last, he had kept back, he says, "more than a year;" and then he fell upon Tyndale, but for the last time. The brief and unexceptionable treatise of Tyndale, entitled, "The Supper of the Lord," &c., from which we have already quoted, was an octavo tract of about 60 pages. Sir Thomas, in his usual style, replied, in the same size, to the tune of 282 pages, besides his preface! It was printed, he tells us, "and many of them gone before Christmas." This was a final effort, and every way worthy of the close of such a stormy tempest. It is painful to quote his language; but, without noticing it, no just or adequate idea can be formed of the battle which was fought for the truth of God, and the emancipation of the human mind; nor, consequently, of the obligations of this country to the man who, for England's lasting benefit, triumphed, and then went on with his work.

Whether there had been another edition of Tyndale's New Testament, since his reprint of 1530, we have not been able to ascertain. Owing to his residence in Antwerp itself, and the promise of his revising the translation, the printers were probably restrained. By this time, however, there were the tokens of increasing demand, perhaps not altogether unconnected with the reigning Queen of England; but, from whatever cause, the prospect of a large and ready sale will prove by far too strong for these Antwerp printers

to remain still. Let the market be never so inviting, among all the English printers, of course, not one dared to move; but to these foreign workmen, George Joye represents himself as saying,—"If Tyndale amend it (the translation) with so great diligence as he promiseth, yours will never be sold."—"Yes," they replied, "for if he print two thousand, and we as many, what is *so little a number* for all England! And we will sell ours better cheap, and therefore we doubt not of the sale."

Thus, notwithstanding the martyrdom of Fryth in June, nay, all that the Bishops had yet done to terrify the people at home, or the King and his ministers to prevent importation of books from abroad; notwithstanding all that Sir Thomas More had written and published; and though there was yet no symptom of any favorable regard, on the part of even one official man in all England; it becomes evident that there was to be no wisdom, nor counsel, nor might, which should be able to resist a tide which had now set in with greater power than ever.

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## SECTION XI.

TYNDALE ALL ALONE AFTER FRYTH'S DEATH—GENESIS, SECOND EDITION—FRESH ISSUE OF THE PENTATEUCH—SURREPTITIOUS EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT BY JOYE—THE CORRECTED AND IMPROVED EDITION BY TYNDALE—JOYE'S INTERFERENCE EXPLAINED—STATE OF ENGLAND—PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED—SEPARATION FROM ROME—CONSTRUCTIVE TREASON—THE PONTIFF'S SUPREMACY AT AN END—DIVINE TRUTH IN PROGRESS—HARMAN IN LONDON—RESTORED TO FAVOR BY THE QUEEN—GLANCE AT THE PAST AND PRESENT—THE NEW TESTAMENT IMPORTING IN SEVERAL EDITIONS, IN FORCIBLE CONTRAST WITH THE IDLE DREAMS OF THE CONVOCATION.

IN returning to Tyndale at the commencement of this year, it is impossible to do so without feelings of sympathy. By a cruel death, and in the prime of life, on the 4th of July, he had been bereft of that companion who was dearer to him than any man living. That stroke must have been deeply felt still, and long would the feeling of bereavement return upon him, more especially when he sat down to his beloved employment. He had, indeed, toiled in this hazardous undertaking before Fryth came to him from England, but having for years enjoyed his company and aid, as well as so highly prized them both, it must have demanded no inferior degree of Christian submission and fortitude, now to plough through the deep all alone. Tyndale actually had no man like-minded, and the place of Fryth was never to be supplied. We by no means forget another valuable agent, John Roger, into whose hands came all that Tyndale had translated; and who proved so admirable a posthumous friend.

But still, in the death of Fryth, there were alleviating circumstances, as there always have been in the afflictions of the faith-

ful. Such a glorious exit was well fitted to prepare Tyndale for his own, and to render it so much the easier, nay, welcome when it arrived. We have seen how intensely anxious he was for the *character* of his friend, and in this he might now well exult. That young man had fought a good fight, had finished his appointed course; and above all, had preserved his fidelity. He had come home from beyond sea, and shown to all England, how a martyr for the truth of God ought to die, if he must. Nothing remained for him but the Christian's great metropolis, the heavenly Jerusalem, the palace of the Great King; into which he had entered, no doubt, with joy upon every side. In him there had been no misgiving, not a single word of hesitation, no shift or evasion, no halting between two opinions, no love of life, no fear of death. His crown of martyrdom was, unquestionably, by far the brightest which had yet been won upon English ground, ever since this war of opinion had commenced. As Stephen of old had fallen asleep amidst the shower of stones at Jerusalem; so Fryth, also praying for his enemies, had done the same, in the midst of the flames at London. But, besides all this, there were the noted effects, the impression his Christian heroism had produced, and the season that almost immediately ensued. The sky had begun to clear over England for a little season, and this was quite sufficient to convey fresh vigor to our Translator. It was this year, therefore, that there appeared a second impression of Genesis, and an improved, because a revised edition of the New Testament, both of which now deserve notice.

That it was the fixed and unalterable intention of Tyndale to print an edition of the entire sacred text, there can be no question. He had already commenced with "the first book of Moses called Genesis," newly corrected and amended by W. T., MDXXXIII. His initials were now, of course, perfectly sufficient to point out the author; and thus, in the very teeth of a tempest of more than eight years' standing, he modestly intimated his firm determination to proceed as he had begun. Of the four other books of the Pentateuch, copies being still on hand, these five being frequently bound up together, form what has frequently been styled the *second* edition of the Pentateuch.

By other local circumstances in Antwerp itself, however, Tyndale was now imperatively called away to the revision and improvement of his New Testament; and these circumstances, hitherto but very imperfectly understood, deserve as well as demand some explanation. Although Tyndale himself was somewhat annoyed by them, an ardent and growing desire in England for his translation of the Scriptures, formed the sole cause of all that took place. The printers and George Joye had conferred on this subject very cautiously, unknown to Tyndale, and as Joye was now in Antwerp, it is necessary to glance at his previous history.

George Joye, alias Gee, alias Clarke, a native of Bedfordshire, a Scholar and Fellow of Peter-House, Cambridge, had fled from persecution in 1527, and resided at Strasburg, till he came to

Barrow, early in 1532. By his then printing two specimen leaves, in folio, he is supposed to have been aiming after an edition of the Bible for the English market. Before this he had been translating from the *Latin*, as he was competent for nothing more, and since 1530 he had put forth three such translations. Tyndale having been necessarily engrossed elsewhere, with his tract in reply to Sir Thomas More, and on behalf of Fryth in prison, relating to the Lord's Supper, Joye came into closer conference with the printers at Antwerp. He then engaged in correcting, after his own opinion, from the *Vulgate*, an edition of Tyndale's New Testament, now passing through the press. Christopher Endhoven being now dead, the business was carried on by his widow. This, it will be remembered, was the press at which the first surreptitious edition had been executed; and the progress of the present one had been very carefully kept secret from Tyndale, even after his return to Antwerp. This volume, in 16mo, with a title in rubrics, which was finished at press in August 1534, is now exceedingly rare.

*Collation.* "The New Testament as it was written and caused to be written by them which hearde yt, whom also our Saueoure Christ Jesus commanded that they shulde preach it unto al creatures."—Title, at the back of which is an "almanacke for xviii. yerres." The signatures run a to z. A to H. Then the Epistles of the Apostle St. Paul, on sign Aai, and extend to Ccc. At the end of the Revelation is this Colophon—"Here endeth the Newe Testament, diligently ouersene and corrected, and printed now agayn at Antwerpe by me Widowe of Chrystoffel of Endhouē, in the yere of oure Lorde mcccc. and xxxiiii in August."

Meanwhile, Tyndale was very busily occupied in revising and improving the translation of his New Testament, and in three months only after this, it was ready for circulation. But before saying more of the book, or of Joye's interference, we first present a brief collation.

"The Newe Testament dilygently corrected and compared with the Greek by Willyam Tindale, and fyneshed in the yere of our Lorde God a md and xxxiiij. in the moneth of November." This title is within a wood border, at the botom of which is a *blank* shield. "W. T. to the Christen reader," 17 pages. "A prologe into the iiii Evangelystes," 4 pages. "Willyam Tindale, yet once more, to the Christen reader," 9 pages. Then a *second* title—"The Newe Testament, imprinted at Antwerp by Marten Emperowr, Anno mxxxiiij." Matthew begins on folio ii. ; Revelation on cclv. ; and afterwards follow "The Epistles taken out of the Old Testament," running on to folio cccc. A table of the Epistles and Gospels for Sundays, 16 pages—with "some things added to fill up the leffe with all," 5 pages. The signatures run in eights, and a full page has 33 lines. It has wood-cuts in the Revelations, and some small ones at the beginning of the Gospels, and several of the Epistles.

The *second* address of Tyndale to the Christian Reader forms

a *caveat* with reference to Joye's interference; and there can be little doubt that the first title with his *name* inserted in full, and as having compared the Sacred Text once more with the *Greek*, was owing to the same cause. The occurrence, which could not fail to be felt at the moment, is to be valued now thus far, that it gave occasion for Tyndale to speak out, and discover whether he had not all along translated from the *original*, and was laudably jealous over the precise terms of his translation. When he alludes to Joye, it is in the language of a scholar, who could not but regard him as rash and incompetent; and, in point of fact, he soon discovered himself to be a man of very inferior calibre, whether in regard to learning or sound judgment. Placed in such critical circumstances as Tyndale had been for years, while every *word* of his translation had been so carefully scanned, and a controversy was actually in dependence at the moment with the Lord Chancellor of England, with regard to certain terms, there was certainly no trivial occasion both for alarm and offence. The important word "*Resurrection*," Joye had very strangely altered to "*the life after this*;" and in reference to the book generally, "I wot not," says Tyndale, "what *other* changes, for I have not yet read it over." This word, an all-important one, was especially so at that season, and occasioned Tyndale solemnly to profess his faith in the resurrection from the dead; having observed that the word was not so rendered as Joye had done, "neither by him, nor by any other translator in any language." But the alterations were far from being confined to a single word. In one place, indeed, Joye speaks as if he had mended only "a *few* certain doubtful and dark places," but the truth comes out when he adds, "I say I have made *many* changes." This becomes manifest, from his very simple explanation of what had been his procedure.

"For as for me, I had *nothing to do* with the printing thereof, but corrected *their* copy only, (and, most probably, one of the spurious editions,) as where I found a word falsely printed, I mended it; and when I came to some dark sentence, that no reason could be gathered of them, whether it was by the ignorance of the first translator, or of the printer, I had the *Latin* text by me, and made it *plain*!! And gave many words their *pure and native* signification!"

The better way, however, will be, to let Joye speak for himself; though the "Apology made by him to satisfy, if it may be, W. Tyndale," &c., dated the 28th of February, (1535,) in itself a contemptible production, became peculiarly offensive, from its being put forth *after* our Translator had been *actually and at last* apprehended, and in prison! But still let us hear him. By his own confession he had "made many changes," though there was one of which he was not a little vain, and this will serve sufficiently for illustration. Tyndale's corrected New Testament was now out, and gone to England, but says Joye,—

"Ere he (Tyndale) came to one place of the Testament to be last corrected, I told his scribe, that there was a place in the begin-

ning of the vith chapter of the Acts, somewhat darkly translated at first, and that *I had mended it in my correction*, and bade him shew it Tyndale to *mend it also*. But yet, because *I* found the fault, and had corrected it before, Tyndale had lever to let it stand, as he did *for all my warning*, still darkly in his new correction, whereof the reader might take a wrong sense, than to have mended it. Which place, whether it standeth now clearer and truer, in *my* correction than in *his*, let the *learned* judge !”

That the learned, therefore, may judge, we must, on no account withhold this *clearer and truer* passage. It was this—

“In those dayes, the nombre of the disciples grewe there arose a grudge amonge the grekes agaynste the ebrues, because theyr pore nedye were neglece in the dayly almose dealinge !”

To say nothing of one word left out, of course Tyndale had not substituted *poor nedye* for “widows,” nor *almsdealing* for “ministration;” but such officious intermeddling with a living author’s work crowned by such an Apology, and put forth at such a time, could not fail to be deeply offensive to many, as the event proved. The fact was, that Joye, in his ignorance, was contributing to the corruption of the Sacred Text; and, in one sense, to a greater degree than the Antwerp printers, who, though they had erred occasionally, as foreigners to the language, still rose quite above the specimens which Joye had before furnished from Strasburg. Not a little conceited of his powers, he had been dabbling with the translation, and with the *Vulgate* only before him, as he said, to make it plain ! Now, the whole public life of Tyndale has been not unfittedly described, as “a series of hostilities against the defenders of the Latin Vulgate.” But it became much worse when Joye was taking liberties with the Vulgate itself, and was quite nettled because our Translator would not imitate him in his rash folly. In frowning, therefore, upon such interference, Tyndale only showed his discernment; though, after all, poor George Joye may now be cordially forgiven, for a petulance even tinged with malignity, owing to a few terms in which he expressed himself. He it is who contributed his mite, to establish the scholarship of our original Translator, and to an extent but little known to some of our moderns. “I am not afraid,” said he, in one place, “I am not afraid to answer Master Tyndale in this matter, *for all his high learning in HEBREW, GREEK, AND LATIN, &c.*” What other tongues he referred to, we cannot say; but after this testimony, though uttered in a miserable spirit, we have no occasion to draw upon the high-flown compliment paid to Tyndale, but by no mean judge, after he had communed with him at Worms. We refer to Herman Buschius, the friend of Spalatinus. He mentions other languages, though *not* German, as Herbert Marsh imagined; but Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, with which he begins, are quite sufficient.

In his history of translations, Lewis, not knowing all the circumstances, has misrepresented Tyndale, by saying that, in his preface, his language expresses a great deal too much passion and

resentment against Joye; the best refutation of which is to be found in Tyndale's own words—

“William Tyndale, yet once more to the Christian reader. Thou shalt understand, most dear reader, when I had taken in hand to look over the New Testament again, to compare it with the Greek, and to mend whatsoever I could find amiss, and had almost finished my labor: George Joye *secretly* took in hand to correct it also, by what occasion his conscience knoweth, and prevented (went before) me, insomuch, that his correction was printed in great number, (most of the sheets) ere mine began. When it was *spied*, and word brought me, though it seemed to divers others, that G. Joye had not used the office of an honest man, seeing *he knew* that I was in correcting it myself; neither did walk after the rule of love and softness, which Christ and his disciples teach us; how that we should do nothing of strife to move debate, or of vainglory, or of covetousness,” &c.

At the close of this year we shall have occasion to revert once more to the various editions of the New Testament, which had issued, in only a few months, from different presses in Antwerp; but, at present, we first return home to our native land, and observe the leading occurrences by which the period was so distinguished.

In England, the political events of this year were at once important and decisive; while, as it regarded the Scriptures and their dispersion, a *separate* department of history, and altogether as distinct as ever, the change was not less remarkable. Not that there was any change on the Monarch, except that of going on from bad to worse: but we shall see him in trouble respecting his own personal safety, adopting such measures as fear suggested, and at the same time pursuing his career after power, with an ultimate view to the acquisition of wealth, by whatever means. For what though the clergy were still paying up the price of their pardon? These monasteries and religious houses, full in view, were rich, and Henry still was poor.

In December last, the English Council had settled their mode of procedure with regard to Clement, after he had so threatened if not frightened Master Bonner.

The Council decided that Henry's subjects should now be fully informed of his having appealed to a General Council; and it must be preached throughout the land that the authority of a *General Council* was superior to that of the Pontiff, who, in England, had now no more than that of any other foreign Bishop.

On the 15th of January, Parliament sat down, and the Convocation assembled about the same time. In the latter there was now no more discussion respecting the burning of heretics; while in Parliament, the Upper and the Lower Houses were exchanging bills with each other, characteristic of the times. On the 4th of February, the Commons sent up a bill in mitigation of those who might be charged with *heresy*, which will be glanced at presently; the Upper House, on the same day, sending down the clergy's submission bill, to which the Convocation bowed, and the Com-



mons readily agreed. This passed on the 28th of March, when the clergy, entering into *new* bonds, acknowledged that all convocations should be henceforth assembled by the *King's writ*,—that they should make no *new* canons without the royal assent,—that a committee should sit on all present canons prejudicial to the King's *prerogative*, and that all grievances in the Archbishop's court, might be *appealed* to the King.

On the 26th of March, a Bill had passed through both Houses, discharging Henry's subjects from all dependence on the Court of Rome. On the same day, Parliament again confirmed the King's marriage, as well as the succession to the crown, and then, on the 30th, adjourned to the third of November.

The Pope, however, pronounced sentence "That Henry's first marriage was valid, that he should be compelled to live with Queen Catharine, and be forever silent on the subject!" Thus was there only one path left open in England. But who devised it? Not the King, certainly; for he had been long brooding over some crooked path of his own, which no writer can well explain, and for the best of all reasons—Henry did not actually know it himself. But at all events, no man can now dream that religion, in any sense, had ever the shadow of an influence, with either party, in these wearisome negotiations. On the contrary, and so far as England was concerned, we shall find her Monarch waxing worse and worse, to the day of his death. But it was the will of God that the connection should come to an end, and so says Halle, the earliest historian of the times, "God be everlastingly praised therefore."

Parliament being now prorogued, one feature of the time is worthy of notice. It was the exchange of the fear of heresy, for the fear of *treason*. That bill in mitigation of the treatment of any who were suspected of the former, is worthy of remark, as its success has been partly ascribed to feelings excited by the death of *Fryth*. One Thomas Philip, who had been delivered by Sir Thomas More to Stokesly, of London, by indenture, in 1530, had been cruelly detained in prison by him ever since! Of Philip, who had appealed to the King, but could not gain access to him, an account is given by Foxe, with an interesting letter of exhortation to firmness, from "the Congregation," or those followers of Christ who met in Bow Lane, Cheapside; but Foxe concludes by saying, that he knew not what became of him. The truth is, that, at last, he complained to the House of Commons against Stokesly, and as the Bishop would not appear at their bar, to answer for his conduct, the Commons' House framed their bill, which had now passed.

It repealed the statute of Henry IV., by which *Bishops* might commit to prison on *suspicion* of heresy; heretics were only to be proceeded against by *two* witnesses, and to answer in *open* court; if guilty, the King's writ must be obtained before any sentence could be executed; but it was declared that none should be troubled *upon any of the PONTIFF's canons or laws, or for speaking or acting against him*.

This act was generally regarded by the people as an especial

blessing, since it not only delivered them in a great degree from the paw of ecclesiastical tyranny, but immediately brought some of the most worthy characters from their dungeons. Not only did Philips, who had been there for years, escape, but Thomas Patmore, who had been confined as long, obtained a commission from Audley, Crumwell, and Cranmer, to inquire into "the injurious and unjust dealings of both More and Stokesly. Patmore, who was most probably a relation of that gentleman who had been so shamefully treated for importing and dispersing Tyndale's New Testaments, in 1531, seems to have been restored to his former living. Thus, after a long season of most reckless cruelty, here now was the dawning of a day of *retribution*.

It was after Parliament rose, that the oaths of allegiance to the King, to the lawfulness of his marriage, and the succession to the crown, came to be tendered to all parties. Sir Thomas More, and Bishop Fisher, hesitating, they were committed to the Tower, till the meeting of Parliament. Henry was greatly irritated against both; and it being apprehended, if they had books and paper, that they would write against the King's marriage, or his supremacy, these were denied them. Thus it was, emphatically, that More's controversial career came to an end.

The remaining political events of this year may be soon told. In April, an "Inhibition" of all seditious preaching, or, in other words, saying anything contrary to the acts just passed, was sent out by Cranmer. In June, there was a public proclamation against the supremacy of the Pontiff. In August, the observant Friars of St. Francis, strongly suspected of opposition to the supremacy of Henry, were unhoused, when many of them took their departure. This was a preliminary feeler, put forth with an ultimate view to the Monasteries, and all other religious houses throughout the kingdom. In September, Clement died at Rome, surviving his sentence against Henry only six months. He was succeeded by Farnese, or Paul III. In October, Secretary Crumwell was made Master of the Rolls, and on the third of November, Parliament again sat to the 18th of December.

All preceding Acts of Parliament bearing upon the great controversy with Rome, were now fully recognized and confirmed. It was made treason for any one not only to deny the King's dignity, but his attendant title, as "Head of the Church of England;" nay, once calling him heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, subjected every man to the same imputation! By this Parliament, also, both Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were attainted for misprision of treason, so that, in six months hence, we shall see them come to their unhappy end.

This year, amidst all the policy, and even the wrath of statesmen, still absorbed in their own affairs, concurring events, in which the overruling hand of God had been conspicuous, were favorable to the progress of Divine Truth in Britain. That cause continued to be one *by itself*, and still certainly without any visible *Head* in England. There had been frowns, and proclamations, and de-

nunciations; there had been solemn warnings, and martyrdoms; but never one smile from the Throne, no sanction from the Privy Council, not one voice, in Parliament. But what did all this signify? We observe edition upon edition of the New Testament, as well as the Law of God, prepared at a distance, for English eyes. The cause was God's; by way of emphasis, *His*. He alone had carried it on, in defiance of all the power and policy of the nation.

Among all the wonders He hath wrought for this favored Island, and they are now numerous as the sand upon her sea-shore, there is not one to be compared with His conveyance of the Bible to its inhabitants; nor should the *way* in which he did so, be confounded with other passages in English history; much less be "buried in forgetfulness, or in oblivion die."

After such efforts made in printing the Scriptures in Antwerp, and to the extent which we have already witnessed, it may naturally be expected, that we shall discover in England itself, at least some of the grounds of encouragement. The intelligence of all that was transacted in Parliament, of course, went to Antwerp immediately, for there was no city on the Continent, where everything passing in London was better known, or so soon. The bill introduced by the Commons, which would have the effect of taking any who were suspected of heresy, out of the hands of the Bishops, was of itself ominous of better days. Originating in a complaint against the late Lord Chancellor and the present Bishop of London, and this complaint terminating in such a cure, was better still. There must have been various other encouraging circumstances, of which we have no account; but there was one party now in England, of whom, till now, we have heard nothing so tangible and distinct.

The reader is fully aware that five years ago, a gentleman of Antwerp, Mr. Harman, was grievously molested by Hackett, the English envoy; that he, and his wife, equally zealous with himself, were confined in prison for months, and had been seriously injured through the furious enmity of both Hackett and Wolsey. Such a change had taken place, that he was now arrived in London, and to seek redress! It is worthy of remark, that he did not apply to Audley, the Lord Chancellor of the day, though certainly a very different man from either of his predecessors; nor to Cranmer; nor to Cromwell; but to the Queen herself. The writings of Tyndale had been for years well known to her; and that she had stolen a march upon his Majesty, with one of his publications, cannot be forgotten. Mr. Harman or Herman fully succeeded in his application, and fortunately, the very letter written on his behalf, by Anne Boleyn herself, has been preserved. The following is a copy.

*"By the Queen.*

"ANNE THE QUEEN.

"Trusty and right well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas we be credibly informed that the bearer hereof, RICHARD

HERMAN, merchant and citizen of ANTWERP, in Brabant, was, in the time of the late Lord Cardinal, put and expelled from his freedom and fellowship, of and in the English house there, for nothing else (as he affirmeth,) but only for that he, still like a good christian man, did both with his goods and policy, to his great hurt and hinderance in this world, help to the setting forth of the NEW TESTAMENT IN ENGLISH: We therefore desire and instantly pray you, that, with all speed and favor convenient, ye will cause this good and honest merchant, being my Lord's true, faithful, and loving subject, to be restored to his pristine freedom, liberty, and fellowship aforesaid, and the sooner at this our request, and at your good leisure to hear him in such things, as he hath to make further relation unto you in this behalf. Given under our signet, at my Lord's manor of Greenwich, the xiiii day of May. *To our trusty and right well beloved, Thomas Crumwell, Squire, Chief Secretary unto my Lord the King's Highness.*"

Whatever may be said, whether to the praise or disparagement of Anne Boleyn, it should not now pass unnoticed, that no *man*, either of influence or office in all England, ever so expressed himself, *while* Tyndale lived. Nor is this merely a letter of authority; the sentiments of the writer appear throughout, and it also conveys some information. From one expression it is evident that Mr. Harman had done much more than coolly import the volumes. "With his *goods* and policy, to his great *hinderance* in this world," he had done this. Every one acquainted with the history of the Hanse towns, knows how much had been involved in the forfeiture of his privileges as a merchant adventurer. The "English house," like all these towns, exercised a judicial superintendence over its members, and punished them by a species of commercial excommunication. Mr. Harman had evidently been suffering under this for years. He had been a friend of the cause, and therefore the friend of Tyndale.

As Crumwell had been appointed "chief Secretary of State," only one week before the date of the preceding letter, this must have been one of his earliest acts in that capacity. But the tide is turning for a short season, and so does the "chief Secretary" with it.

Tunstal, that early opponent, once of great power, was yet alive, and what would he have said, or not have said, in 1526, to such a document, from the Queen of England? He is now *professedly* approving of the Pontiff's entire exclusion from this country, nay, and preaching this to the people; while there is no word now of "the crafty translation of the New Testament in the English tongue, containing that pestiferous and most pernicious poison, dispersed throughout allour diocese of London, in great numbers." But this is *the* book itself, and this is one of the very men, who to his damage and loss, had so heartily imported it. The writer had these days in her eye, when she took up her pen; and yet, says the Queen, Harman was only acting in character, and doing only

what he ought to have done, "as a good Christian man." Wolsey and Warham were in their graves. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were in the Tower. Tunstal and Gardiner and Stokesly are muzzled. Norfolk, the Prime Minister, must wink hard. The Secretary of State is requested to proceed forthwith, "the sooner at this our request;" while Henry himself, wilful, wayward, and reckless as he was, is, at the least, occasionally now kept in check by the writer of this letter.

It was fit that the very book which had been so vilified, so trampled on and burnt, by the King, Wolsey, Warham, and Tunstal; which had been fastened in derision, by Sir Thomas More, to the garments of Tyndale's brother, or the men who were then marched to the spot, where they must cast it into the flames;—nay, the book, which had been denounced from the Star Chamber by the King himself, should at last meet with some *such* notice as this; and that it should proceed from the pen of one, who, at this moment, could turn the heart of even such a Monarch. The Translator himself should never be forgotten, but he never set his foot on English ground again; the change was the work of no human hand, and more than the finger of Providence was here. Is it too much to say, that for the sake of His Blessed Word, first its entrance into this country, and then its effects, God had shown strength with his arm, and scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts!—had put down the mighty from their seats, and honored a man of low degree? Nor had the word, so singularly introduced, returned to him void. Think of the many whom Fryth had met with in England before his death, and of the high character he gave them. God had filled his own, however poor, with gladness, though of the rich, there was only *one* at this moment to justify the whole proceeding, and thus far espouse the hated though uninjured cause.

This token of regard, on the part of Queen Anne, was not unfelt, by Tyndale. He must have known her sentiments as well as most men, and been fully apprised of her influence; an influence which had been at once deprecated and dreaded by the old school. He had learnt also of this incident in sufficient time for him to lay down at the press, *one* copy of his corrected New Testament, on *vellum*. Beautifully printed, with illuminations, it was bound in blue morocco, and the Queen's name, in large red letters, equally divided, was placed on the fore-edges of the top, side, and bottom margins: thus, on the top, ANNA; on the right margin fore-edge, REGINA, and on the bottom, ANGLIÆ—Anne, Queen of England.

The Translator, when he put forth his edition, in that spirit which Christianity alone inspires, *sunk* his own name; and would have done so afterwards, but for the character and writings of his amanuensis, Roye; and this year the interference of Joye; but here he does so once more. Even his name is withdrawn, and with great propriety, all *prefatory* matter is omitted. Tyndale was no sycophant. There is no *dedication*,—no compliment paid, as there never ought to be, to any human being, along with God's

most holy Word. The history of this beautiful book, since it was handled by Anne Boleyn, above three hundred years ago, would have interested any reader ; but all that can here be stated is, that the last private individual into whose possession it had come, was the late Rev. Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode. After his death, in April, 1799, the volume came into its proper place, when, with his large and valuable library, it was bequeathed to the British Museum.

The Scriptures, as translated by Tyndale, were now coming more freely into England, and were reading in various places with all eagerness. No man was now molested abroad, as Mr. Harman had been, nor was any man to be tormented at home, for selling or buying, possessing, or reading them, as had been the fashion too long. For the moment at least, the storm was changed into a comparative calm, and it is curious to contrast all this, with the doings of the Convocation, which sat in November and December. By their own journal, it appears that they addressed the King before rising. This was on the 19th of December, and exhibited a striking proof of a house divided against itself. Their resolution passed both Houses of Convocation, in which they all agreed, that *Cranmer* should make instance, in their names, to the King, that his Majesty would vouchsafe, for the increase of the faith of his subjects, to command that all his subjects in whose possession any books of *suspected doctrine* were, especially in the *vulgar* language, imprinted beyond or on this side the sea, should be warned, within three months, to bring them in, under a certain pain, to be limited by him ! And that, moreover, his Majesty would vouchsafe to decree, that the *Scriptures* should be translated into the *vulgar* tongue by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the King, and to be delivered to the people *according to their learning* !

The *first* request exhibits the influence of Gardiner and Stokesly in the Convocation, the latter that of Cranmer ; and it seems to be evident that the two parties must have come to a compromise, for the sake of each party securing, if possible, its favorite request, or this might be a *feeler*, put forth to ascertain, more precisely, the existing state of their *master's* mind.

## SECTION XII.

TYNDALE'S APPREHENSION AT ANTWERP—IMPRISONMENT IN THE CASTLE OF VIL-VORDE—DISTINCT INFORMATION CONVEYED TO CRUMWELL AND CRANMER—THE STRENUOUS EXERTIONS OF THOMAS FOYNTZ—RISKING HIS OWN LIFE, BUT IN VAIN—TYNDALE'S PROGRESS IN PRISON—HENRY'S SUPREMACY—FISHER AND MORE FALL BEFORE IT—THE ODIUM ENSUING—CRANMER AND THE BISHOPS—THE BISHOPS APPLIED TO FOR A TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT—A FRUITLESS ATTEMPT—FRESH EDITIONS OF TYNDALE'S TRANSLATION, PRINTED AND IMPORTING THIS YEAR.

It has been generally supposed, that there was only *one* man hired to apprehend Tyndale, but there was a second, of far greater note as to character, joined with him, both in counsel and action; "and so," says Halle, "he was betrayed and taken, as *many* said, not without the help and procurement of some Bishops of his realm." The *help*, partly consisting in money, of which we shall find, presently, there was no lack, is to be traced, therefore, to this source. The Bishops, in 1527, had leagued together under Warham, and contributed to the strange and fruitless project of buying up the New Testaments to burn them; and now, though Warham be gone, several survivors, of the same temper, were still more eager to consign the Translator himself to the flames. That Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, who had succeeded against Fryth, was in the secret, and deeply concerned in the intrigue, there will be little or no doubt presently; but *if* so, he may have been the *chief*, for such was the well known temper of the man. "Unless," says Bonner, who knew him well, "unless he was the only and chief inventor of any matter, he would have thwarted it." Tutored and bred up under Wolsey, though the King and the Cardinal, Sir Thomas More and Crumwell, had not succeeded, and though abroad neither Hackett or West, Sir Thomas Elyot or any other agent, had been able to apprehend Tyndale; yet, intimately acquainted with all circumstances, with persons and places, and of great address, there was no man now alive, who excelled Gardiner in gaining his end, by secret and circuitous methods. As his strength and skill lay in fetching a compass, like the gyrations of a hawk before pouncing on its prey, so was he much more likely to succeed in ensnaring Tyndale than any one who had previously attempted it. At least, no other individual knew so well how to take advantage of the rising discontent of monks and friars.

The men in England selected on this occasion, were *Henry Phillips*, belonging to Poole in Dorset, on the borders of Gardiner's diocese; and the other individual, in counsel with him, hitherto altogether unknown, was *Gabriel Donne* or *Dunne*, a monk from Stratford Abbey, who had proceeded to Louvain. The former, a good-looking young man, acted as the *gentleman*, and the latter, in disguise, as his counsellor and *servant*.

Certain parts of the story cannot be better told than in the words of Foxe; but we shall now interweave a variety of other particulars, hitherto unnoticed by any historian, and not a few of them altogether unknown.

“WILLIAM TYNDALE, being in the town of *Antwerp*, had been lodged about one whole year in the house of THOMAS POYNTZ, an Englishman, who kept there a house of English Merchants; about which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Phillips, his father being a customer (belonging to the custom-house) of Pool, a comely fellow, like as he had been a *gentleman*, having a *servant* with him: but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

“Master Tyndale divers times was desired forth to dinner and supper amongst merchants; by means whereof this Henry Phillips became acquainted with him, so that within short space Master Tyndale had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging, to the house of Thomas Poyntz; and had him also, once or twice with him, to dinner and supper; and further entered such friendship with him, that through his procurement he lay in the same house of the said Poyntz; to whom he showed, moreover, his books, and other secrets of his study, so little did Tyndale then mistrust this traitor!

“Poyntz, having *no* great confidence in the fellow, asked Tyndale how he became acquainted with this Phillips. Tyndale answered, that he was an honest man, handsomely learned, and very conformable. Then Poyntz, perceiving that he bare such favor to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said Phillips being in the town three or four days, upon a time, desired Poyntz to walk with him forth of the town, to show him the commodities thereof; and in walking together without the town, had communication of divers things, and some of the King's affairs; by which talk, Poyntz as yet suspected nothing, but after, by the sequel of the matter, he perceived more what he had intended. In the meantime, this he well perceived, that he bare no great favor, either to the setting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the King of England. But after, when the time was past, Poyntz perceived this to be his mind; to feel, if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter, for lucre of money, to help him to his purpose; for he perceived before that he was *monied*, and would that Poyntz should think no less; but *by* whom, it was unknown. For he had desired Poyntz before, to help him to divers things, and such things as he named, he required might be of the *best*, ‘for,’ said he, ‘I have money enough:’ but of this talk came nothing but that men should think he had some things to do. So it was to be suspected, that Phillips was in doubt to move this matter to any of the *rulers* or *officers* of the town of Antwerp, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the means thereof Tyndale should have had warning.



“So Phillips went from Antwerp to the court of Brussels, which is from thence twenty-four (rather 30) English miles, the King having there no Ambassador; for at that time the King of England and the Emperor were at a controversy for the question betwixt the King and Catherine, who was aunt to the Emperor; and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted lest there should have been war; so that Phillips, as a traitor both against *God* and the *King*, was there the better retained, as also other traitors besides him; who after he had betrayed Master Tyndale into their hands, showed himself likewise against the King's own person, and there set forth things *against the King*. To make short, the said Phillips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to Antwerp, that Procurer-general, who is the Emperor's Attorney, with certain other officers, as after followeth; which was not done with *small* charges and expenses, from whomsoever it came.

“Within a while after, Poyntz sitting at his door, Phillips's *man* came to him, and asked whether Master Tyndale were there, and said his *master* would come to him, and so departed; but whether his master, Phillips, were in the town or not, it was not known; but at that time Poyntz heard no more, either of the master, or of the man. Within three or four days after, Poyntz went forth to the town of Barrois, being eighteen (rather 24) English miles from Antwerp, where he had business to do for the space of a month or six weeks; and in the time of *his absence* Henry Phillips came again to Antwerp, to the house of Poyntz, and coming in, spake with his wife, asking her for Master Tyndale, and whether he would dine there with him; saying—‘what good meat shall we have?’ She answered, ‘such as the market will give.’ Then went he forth again, as it was thought, to provide, and set the officers whom he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. Then about noon he came again, and went to Master Tyndale, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; ‘for,’ said he, ‘I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage, between this and Mechlin.’ So Tyndale took him forty shillings, which was easy to be had of him, if he had it; for in the wily subtilties of this world, he was simple and inexpert.

“Then said Phillips, ‘Master Tyndale, you shall be my guest here this day.’ No, said Tyndale, ‘I go forth this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome.’ So when it was dinner time, Master Tyndale went forth with Phillips, and at the going forth of Poyntz's house was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in a front. Tyndale would have put Phillips before him, but Phillips would in no wise, for that he pretended to show great humanity, (courtesy.) So Master Tyndale, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Phillips, a tall comely person, followed behind him; who had set officers on either side of the door on two seats, who being there might see who came in the entry; and coming through the same, Phillips pointed with his finger over Master Tyndale's head down

to him, that the officers who sat at the door might see that it was he, whom they should take; as the officers afterwards told Poyntz; and said, when they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see his simplicity, when they took him. Then they brought him to the Emperor's attorney, where he dined. Then came he, the attorney, to the house of Poyntz, and sent away all that was there of Master Tyndale's, as well his books as other things, and from thence Tyndale was had to the castle of VILVORBE, eighteen (rather 23½) English miles from Antwerp." Thus far at present the narrative of Foxe.

Mr. Poyntz and his friends, among the merchant-adventurers of the English house, were immediately alive to what had happened, and application, in behalf of Tyndale, was made without delay to the court of Brussels, but without effect.

The state of the Continent, at this period, having become exceedingly critical, with regard to Henry's personal security as King of England, it became necessary for that division of his Privy Council who favored his movements, to have a watchful eye over the secret intrigues of the adverse party, and their correspondents in foreign parts. For *ten* long years, it is now very observable, Tyndale had been working abroad, and *only for good*; to whom the Monarch and his Ministers had been ever opposed; but now, another man is becoming active and formidable, who, for more than *twenty* years, and abroad too, shall work *only for evil*; his baneful influence extending not only until the death of the reigning King, but to that of two of his children. This was Reginald Pole, the future Cardinal, whom Henry had cherished, and educated with a princely munificence, and even kindness, such as he had never shown to any other human being. The cousin of the King, and now abroad; of polished manners, possessed of the best education, having easy access to the highest circles, wherever he travelled; the vivacity of his genius, and his playful affability, endeared him to all. His Majesty, having literally made him the man he was, became eager to have his opinions in writing, as to himself and his movements; expecting, of course, that they would be entirely in his favor. Pole assented, and all the time living on Henry's bounty, carried on the delusion. His opinions grew into a volume, which he began in January of this year, and so late as June, he had the profound hypocrisy to give assurances, in writing, that he meant to serve the King in the cause desired. His book, however, such as it was, had been completed in *March*, but it was retained for more than twelve months after that, and shown to select enemies, just as if intended to produce the more astounding effect on the day of its presentation, next year.

At this time, a man by the name of Tebold, or Theobald, was sent to the Continent, to keep an eye on the movements of Pole, and in his first letters he brings to the notice of Crumwell and Cranmer the imprisonment of Tyndale, and also shows that the writer had had confidential intercourse with the men who had been instrumental in effecting the Translator's apprehension. In his

next communication, this Theobald shows that there is reason to believe there were persons even in Scotland, concerned in the vile plot to imprison Tyndale. But these men were generally friars, and all the friars hated TYNDALE, as they had done WICLIFFE, with a perfect hatred. Theobald also gives it as his opinion that Tyndale will be put to death.

Previously to these letters, some application had been made to England, for the report in Antwerp was, that his Majesty *had* interfered, requesting Tyndale to be sent back to that city. It was but a groundless rumor! But August had now come, when Mr. Poyntz wrote a most imploring letter to his brother John in England, fully setting forth the facts respecting Tyndale's confinement, and begging his brother to make interest with the King to secure his liberation. At such a crisis, it is refreshing to find that there was one man true to his *crest*, throughout; whether Crumwell or Crammer move or not. His first step was to send an earnest letter to his brother, imploring his immediate and most zealous exertion. It is dated "at Antwerp, 25th August 1535."

"Right well beloved brother,—I recommend me unto you, and to [Ann] your wife, trusting in God that you be in good health. Brother, the cause of my writing to you at this time is, as seems to me, for a great matter concerning to the King's Grace; for though I am herein abiding, yet of very natural love to the country that I was born in, so also for the oath and obedience the which every true subject is bound by the law of God to have to his Prince, compels me to write that thing [which I] know or perceive might be prejudicial or hurtful to his most noble Grace;—which may come through counsel of them, that seek to bring their own appointments to pass, under color of pretending the King's honor, and yet be as the *thorns* under a goodly *rose*,—I might say, very traitors, in their hearts, reckoning at length to bring their purpose to pass, as they have always done, through such means. Who they be, I name no man; but it is good to perceive it must be the Papists, which have always been the deceivers of the world, by their craft and juggling.

"For whereas it was said here, the King had granted his gracious letters in the favor of one William Tyndale, for to have been sent hither; the which is in prison, and like to suffer death, *except* it be through *his* gracious help. But it is thought those letters be stopped."

The presumption, if not the certainty, is, that it was *this* letter which at last took effect; for we have now the proof that Tyndale's situation must have been explained to his Majesty. Mr. John Poyntz had been, for twenty years, in familiar intercourse, not only with the Court, but the King; he had been *long* about the King's person, and *in* the household, though now at his estate in Essex. Hence the style of his brother's letter. It was to be a *direct* appeal. At all events, Crumwell was roused at last. Mr. Thomas Poyntz continued at Antwerp the most zealous exertions in behalf of Tyndale, and was on the point of success, when he

was arrested at the instigation of the same wretch who had betrayed Tyndale, and after being confined three months, he managed to escape and make his way to England.

With respect to Tyndale himself, now in close confinement at Vilvorde, we are not altogether without information. The fact of his imprisonment was now well known in England, Scotland, and Germany; and the zeal against him was "burning hot," especially at Louvain, a place long celebrated for its ardent attachment to the old learning. This may easily be conjectured from the men now arrayed, and apparently *gathered together* against him. *Dunne*, having fulfilled his commission, and for six months done his best, had left for England; but *Phillips* and *Buckenam*, with others, were still at Louvain, only twelve miles from Vilvorde; and they, in conjunction with the doctors there, had led Tyndale into discussion. He, having been permitted to reply in writing, was not slow to answer. "There was," says Foxe, "much writing, and great disputation to and fro, between him and them of the University of Louvain; in such sort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to answer the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, where-upon he, most pithily, grounded his doctrine."

They had, indeed, now laid Tyndale in prison, but even this could by no means prevent the progress of his work. It must not pass unobserved, that there came out this year another, or the *third* edition, of his "Obedience of a Christian Man," and it may very safely be presumed not without his approbation, if not concurrence; as it was printed at Marburg, where he and Fryth had dwelt.

Another piece also now appeared, and appropriate to the war then waging with the Doctors of Louvain. This was Wickliffe's Wicket, or an exposition of the words "*This is my body*," accompanied by Tyndale's judgment respecting the Testament of William Tracy. But the most memorable circumstance was, that in this, though the year of Tyndale's imprisonment, not fewer than *three* editions of his New Testament came from the press.

The situation of England at this time was very critical. Henry was the head of a party only, many of his subjects adhering to the supremacy of the Pope. It was now high treason for any man to question the dignity of the King, or to call him a heretic, and the reign of terror was established. On the 4th of May, 1535, five individuals were hanged, drawn, and quartered, for treason; these were a monk, a vicar, and three priors, all natives of England; but, on the 25th of the same month, as many as nineteen men, and six women, were arraigned. These were Hollanders, and not fewer than fourteen of the number were condemned and burnt for heresy; though the fear felt must have been respecting their *political* influence. Again, on the 19th of June, three monks, of the Charter-house, in London, were hanged for treason, all of whom were executed *in their habits*; but still, these revolting cruelties could not shake the resolute minds of two far more eminent men, firmly opposed to the title on which the

King now doated. These were, *Fisher*, Bishop of Rochester, and *Sir Thomas More*.

Fisher was arraigned before Sir Thomas Audley, the judges, Crumwell, and three peers; and that, too, as *the late* Bishop of Rochester; for since Cranmer's appointment, the Legislature had made and unmade Bishops, denying all right to any other authority. Fisher had entertained no objections to Henry's strange title of "Defender of the Faith," and most probably had assisted him to attain it; but the present claim to be "Head of the Church," was out of the question with him, and firmly denied. The indictment for what they then called treason, having been found against him on the 11th of June, he was tried on the 17th, and beheaded on the morning of the 22d; his head afterwards, with shameful barbarity, having been placed *in terrorem* on London Bridge.

A more notable person was soon to follow: for this oath must also be tendered to the *laity*. At the very top of the list, in point of reputed talents, eloquence, and character, stood Sir Thomas More, and to him the oath of succession was now administered. Like Fisher, he proposed to swear to the act, and not to the preamble; but this similarity of sentiment only the more excited the King's suspicion and fear, that there was lurking treason, and far more involved, in this second firm refusal, than met the ear.

To uphold that system, which, in England, was now tottering to its base, More had labored like another Hercules. Many a tedious sheet had he penned, night and day, and many a thrust had he aimed at our Translator; and yet now he must die before him, and soon follow that Bishop to the grave, who had so early preached in St. Paul's against the books of the new learning. But, perhaps, the most striking point of all was, that in the net, by which he had hoped to ensnare others, was his own foot taken. He had been eager to prove that Tyndale and his followers ought to be held guilty of treason, as well as heresy; and now, for his *own* opinions, he is held to be guilty of that very crime; while the monarch, whose honor and dignity he had been professedly so eager to uphold, now stands in his way, and barbarously exacts his life. Nor do the tokens of return for past offences end here. Sir Thomas, when in power, had been severe in the extreme, towards his Majesty's subjects, putting them to death for what they called heresy, upon *old if not obsolete* statute, without application for the King's writ or sanction; and now that the King, although Cranmer and others were alike eager to save him, had made a *new* law, to which every knee must bow, and he will on no account suffer his old Chancellor to escape. The first lay Lord Chancellor for the last 125 years, must therefore be the first layman to suffer death at this crisis. He had been first sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor, but this decree was changed into that of decapitation, and he suffered accordingly on the 6th of July in the fifty-sixth year of his age. "In both cases," says Southey, "the work of retribution may be acknowledged; as

persecutors both sufferers had sinned, and both died as *unjustly* as they had brought others to death. The consideration is important in a Christian's view, but it affords no excuse, no palliation, for the crime." Certainly not, nor will the odium of the death of both these men ever cease to recoil upon the royal murderer.

It might have been supposed that Henry the Eighth could never have brought his haughty spirit down so low, as to bow to Lutheranism, after having so written against Luther, nay even *to him*; for once on a time, not long ago, he would have disdained the very idea. But the "Defender of the Faith," and now, especially, as "Head of the Church of England," felt constrained to look after his own personal safety. During the last six months of this year, therefore, earnest court was paid to the Lutheran States of Germany; though, on the part of the King of England, it must be evident that there could not be one religious motive, or any sincere regard to Christianity in all this. It was simply because an alliance with these States might prove the most effectual and vexatious check to Charles V.; and it so happened, that there was no man in England so likely to open the way into their confidence, as *Robert Barnes*—a violent Lutheran, the personal friend and acquaintance of Luther, as well as Melancthon and others. He had resided for years in Germany, and knew all the leading parties well. And so now, to serve a purpose, he must be the *envoy* of Henry VIII. to these very men; for though he had to do with the Elector and other civil rulers, great court must be paid to the former, and that, in the first instance, by the instrumentality of Barnes.

From the beginning, Henry's chief, if not *sole* object, in seeking alliance with these parties, was to strengthen himself against the Emperor; but when the negotiations began, the question of his divorce, which Barnes, no doubt, had been laboring to solve, stood in the way; and of this the Germans could not approve. In short, as the cruelty of Francis had prevented any alliance, so we shall find a worse display on Henry's part, produce the same effect, in a few months. Neither the one nor the other ever saw Melancthon.

It was now precisely five years since "the translation of Scripture," said to be "*corrupted* by William Tyndale, as well in the Old Testament as in the New," had been denounced by the King of England and his Bishops, "as utterly to be *repelled, rejected, and put away* out of the hands of *the people*, and not to be suffered to get abroad among his Majesty's subjects." But the cause of Tyndale was that of a higher power, and as evidently *for the people*. Nothing, however, had been done, in the meanwhile, to furnish any other translation; nay, at *that* time, these men had the daring impiety to say to the people at large—"you cannot require or demand Scripture to be divulged in the *English* tongue, otherwise than upon the *discretion* of your superiors; so as whensoever *they* think in their conscience it may do you good, they may and do well to give it unto you: and whensoever it shall

seem otherwise unto them, they do amiss in suffering you to have it!!” They then said also, that this King of theirs “did openly say and protest, that *he* would cause the New Testament to be, by learned men, faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue; to the intent he might have it in his hands ready to be given to his people, *as he might see their manners and behaviour meet, apt, and convenient to receive the same!!*” At the same time, they took care to inform the people that the King “thinketh in his conscience,” and that by *their* “deliberation and advice, that in not suffering the Scripture to be then divulged in English, *he did well!!*”

By the good providence of God, we have seen that seven years before 1530, Tyndale had resolved that his countrymen should actually possess the Divine Word; and thus come to know more of the Scripture than such men as these; and as both husbandmen and artizans had been brought before Tunstal, Bishop of London, so early as 1528, Tyndale, confessedly, had labored with great effect. For nine years past we have seen one edition after another coming into the country.

But now, at the last, it seemed as if something were actually going to be done, and by Henry's learned men. Even the Bishop of Winchester said in one of his letters, that he “had been spending a great labour in translating Luke and John!” This was an incident by far too remarkable to pass now without farther notice; and the more so, as it admits of an explanation, fully as curious as the fact itself. In the Convocation last December, the necessity for a translation of the Scriptures had been urged, while all *other* books of suspected heretical doctrine were to be called in within three months; and though nothing was done as to the latter design, the King seems to have been addressed as to the former. This was, in fact, a second implication of all that Tyndale had translated or written. One is curious, therefore, to observe the *first* attempt of these men, standing as it does, in contrast with the hitherto unaided, nay, despised exertions of the persecuted and now imprisoned Translator and patriot.

In proceeding with the plan, Cranmer took an existing translation,—Tyndale's, of course, for as yet there was no other,—and having divided it into eight or ten parts, he got them *transcribed*. These he transmitted to so many Bishops, the best learned, accompanied by a request, that each part should be returned to him, with their corrections, by a certain day. The time appointed having arrived, every portion, including Gardiner's no doubt, is said to have been returned to Lambeth, with one exception—the *Acts of the Apostles*, which had been assigned to Stokesly. Cranmer then sent to Fulham, for the corrected manuscript; but Stokesly, far less compliant than Gardiner, not being then in such fear of court favor, or of his neck, only made the following reply. “*I marvel what my Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that he thus abuseth the people, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have be-*

*stowed never an hour upon my portion, and never will. And, therefore, my Lord shall have his book back again; for I never will be guilty of bringing the simple people into error.*" When the Archbishop was informed of this uncourteous speech, he merely observed—"I marvel that my Lord of London is so froward, that he will not do as other men do."—"Why, as for that," said Lawney, one of the Duke of Norfolk's chaplains, who stood by,—“Your Grace must consider that the Acts of the Apostles are a portion of the New Testament. Peradventure, my Lord of London knows that Christ has left *him* no legacy, and therefore he prudently resolves to waste no time upon that which will bring him no profit! Or it may be, as the Apostles were a company of poor illiterate men, My Lord of London disdaineth to concern himself about their *Acts*!”

That such an attempt as this should have entirely failed, can excite no surprise; and it not only did so, but Cranmer ever afterwards, from this moment, despaired of obtaining a translation of the Scriptures by any such means; and of this he will himself inform us, two years hence. These men of name and pretension must stand aside, for never shall even a single book of the Sacred Volume be conveyed to their country by one of them.

In contrast, therefore, once more, to these prelates, whether in Convocation, as in 1534, or out of it, as in 1535, in the printing press of Antwerp we can discover no pause or hesitation; no sympathy whatever with the scruples of the blind in England, or any fear of the enemy in Antwerp itself. During last year and the present, not fewer than *seven* if not *eight* editions of Tyndale's New Testament had issued from the press! Nor was any printer ever prosecuted, save the first in 1526, or Christopher of Endhoven. Thus, if the Translator himself throughout the whole of even this year continued to war with the enemies of Divine truth on the Continent, it was as if “the stars in their courses” were fighting with England; nor was there to be any truce in this contest till the enemy was overcome, nay overruled, and constrained to accept of the long-proffered boon.

But is it possible that this could have been part of Tyndale's occupation within the walls of the castle at Vilvorde? While warring with these Doctors of Louvain, on the one hand, was he, on the other, at the same time engaged in earnest pity for *the ploughboy and husbandmen of Gloucestershire*? If the conjecture be well founded, and Tyndale himself had to do with this edition, it is but seldom that, in the history of any man, such an instance of the true sublime can be produced. The book has never been assigned to any Antwerp printer; but if Tyndale only furnished a *list* of words, to be employed whenever they occurred in the translation, the volume could have been printed in Holland or any other place in Brabant.

At all events, the book comes before us in the light of a step in advance, or additional triumph. The Translator was “suffering



trouble as an evil doer, even unto bonds; but the Word of God was not bound," nor to be bound.

To those who have not before been acquainted with the history of the English Bible, and in conclusion of the year 1535, one fact remains to be stated, which must occasion some surprise. For some time past, there had been *another* translation of the Scriptures into English in progress, which was now completed. From the degree of mystery which still hangs over it, the undertaking must have been conducted with great privacy; but it is a curious and not unimportant circumstance, scarcely before observed, if indeed at all known, in connection with the late Lord Chancellor, so barbarously put to death by Henry, in July; that, though not a party concerned in the cost, while yet alive, nay, long before his death, and at the very time he was writing against Tyndale, with this proceeding he may, if not must, have been acquainted all along, even from its origin! From a single line throughout his many pages, no one could have imagined this; but the evidence will come before us in due time.

Meanwhile, it was on the 11th of October that the last sheet was put to press, under the eye of *Miles Coverdale*. Printed, as it had been, abroad, copies could not have been ready for importation to England, till about the opening of next year, at the soonest; but if any had reached this country, at whatever time, the book, owing to very peculiar circumstances, to be explained, could not have been shown to Henry the Eighth, before the month of June. This, indeed, was the earliest moment; for, most probably, it was not presented to the King till much later in that year.

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## SECTION XIII.

LAST YEAR OF TYNDALE—STATE OF ENGLAND—MONASTERIES—THE QUEENS—ANNE BOLEYN—PARLIAMENT—QUEEN ANNE'S TREATMENT REVIEWED—HER CHARACTER—THE NEW OR UNPRECEDENTED CONVOCATION—LATIMER PREACHING BEFORE IT—STATE OF PARTIES THERE—OLD AND NEW LEARNING—PROCEEDINGS IN CONVOCATION—THE FIRST ARTICLES—CRUMWELL'S FIRST INJUNCTIONS—NO BIBLE MENTIONED—TYNDALE'S LATTER DAYS—HOME AND ABROAD NOW DEEPLY IMPLICATED—THE MARTYRDOM OF TYNDALE—HIS BENEVOLENT CHARACTER—HIS REWARD—THE ONLY PROSPEROUS CAUSE, OR THE YEAR WHICH EXCELLED ALL THE PRECEDING.

PARLIAMENT, after being prorogued since December 1534, was opened at last on the 4th February. The long recess was chiefly owing to the plague, which had appeared in different parts of London in August and September, of which Audley, the Lord Chancellor, was not a little afraid. But the Monarch must now be gratified in his thirst for more money; and to prepare the country for the bold step, already determined, the report of the visitors of

*Monasteries* was laid before Parliament. The idleness and depravity of their inmates were depicted, their waste and misapplication of funds, their frauds and follies; and, unquestionably, there were great abuses; but it was not on account of *these* that the monastic institutions were broken up. The abuses furnished an excellent handle or pretext; but the position of the King led him to apprehend war with the Emperor, if not invasion, and he must have supplies. The "Court of Augmentation of the King's Revenue" was established, to receive the surrenders of monasteries, and transfers of property to the crown, and all monasteries whose annual income did not exceed £200, were suppressed. Their number amounted to 376, which brought £100,000 into the royal coffers, and £32,000 of annual revenue; or a sum equal to a million and a half in our day, and above £400,000 a-year. At the same time, the *larger* monasteries and abbeys were artfully commended, and many of those monks or nuns who were turned adrift, had it in their option to repair to them. This was done in order to soothe or beguile the mitred Abbots, though the formidable extent of the "court" established, might have shown that matters were not to stop here. Perhaps it was this that suggested the often-quoted remark, ascribed to Stokesly, Bishop of London, that "these lesser houses were as thorns, soon plucked up, but the great Abbots were like putrified old oaks; yet they must needs follow, and so would others do in Christendom, before many years were past."

Several other acts of inferior moment having been dispatched, this Parliament was *dissolved* on the 14th of April, after it had sat for a period of six years, by repeated and unequal prorogations. It had abundantly answered Henry's varied purposes, but *now* its pliancy must have been somewhat doubtful; otherwise, why was it dissolved? During the entire session of the Parliament just dissolved, one of the darkest plots which marked the reign of this licentious Monarch, had been proceeding in secrecy so profound, as to be unknown to any of its future victims.

At two o'clock on Tuesday the 7th of January, Queen Catharine died at Kimbolton, an event from which, perhaps, Queen Anne might augur a little more security, and yet even this is doubtful, for before this, she had perceived that the affections of Henry had begun to waver. He had tormented all Europe, it is true, and waited six years that he might gain her hand, and this, in other cases, would have been good security for steadiness of attachment; but the man she had married was not to be judged of by ordinary rules.

And now the plot was laid to put Anne to death to make room for another Queen. The guilt of this murder must be charged directly and without palliation upon Henry himself, notwithstanding the evidence which is furnished that her removal was earnestly sought by the enemies of the "new learning," who justly regarded her as friendly to the introduction of the Scriptures into England. Of her entire innocence of all semblance of the crimes imputed to her, there is not a shadow of doubt, but she was condemned to

death, and suffered on the scaffold, to the unspeakable shame of the monster to whose passion she was a martyr.

On the day of her death the King put on *white* for mourning, and the *very next day* was married to Jane Seymour.

The moment of exultation for the votaries of "the old learning" had now arrived; for, in *their* feeble apprehension, the greatest obstacle to its revival, had been the influence of Queen Anne with the King, and other individuals. She was now removed, and the leanings of her successor, Jane Seymour, could not as yet be divined; though her having consented to nuptials the *very next day* after her predecessor's execution, was certainly well calculated to deceive them, and inspire hope. As for the King, he must have now been rejoicing in the full accomplishment of his wishes.

But see the watchful providence of God! It was on the following Tuesday, or only the fourth day after Anne Boleyn's death, that the book of Cardinal Pole was first presented to Henry. "The work," says Pole himself, "is divided into four books. In the first, I refute the Supremacy the King has taken on himself: the second asserts the prerogatives of the See of Rome: in the third, *I sound in the King's ear the voice which the guiltless blood he has shed, and the horror of his other actions, raises up to Heaven against him.* Having thus discharged what I owed to truth and my country's welfare, in the last part I cast myself at the King's feet; I conjure him to take in good part what I have written, as it proceeded from zeal and *affection!*" The author is as bitter against Queen Anne as he is against Henry; and by "guiltless blood," he referred, of course, to the execution of others; but the book having been reserved till now, and not presented till immediately after such a cruel tragedy as that which we have recorded, might well give a keener edge to the charge of shedding innocent blood. So far as argument is attempted, the work is not distinguished, or even for its sophistry; but in point of acrimony and virulence, of all that was ever addressed to the ear of the unprincipled monarch, it stands unrivalled. The rank of the author, and his relation to the King, gave the work a degree of importance, which made it the more formidable and dangerous; while the recollection, by Henry, that he had actually reared and qualified the writer for thus attacking him, must have rendered the language galling in the extreme.

His Majesty might now reflect, or not reflect, on all that he had done; but the end being gained, for which so much blood had been shed, there was still time sufficient left, for all the other perpetrators to repose themselves.

It is but an act of justice to the character and memory of Queen Anne Boleyn, to expose the wickedness of that conspiracy, which had been formed against her life. The profound secrecy of the proceedings, till the moment when all things were ready for explosion—Cranmer carefully kept in the dark, till there could be no retrograde step—and then the movements as rapid as they

were terrible—the complexion of the men who had been selected for the first secret commission—the character of the judges appointed—of the Peers so carefully selected, and amounting to only the half of the entire peerage—the trial within the Tower—the exclusion of spectators, first from the trial, and then from the execution—the caution, if not cowardice, both of Crumwell and even Kingston himself,—in short, there is not one solitary step in the entire course, from first to last, which is not pregnant with suspicion or wrong. The evil intent was never more glaring, nor a case of premeditated murder more fully established. At the time, therefore, the transactions were viewed with indignation in other countries. They at once made the Germans pause with horror. Melancthon and Bucer abandoned all idea of setting their foot on English ground. The former regarded Queen Anne as innocent; and when the profusion of bloodshed was observed, Erasmus, now within a few weeks of his death, had already described the country as one where the most intimate friends were fearful of conversing with each other.

As yet, however, the death of Anne remains to be accounted for; and the mystery to be dispelled. That the scheme was fully arranged, that it was deeply laid, is evident; as well as that “the *May-day* scene,” with which most historians have commenced this tragedy, was merely a link in the chain, and one worthy of any Roman Emperor in the height of his cruelty. But still the question returns,—what was the cause of this cruel outrage? The King himself was, of course, the chief delinquent; but he could not proceed without assistance, and if, before referring to the Queen herself, we turn to the parties concerned in her death, they, together, may assist us to some correct understanding. Henry intended one thing, and the men around him, another; but the purposes of both involved the removal of the Queen. Her death once accomplished, the former went on his way carousing; the latter party were foiled in their ultimate design. As for the King, Queen Anne’s “greatest guilt,” says Fuller, “consisted in his better fancying another;” and though he and Crumwell will presently outwit the gentlemen of the *old learning*, meanwhile no scruple had been felt at employing them throughout this bloody scene.

The sentiments and feelings of this party, need not now be explained, but its position at the moment, demands notice. The fact was that they were then opposed to both King and Queen. The former, in his royal progress was still shaking to its foundations what they regarded as the good old cause. For five years past, the clergy had been paying his Majesty above £20,000 annually, as the price of their pardon, and they were still smarting under their last instalment; when behold, here comes Crumwell in this last Parliament, and having opened, on a large scale, his “Court of Augmentation of the King’s revenue,” he had already laid low 376 monasteries, or, as they styled them, “religious houses.” Between these men and their friends in foreign parts, there was a kindred sympathy as to the importance of this royal progress being

stayed. Here, however, and full in their way, stood the Queen, whose principles and procedure had been alike obnoxious. These will be explained presently, but she had gone much too far to be viewed by the zealots for "the old learning" without the keenest envy and malice. The moment for working on the wavering passions of the King had at last come, and the two parties conspiring together, Queen Anne's downfall was inevitable.

Whatever may be said, when summing up her character, it was certainly no slight testimony to the weight of her influence now, that it was so felt at a distance, as well as at home. She had enjoyed the honor of being hated, from the Pontiff downwards; and if the malice cherished at home, can be shown to have been in *league* with a kindred feeling abroad, it is difficult to say what further proof the most fastidious can desire, as to the solution of this catastrophe.

Manuscript letters, still happily preserved, here come to our aid, and at once suggest a few pointed questions, in explanation, from this party. Gardiner, Queen Anne's arch-enemy, however eager for the divorce, it is granted, was not at home; but what was more to his purpose, he was in France, or on the way between England and Italy; and thus could not fail to have his share in what was going on for some time, since Rome itself was so fully informed. While, then, Queen Anne was still only lying pale and languid, in confinement, what was involved in Sir Gregory Cassali conferring with the Pontiff about Henry's *marriage*, and *then* writing to his Majesty himself, so early as the 20th of February? How was it that Richard Pate, the English ambassador with the Emperor, was writing to the King in *cypher* and so early as the 12th of April about legitimating the *Princess Mary*, and what meant the ambassador, in pressing the subject with vehemence? But above all, on the 17th of May, or the day on which they were putting Lord Rochford and others to death, and harassing the Queen at Lambeth, by whose instructions or instigation was it, that Cassali was earnestly reporting progress to the Pontiff? That *very day*, as far distant as Rome, he was narrating to him the acceptable tidings of the Queen, with her brother and others, having been thrown into prison. And what was the reply of Paul the Third, the same man who within the last nine months had framed such a Bull against Henry, and which was still hanging over him? Let Cassali himself, writing to the King, inform us. The tidings from England once told,—“he (Paul) then said, that he *had been* imploring heaven to enlighten your mind on this affair; that he *had always had something of this sort in his eye*, because he thought the mind of your Majesty was adorned with such virtues, &c. !—That your Majesty *now* might perform an excellent work for Christendom, being now *released* from a marriage that was indeed too unequal for you.” Such was the language uttering *in* Rome, at the very moment when Cranmer was professedly sitting in judgment at Lambeth. But this was not all; Cassali goes on—“It was most manifest, that if your Majesty had

the Roman Pontiff with you, you might command the other princes, (*i. e.* the Emperor and Francis) as you pleased,—he, the Pontiff, promised to obey you in this business,—desired only peace,—was not disposed to faction, nor covetously to increase his fortune in immense sums !” He said, “your Majesty ought not to be in an angry mind towards him, but to be friendly.” The pontiff went on so far as to apologize for having made FISHER a Cardinal, and confessed he had erred in that step ! With many more words in the same strain ; after which Cassali again earnestly urges the King to compliance. All this was uttered by the 17th of May, as far distant as Italy, so that the sovereign Pontiff was rejoicing over the plot entire, and without the slightest hesitation as to its complete success, two days before the Queen was put to death !! The whole dispatch is curious and worthy of perusal. “No advances,” says Turner, “could be more eager, submissive, flattering and tempting to a King of Henry’s temper, than this ingenious conference ;” and certainly instead of “entire favor and zeal unto the truth,” proceeding from his Majesty’s *own* motion, for which Cranmer, at the moment, was so grossly flattering him ; nothing was more likely than Henry’s compliance,—*only* it so happened that Queen Jane turned out to be *not* unfavorable to the new learning. Again, therefore, was the monarch overruled, partly by the very marriage into which he had plunged so barbarously, and partly by the policy of Cromwell, now rising to the height of his transient glory. Union with the Pontiff, or influence in foreign politics, were, at this moment, of no account in his Majesty’s esteem, when compared with the gratification of his own will, and the pleasing prospect of augmented revenue.

That a perfect understanding had existed, however, between certain men, and as far as Rome, there is now no reason to doubt. They intended at once to destroy the Queen, and disgrace her husband, and thus far they succeeded ; but as the sole cause of this mighty change of mind and conduct in Paul III., was the simple announcement of Queen Anne’s downfall, the fact itself speaks a volume. The language employed by the cringing Pontiff, lately so furious, and to be so again, becomes the highest testimony in the world ; which, if not granted to the nature of her principles, must be acceded to the power and general current of her influence, and that from the day that Cranmer said, so exultingly, “I did put the crown upon her head.”

There were two men especially, who, through her influence, at last became Bishops, and the unprecedented circumstances of their accession constituted mortal offence. No other than two Italians, nay, Roman *Cardinals*, were deprived of both office and revenue, before these men could be so advanced. At such a time, so far as money was concerned, it might have been said, “Let them go, but woe to the men who shall be put in their places.” This, however, was not all. These two successors had been long peculiarly obnoxious to the gentlemen of “the old learning.” The first had been marked as a transgressor from the days of Wolsey ; and the

second, as early as 1530, had incurred the wrath of Nix, the old Bishop of Norwich, to such a degree, that he said, in slaying Bilney, he was "afraid that he had slain Abel and saved *Cain* alive." But far worse than this, the first of these men had incurred the wrath of no less than Stokesly, the reigning Bishop of London, and lay under his censure. He had not only examined and molested him in 1532, but, by the 3d of October 1533, inhibited him from preaching within the diocese of London. This, however, with all his quaintness, it will be now acknowledged, was the noblest character then living in all England,—the only man who ever boldly, and without evasion, spoke the truth to Henry VIII., and was afterwards no less faithful to Anne Boleyn. We need not name HUGH LATIMER. But who could be expected now to interpose in his favor? It was no other than the Queen; and if her achievement in rescuing him from the fangs of Stokesly and his fellows, was to be followed by any further mark of her personal regard, she could not fail to incur most virulent hatred. Even thus far, however, she had already made way for the cautious and timid Primate; and this becomes the more observable, as it is about the first time that we hear of Crammer *doing* anything in advance. He followed in the wake of Latimer and the Queen. Accordingly, by the autumn of 1534, Crammer had not only befriended Latimer, but, in the face of Stokesly's ire, he had actually "licensed *divers* to preach within the province of Canterbury, at *his* instance and *request*," and this, of course, embraced London. Next year, however, Anne proceeded much farther. By the 10th of February, the same man was preaching before the King and Queen, and upon all the following Wednesdays in Lent; till at last, through the same influence, by September, Latimer, as Bishop of Worcester, occupied the place from which Cardinal Ghinucci had been expelled. Thus, the last Italian non-resident Bishop over Tyndale's native soil, from whence so many thousand pounds had been drained for half a century, being gone; it was altogether a deed so notable, that it must have been resented not only in England, but especially at Rome; and much more so, if the second man to whom we have referred, was also to be so advanced. This was Nicholas Shaxton, a most miserable contrast, indeed, to Latimer, though not at present, nor for years after. Nix of Norwich, his sworn enemy, was yet alive; and yet this man, by May 1534, was the Queen's almoner; and in February following, he succeeded in the See of Salisbury to Cardinal Campeggio.

The Queen's decided encouragement of Latimer was, of itself, sufficient to have sealed her doom, with the opposite party. She had entreated him to point out whatever was amiss in her conduct; and notwithstanding all the calumny which has been heaped upon her, let that conduct now be farther observed; for there were other offences, *so* called, of not less magnitude. By her letter to Crumwell, in May 1534, she had openly and officially avowed her approbation of the Scriptures having been *imported* into England; which *no* official man had yet dared to do, and against which

Wolsey and the Bishops had been fighting all along. In short, her approbation of the Scriptures having been circulated in the vulgar tongue—her recent vindication of Mr. Harman, their zealous importer—her pointed request that he should be restored to all his forfeited privileges, as a merchant in Antwerp—her growing estimation in the eyes of the people, only show that the Queen had been by far too good a woman for such a being as Henry had discovered himself to be; but they prove, that she had proceeded much too far, in a certain course, ever to escape the bitterest defamation from her enemies; perhaps it was thought too fast; and hence the pusillanimity, if not the base desertion of her professed friends. As for death from her husband, it was nothing more than one awful result, though probably the worst, of his vile and variable passions. It is of him, and after a masterly review of the entire proceedings, that Sir James Mackintosh has said—"Henry, perhaps, approached as nearly to the ideal standard of perfect wickedness, as the infirmities of human nature would allow!"

Henry, having called a new Parliament, had resolved also to have a *new* Convocation, and one differing in its character from all that had preceded it on English ground, or, indeed, *anywhere else*. Of the Parliament we can already judge. "Henry's two divorces," says Hallam, alluding to the pretended declaration that Henry's marriage to Anne was null and void, "having created an uncertainty as to the line of succession, Parliament had endeavored to remove this, not by such constitutional provisions in concurrence with the crown, as might define the course of inheritance, but by enabling the King, on failure of issue by Jane Seymour, or any other lawful wife, to make over and bequeath the kingdom to *any* person at his pleasure, not even reserving a preference to the descendants of former sovereigns!" But we have now to look into the Convocation.

The confusion and misrepresentation which reigns throughout almost all our general histories, respecting this Convocation and its results, more especially with regard to the English Bible, render it imperatively necessary for the reader to observe what actually took place. Having already witnessed the failure of these Prelates in 1534 and 1535, their procedure in 1536 only invites the more careful inspection, if not the deeper interest. A universal mistake has consisted in the supposition that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, then ambassador at Paris, was here present; but there are many others, especially in relation to the Scriptures in English.

Thus, for example, Hume, in his History of England, informs us, that "a vote was passed for publishing a new translation of the Scriptures; and in three years' time the work was finished, and *published at Paris!*" Burnet represents certain "arguments" as so prevailing with *both houses of Convocation*, that "they petitioned the King, that he would give order to *some* to set about it."—"These arguments, joined with the power that the Queen had in his affections, were so much considered by the King, that *he gave order* for setting about it *immediately!* To *whom* that work



was committed, or *how they proceeded in it, I know not*. For the account of these things has *not* been preserved, nor conveyed to us, with that care that the importance of the thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carried on at a good rate: for three years after this, it was printed at Paris, which shews *they made all convenient haste*, in a thing that required so much deliberation!!”

Other historians being equally loose, and as far astray, one is the less surprised at egregious mistakes committed by the painter. Only the other day a cartoon was exhibited in Westminster Hall, entitled, “A Convocation held in 1536, for a deliberation on a new translation of the Scriptures.” Instead of all the Prelates being seated *before and below* Crumwell, the Vicegerent and Vicar-General,—“Cranmer,” according to the description given, “is represented as presiding over the Assembly. On his right hand are *Crumwell! Tunstal, Gardiner*, (though in France,) and others; on his left are Latimer, Fox, Goodrich, and others.” But we forbear. It will be seen, however, that there actually were two or three *scenes* at this Convocation, inviting the pencil of our highest artists: especially “*Latimer* preaching before the Convocation,” or even “*Stokesly* of London, at the height of his wrath;” but they yet remain to be laid on the canvas.

The friends of the “old learning” round the King, included two distinct parties—the nobility and the clergy. The present prospects of these two, were direct contrasts to each other. The former were looking forward, with eagerness, to the acquisition of property; the latter were trembling in the apprehension of losing it. The nobility were happy to aid the king in his late affair, and had borne him through it; but certainly not without full expectation of his recollecting their services, for they had laid the King under a debt of gratitude; the clergy had also rejoiced in the death of the Queen, and will immediately give their official sanction. But then, it was not to follow as a matter of course, that because this latter party had gone along with Henry in his bloody progress, that he was to aid them, or even spare them, as a body, in theirs. By no means. On the contrary, the clergy, at all events, must prepare for further inroads and fresh humiliation. It will be remembered that Crumwell had, last year, been very conveniently made “Vicegerent, Vicar-General, and Commissary Special and Principal,” involving vast powers; placing him, in fact, next to the royal family, for specific and prospective purposes; and we have now to see the height to which he thought himself entitled to act.

The Convocation had met on the day after Parliament, or the 9th of June. Cranmer had resolved to try what a sermon could effect at the opening. We have seen how eager he was respecting Latimer preaching before the Court, and he appointed him now to preach before the Convocation. His text was appropriate enough. “*The children of this world are wiser in their generation, than the children of light*,”—and he did not fail to speak as he thought. He delivered two sermons, on the same day, from this text, and in the afternoon, especially, came to the point.

After detailing, at length, the evils to be removed, and urging them all to “do *something* whereby they might be known to be the children of light,”—as “all men know that we be here gathered, and, with most fervent desire, breath and gape for the fruit of our Convocation; and “as our acts shall be, so shall they name us.” After warning them by that wicked professor who “beat his fellow-servants, and did eat and drink with the drunken,”—he closes all by saying:—

“Come, go to, my brothers; go to, I say again, and once again go to, leave the love of your *profit*; study for the glory and profit of Christ; seek in your consultations such things as pertain to Christ, and bring forth, at the last, something that may please Christ.—Preach truly *the Word of God*. Love the light, walk in the light, and so be ye the children of light, while ye are in this world, that ye may shine in the world that is to come, bright as the sun, with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, to whom be all honor, praise, and glory—Amen.”

This stringent and intrepid discourse must have been as gall and wormwood to many who were present: but it certainly was meet, that some such address should salute their ears, and at such a time as this. It was fit that they should be told, when thus all assembled to hear, that already there were among the PEOPLE “*many children of light*,” while they had not yet done one thing whereby the inhabitants of England had profited “one hair.” It was fit that Tunstal should be reminded, thus publicly, of his miserable injunction in 1526, and his torturing examinations in 1528, and his burning of the Sacred Volume in 1530; nay, that in that very St. Paul’s where, after his return from Spain, he had denounced the New Testament, of which now so many editions had been sold and circulated, he should have to sit still and listen to such harrowing interrogations as these. And although some may question the delicacy of Latimer introducing himself, more especially as he was reverting to the most humiliating scene in his past life, perhaps the solitary speck in his public character; still it was fit that the ears of Stokesly and his fellows should be made to tingle, in remembrance of their past cruelties. Stokesly had actually officiated, before the sermons began!

In short, taking the discourse all in all, a more perfect disclaimer of anything having, as yet, been done, by these men in England, could not have been given; nor a higher attestation to the powerful, though denounced, exertions of Tyndale, as well as to their positive and extensive effects. It was only in perfect keeping with all that has been recorded, that such an eminent and distinct testimony should have been delivered before an assembly of foes and friends, at St. Paul’s in *London*, three months before Tyndale received the crown of Martyrdom,—and that by Latimer, the man, among all present, best qualified to judge.

It becomes of no little curious importance to observe who were actually assembled to hear all this; and the more so, that the statements frequently given have been both defective and errone-

ous. Of the twenty-one Bishops, sixteen were present at the Convocation, and two voted by proxy. As for the other three, not present; Gardiner of Winchester was *still in France*, where indeed he remained for above *two* years. Athaqua or Attien, Bishop of Llandaff, if yet alive, being a Spaniard, could not now vote; and Kite of Carlisle, once Archbishop of Armagh, an appointment which he had received from Leo X. in 1513, and resigned for Carlisle in 1521, was now in extreme old age, and died next year.

But besides the sixteen Bishops present, there were forty mitred Abbots and Priors, or fifty-six in all. In the lower house fifty members attended, namely, twenty-five Archdeacons, seven Deans, seventeen Proctors, and one Master of a College. Of the eighteen who voted from the Bench, those who were with and against Cranmer, will show how equally they were divided when discussion began. We give them with the dates of their appointment:—

1531. <i>Lee</i> of York.	1533. <i>Cranmer</i> of Canterbury.
1530. <i>Stokesly</i> of London.	1534. <i>Goodrich</i> of Ely.
1530. <i>Tunstal</i> of Durham.	1535. <i>Shaxton</i> of Salisbury.
1520. <i>Longland</i> of Lincoln.	1535. <i>Fox</i> of Hereford.
1519. <i>Vesey</i> of Exeter.	1535. <i>Latimer</i> of Worcester.
1533. <i>Clerk</i> of Bath.	1535. <i>Hilsey</i> of Rochester.
1534. <i>Lee</i> of Litchfield.	1536. <i>Barlow</i> of St. Davids.
1534. <i>Salcot</i> of Bangor.	1536. <i>Warton</i> of St. Asaph.
1536. <i>Rugge</i> of Norwich.	1536. <i>Sampson</i> of Chichester.

Thus, although the reader will still recognize well-known enemies to the progress of Divine Truth, and to Tyndale personally, he will observe that the coast is clear of the aged and literally blind Nix of Norwich—of West of Ely, the crafty foe of Latimer—of Standish, the slanderer of Colet and Erasmus—of Fisher, the ablest opponent of the *new* learning—and of Cardinal Campeggio of Salisbury, as well as Ghinucci of Worcester, two Italians, ever ready to support the *old*—besides five others. If death had not thinned the ranks of these men, it is evident that Cranmer had been left in a small minority; but it now appears, that, since his appointment, only three years ago, as many as *eleven* vacancies had occurred, and of these not fewer than eight voted with him. So late as the 31st of May, the other party had been strengthened by Rugge *alias* Repps, being elected for Norwich; but it shows the keenness of Crumwell and Cranmer, that on the very *day before* the Convocation, they got Warton into St. Asaph, nay, on the day of *opening*, having procured Sherburne's resignation, they put Richard Sampson, the King's great champion, in his place. Even then, however, they divided, it appears, nine to nine. Fortunately for Cranmer's peace, Gardiner was not there, and two disciples of the old learning voted only by proxy, viz., Exeter and Litchfield, for whom Longland of Lincoln acted.

Preliminaries being adjusted by Friday, the 16th of June, the old party in the lower house, had prevailed in securing one of their number to be Prolocutor in the Convocation. This was Richard Gwent, an Archdeacon of Stokesly's, now presented and

confirmed by the upper house. But, by way of keeping the balance even, or rather of discovering how strong was the rod of royal authority over them, there entered, on the same day, not even Crumwell himself, for he was as yet too busy with Parliamentary affairs, but Dr. William Petre, as *his* deputy! He claimed the precedency due to his immediate master, and the commission he brought with him being read, Cranmer assigned him his place, next to himself. Some might well question, and probably did, as Fuller supposes, whether "a deputy's deputy" might properly claim *his* place who was principally represented. It has been said that it was with difficulty that the clergy suppressed their murmurs, at Crumwell's appointment to his office—a man who had never taken orders, nor graduated in any University; but their indignation increased, when they found that the same pre-eminence was claimed by any of his *clerks*, whom he might commission as his deputy at their meetings.

On Wednesday next, however, the 21st, Crumwell entered, and as VICEGERENT AND VICAR-GENERAL seated himself judicially above all. He then presented them an instrument, annulling the King's marriage with the late Queen. They all signed it, and one party most willingly, though, as already noticed, the measure did not pass the House of Lords till the 30th.

On Friday, the 23d of June, Gwent brought up from the lower house, a long list of what they styled *mala dogmata*, or erroneous doctrines. The number amounted to not fewer than *sixty-seven*; and it now remained for Cranmer, Latimer, and others, to say, what was to be done with them; for this was no other than "The protestation of the Clergy of the lower house, within the province of *Canterbury*." As a picture of the men within these doors, and of the opinions, that were now travelling the country, the document is of value. The puerility, it is granted, and the absurdity of most of the items, strikingly evince the degraded state of the human mind, in those who sanctioned the list; while, on the other hand, some of those very items prove, that, in the face of their most furious opposition, Divine Truth had already found its way into a thousand channels. A few only will serve to show whether there were *any* of "the children of this world" in this assembly, as Latimer had more than suspected, and whether there were *many* of "the children of light" *elsewhere*, as he had affirmed.

"We think," say they, "in our consciences and opinions, these errors and abuses following, to have been, and now to be, within this realm, causes of dissension, worthy special reformation. It is, to wit,

1. "That it is commonly preached, taught, and spoken, to the slander of this noble realm, disquietness of the people, damage of Christian souls, not without *fear* of many other inconveniences and perils—that the sacrament of the altar is not to be esteemed.

5. "Item.—That all ceremonies accustomed in the Church,

which are not *clearly expressed in Scripture*, must be taken away, because they are *men's* inventions.

8. "Item.—That it is preached and taught that the Church that is commonly taken for the Church, is the old synagogue; and that the Church is '*the congregation of good men only.*'"

15. "Item.—That images of saints are not in any wise to be revered.

26. "Item.—That confession auricular, absolution, and penance, are neither necessary nor profitable in the Church of God.

27. "Item.—That auricular confession is only invented and ordained to have the secret knowledge of men's hearts, and to *pull money out of their purse.*

44. "Item.—That there is no mean place, between Heaven and Hell, wherein souls departed may be afflicted.

56. "Item.—That by preaching, *the people* have been brought in opinion and belief, *that nothing is to be believed, except it can be proved expressly from Scripture.*

65. "Item.—That besides preaching, there are many slanderous and erroneous *books* that have been made and suffered to go abroad indifferently, which books were the more gladly bought, because of these words, '*cum privilegio;*' which the ignorant people took to have been an express approbation of the King, where it was not so indeed.

66. "Item.—That where, *heretofore*, divers books *have been* examined by persons appointed in the Convocation, and the said books found *full of heresy and erroneous opinions, and so declared;* the said books are not yet by the Bishops expressly condemned, but *suffered to remain in the hands of unlearned people*, which ministereth to them matter of *argument*, and much unquietness within the realm."

Independently of Latimer's testimony, here was a second, and from many individuals. If it be said that their alarm may have led them to exaggerate the good that had been done, it must be remembered that God had been carrying forward his work with secret energy, and that *they* were not the men to know *all*: but still they come forward in proof that *the Sacred Volume*, so far from having been read in vain, had already produced some of its finest effects, and, it may safely be presumed, to a considerable extent, since they affirmed that these truths were "*commonly taught and spoken.*" It is true, that all this had been accomplished in the face of opposition, and certainly without the bold and public sanction of any present; but, though it has been too little observed, the moment was a crisis in the history of England, more important than any one that has since occurred in her eventful history. As far as the vital interests of Christianity itself are concerned, who is there now, understanding these interests, who can forbear to exclaim—"Oh! had they but let 'well' alone! and left those cardinal principles, which the majority of these men now branded as evil, to have found their way into every city and hamlet, till they had leavened the community!" But no; the perfec-

tion, the *all-sufficiency* of the Sacred Volume to accomplish all the purposes of the Divine will, was a tenet held by no one there.

And now the war grew warm, the strife interminate, for what else could be expected from an assemblage such as this? Cranmer alone, as yet possessed of no fixed principles, nor any distinct conception of where he was going, though even backed by Latimer, with all his wit and shrewdness, could have done nothing. Even in the *absence of Gardiner*, they would have been crushed or overruled. Queen Anne was gone, and the old party had determined to try their strength. Oh! exclaims old Fuller, "what tugging was here, betwixt those opposite sides, (for I *dare not* take Bishop Latimer's phrase, as he took it out of his text—betwixt the children of this generation, and the children of *light*,) whilst, with all earnestness, they thought to advance their *several designs*." The truth is, that the House of Lords itself was often interrupted in their business by these men; and in their "Journal," the reason recorded for many adjournments was this, that the Lord Bishops "were busy in the Convocation."

It was while these discussions were proceeding, or rather about their commencement, that a notable scene occurred, in which *Alexander Ales*, of Edinburgh, made a conspicuous appearance. One day, as Lord Crumwell was proceeding to the house, he met Ales "by chance on the street," and, as if determined on still farther humiliation of the Bench, "he called him, and took him with him to the Parliament house, to Westminster." Upon entering, all the Bishops "rose and did obeisance to their Vicar-General, and after he had saluted them, he sat him down in the *highest* place." "Right against him sat Cranmer and Lee as Archbishops; and then Stokesly and Longland, Shaxton and Clerk, Goodrich and Fox, Sampson and Rugge, Latimer and certain others," adds Ales, "whose names I have forgotten." "All these did sit at a table covered with a carpet, with certain Priests standing about them."

"The Vicar-General of the realm" commenced—"The King's Majesty giveth you high thanks that ye have so diligently, without any excuse, assembled hither according to *his* commandment; and ye be not ignorant that ye be called hither to determine certain controversies, which at this time be moved, concerning the Christian religion and faith, not only in this realm, but also in all nations throughout the world. For the King studieth day and night to set a *quietness* in the Church! And he cannot rest until all such controversies be fully debated and *ended* through the determination of you, and his whole Parliament! For although his special desire is to *set a stey* (fix according to rule) for the unlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may believe, and he, himself, by his excellent learning, knoweth these controversies well enough; yet he will suffer no common alteration, but by the consent of you and his whole Parliament. And he desireth now, for Christ's sake, that, all manner of obstinacy and carnal respect set apart, ye will, friendly and lovingly, dispute

among yourselves, of the controversies moved in the Church, and that ye will conclude all things by the WORD OF GOD; without all brawling or scolding. Neither will his Majesty suffer the Scripture to be wrested or defaced by any glosses, or by any authority of *doctors* or *Councils*; and much less will he admit any articles or doctrine NOT contained in the Scripture; but approved only by continuance of time and old custom, and by *unwritten verities*, as *ye were wont to do*. Ye know well enough, that ye be bound to show this service to Christ and to his Church; and yet, notwithstanding, his Majesty will give you high thanks, if ye will set and conclude a godly and a perfect unity—whereunto this is the only way and mean, if ye will determine ALL things by the SCRIPTURE, as God commandeth you in Deuteronomy—which thing his Majesty exhorteth and desireth you."

However strange the former part of this address must appear to every enlightened Christian now, toward the close the trumpet gave a certain sound; and, so far as words could convey meaning, no man present could misunderstand the message. But what followed? "After this," says Ales, "they began to dispute of the *sacraments*." First of all, the Bishop of London, Stokesly, (whom, a little before, Crumwell had rebuked by name, for defending of unwritten verities,) went about to defend that there were *seven* sacraments of our Christian religion, which he would prove by certain glosses and writers; and he had upon his side the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Lincoln, Bath, Chichester, and Norwich. The Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, and Worcester, and certain others, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, were against him. After they had made much strife and contention about the sayings of the doctors, Cranmer rose and said—

"It beseemeth not men of learning and gravity to make much babbling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about words, is the property of sophisters, and such as mean deceit and subtilty, which delight in the debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable state of the Church; and not of them which should seek the glory of Christ, and should study for the unity and quietness of the Church.

"There be weighty controversies now moved and put forth, *not* of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the Law and the Gospel—of the manner and way how sins be forgiven—of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feel the strength of the law accusing them of sin—of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification through faith.

"Item.—Which be the good works, and the true service and honor which pleaseth God; and whether the choice of meats, the difference of garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions, which have no Word of God to confirm them; whether

these, I say, be right good works, and such as make a perfect Christian man, or no.

"Item.—Whether vain science and false honoring of God and man's *traditions*, do bind men's consciences, or no. Finally, whether the ceremonies of confirmation—of orders—and of anointing, and such other, (which cannot be proved to be instituted of Christ, nor have any worth in them to certify us of remission of sins,) ought to be called Sacraments, and to be compared with Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, or no.

"These be no light matters, but even the principal points of our Christian religion; wherefore we contend not about words and trifles, but of high and earnest matters. Christ saith—'blessed be the peace-makers, for they shall be called the sons of God.' And Paul commandeth Bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which be profitable to nothing, but unto the subversion and destruction of the hearers: and he admonisheth especially that he should resist with the Scriptures when any man disputeth with him of the faith, and he addeth a cause,—'doing this, thou shalt preserve both thyself and also them which hear thee.' Now, if ye will follow these counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and ye must stablish a godly and a perfect unity and concord, out of the Scripture."

This assembly, to a man, had already acknowledged Henry to be the Supreme Head of their Church, and now also had made obeisance to his Vicegerent, their Vicar-General; but such was the catalogue of affairs brought forward, and as explained by Cranmer himself. He did not stop to inquire whether the men whom he urged to engage in discussion *were* peace-makers, *were* the sons of God, *were* Bishops, indeed,—but, waving this, here was a field for strife and debate, confessedly wide enough, if not boundless, and as now spread out, it certainly exhibited a strange mixture of truth and error; where the mere acts of outward conformity were mingled with the inward feelings of mental obedience; and comparative trifles were enumerated in company with matter of divine authority. But still, should Cranmer *commence* with *faith* and not with *obedience*, or with what he styled "the principal points of our Christian religion," or "high and earnest matters," and not with ceremonies, an effectual turn may yet be given to discussion. Two steps were before him, the right and the wrong; and as *he* had precedence, and was about to state the *order* of debate, and now had this in his own hands, one naturally waits with anxiety to hear his decision,—and here it was.

"Wherefore, in this disputation we must *FIRST AGREE of the number of the SACRAMENTS*, and what a Sacrament doth signify in the holy Scripture; and when we call Baptism and the Supper of the Lord sacraments of the Gospel, what we mean thereby!"

Lord Cromwell observing, by his countenance, that Ales was pleased with Cranmer's address, thought it the proper moment to call upon *him*; and having introduced him to all present, under the high appellation of "the King's Scholar," he desired him now



to say, what he thought of this disputation. The exiled Scotchman complied, maintaining throughout, and for the *first time* upon English ground, for many centuries, before any such audience, that there were only *two* sacraments,—easy to be kept, and very excellent in signification,—and that these were “Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.” Stokesly sat with impatience, and at last fired,—saying of what Ales had affirmed—“*It is all false.*” To this he answered, “I will prove all that I have said to be *true*, not only by the Scripture, but by the old doctors, and by the School writers also.”

Upon this Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford, interposed, and in a noble address, well worthy of being recorded, spoke as follows :—

“Brother Alexander, contend not much with him, about the minds and sayings of the doctors and school writers ; for ye know that they, in many places, do differ among themselves, and that they are contrary to themselves, also, almost in every article. And there is *no hope of any concord* to be made, if we must lean to *their* judgments, in these matters of controversy. And we be commanded by the King’s Grace to dispute by the *Holy Scripture.*” Then turning himself to the Bishops, he thus proceeded—

“Think ye not, that we can, by any sophistical subtilties, steal out of the world again, the light which every man doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the Gospel hath put to flight all misty darkness ; and it will, shortly, have the higher hand of all clouds, though we resist in vain never so much. THE LAY PEOPLE DO NOW KNOW THE HOLY SCRIPTURE, BETTER THAN MANY OF US. And the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy, by the Hebrew and the Greek tongue, that now many things may be better understood, *without any glosses at all*, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And, moreover, they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falsehood that hath been hitherto. Wherefore, ye must consider earnestly, what ye will determine of these controversies, that ye make not yourselves to be mocked, and laughed to scorn of all the world ; and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you, to think evermore hereafter, *that ye have not one spark of learning nor yet of godliness in you.* And thus shall ye lose all your estimation and authority with them which before took you for learned men, and profitable members unto the commonwealth of Christendom. For that which you do hope upon, that there was never heresy in the Church so great, but that process of time, with the power and authority of the Pope, hath quenched it—it is nothing to the purpose. But ye must turn (change) your opinion, and think this *surcly*, that there is nothing so feeble and weak, so that it be true, but it shall find place, and be able to stand against all falsehood.

“Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth. And whatsoever is besieged of truth, cannot long continue ; and

upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence, and strength, or authority. For the truth is of so great power, strength, and *efficacy*, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcome with any strength : but after she hath hidden herself long, at length she putteth up her head, and appeareth."

Encouraged by this oration, and confining himself to the Sacred Volume, Ales proceeded to ply the Bishop of London with this argument—"Sacraments be signs of ceremonies, which make us certain and sure of the will of God—but no man's heart can be certain and sure of the will of God, without the *Word* of God. Wherefore, it followeth, that there be no sacraments without the Word of God. And such as cannot be proved out of the Holy Scripture, ought *not to be called* sacraments.

"And so after this manner doth Paul speak unto the Ephesians, that Christ doth sanctify his Church, through the bath of water, in the word of life. And for as much as he joineth the Word unto the ceremony, and declareth the virtue and power of the Word of God, that it bringeth with him (it) life ; he doth manifestly teach, that the Word of God is the principal thing, and even, as it were, the very substance and body of the sacrament ; and the outward ceremony nothing else than a token of that lively inflammation which we receive, through faith in the Word and promise.

"St. Paul, also, in ministering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, doth manifestly add the words of CHRIST. '*He took bread,*' saith he, '*and when he had given thanks, he brake it and said, take ye this, and eat ye this, for it is my body.*' Item, '*do ye this in my remembrance.*'

"Beside this, he teacheth evidently, that only Christ, and none but He, had power to institute a sacrament : and that neither the Apostles, nor the Church, hath *any* authority, to alter, or to add anything unto his ordinance. Whereas he saith—'*For I received of the Lord,* that which I delivered unto you,' &c.—to what purpose should he go about to move the people to believe him, and to win their hearts with his protestation, if it had been lawful for him to have *made* any sacraments, or to have *altered the form and manner* of ministering this sacrament ? As some men, both wickedly and shamelessly do affirm, that the Apostles did alter the form of baptism."

Stokesly, however, here again interrupted him and said—"Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the Word of God, yet are ye far deceived, if ye think that there is none other Word of God, *but that which EVERY sonter and cobbler DOETH read in his mother tongue !*" The Vicar-General and others smiled when he had done ; but it was now twelve o'clock, and time to disperse. Crumwell, therefore, desired Ales to be "content for the time," on which he closed, by saying to Stokesly,—

"Right Reverend Master Bishop—ye deny that our Christian faith and religion doth lean only upon the Word of God which is

written in the *Bible*: which thing if I can prove and declare, then ye will grant me, that there be no sacraments but those that have the manifest Word of God to confirm them." To this he consented, and the assembly for that day was dissolved.

The next day, however, when the Bishops were again met, this dangerous man of Edinburgh must not be admitted. He was punctually present with Lord Crumwell, and ready to accompany him; but poor Cranmer, ever in character, timid and time-serving, became alarmed as to consequences, and prevented the appearance of Ales.

The obvious purport of this dispute respecting the ordinances of Christ, here styled sacraments, was, whether there were *seven*, or only *two*; and Ales firmly maintained his ground, but his arguments had no effect whatever in swaying such men.

In these circumstances, what was to be done? To one of the parties it seemed at last, that some expedient must be devised, to enforce obedience or conformity, silent or quiet submission. But where did the power reside? Only in the breast of a man, who had been washing his hands in blood, and "following the sport" on the day of his Queen's execution! In the language of sacred writ, that he was also "proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words,"—"vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind," we have already had but too much evidence; only he was now about to proceed one step farther, and should *he* only fix on more sacraments than *two*, all must yield, and at least bow assent.

Of course, neither Henry, nor any of his advisers, understood that Christianity, as revealed in the New Testament, repudiated all constraint of receiving and holding opinions by human authority; or, to use a word often employed since, all "imposition;" that the nature of faith did not admit of this—that God himself had appointed no such means to enforce belief, nor nominated any Vicegerent to attempt this—that dominion over conscience is God's exclusive province, within which, especially, his name is "Jealous"—that any man, therefore, presuming to enter here, must needs be an usurper, demanding blind submission,—so that whatever means be adopted, they must be nefarious. But, apart from all these vital considerations, so far as the present uproar was concerned, both Crumwell and Cranmer well knew, that they had only to repair to the royal presence, and describe this scene of strife,—“the perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, who supposed that *gain* was godliness.” They did so at last, when a message arrived from Henry. He soon stilled the tumult, very much in the manner of Sardanapalus of old—“*Sic volo, sic jubeo, and let my will for reason stand.*” These men had been convoked, in fact, not to discuss but to “do the King’s business.”

The form in which this settler came, was in that of certain “Articles,” which *all* must subscribe. They were strangely enough entitled—“Articles devised by the King’s Highness’ Majesty, to

stablish Cristian *quietness* and unity among us, and to avoid *contentious* opinions!"

These, the first articles propounded in England, though not originally composed by Henry, were carefully revised by him; at least in the preface, he speaks of having, in his own person, many times, bestowed on them "great pain, study, labor and travail!" No doubt, Cranmer and his coadjutors had done their best before then; and if, after passing through such an ordeal, these articles are to be regarded as the amount of their united wisdom, they only discover what darkness and confusion still reigned in the minds of all men in power. It is not only the substance, but the *order* in which they are stated, which, at once, betrays this confusion. At the same time, we now discover that Cranmer must have had his secret reason for passing over every Christian doctrine, or matter of belief, and giving it out as imperative, that they must *begin* with the sacraments! So it was with the Articles: for after simply allowing the particulars of the Christian faith to be contained in the Scriptures, but joining with them the Nicene and Athanasian creeds; we have 1. Baptism. 2. Penance. 3. The Sacrament of the Altar, or the Mass. 4. *Justification*. 5. Images. 6. Honoring of Saints. 7. Praying to Saints. 8. Rites and Ceremonies. 9. Purgatory. They, in fact, *allowed* the use of images, *sanctioned* prayers to the Saints, *defended* purgatory, and *recommended* prayers for the dead. Far from following the sentiments of Ales, not only spoken, but more fully delivered in writing to Crumwell, and meant to have been read before them—they assert three sacraments; 1. Penance, 2. Baptism, 3. the Lord's Supper—maintaining that infants dying, before the second, perish everlastingly! and that the real body and blood of Christ are *present* in the third! No wonder that Cranmer trembled for his Articles, or was afraid of the set speech of Ales, next day; for *if* it had been listened to by any, not to say all, it might have at least retarded the attempt to "stablish Christian *quietness*," after this fashion.

Nor had these miserable articles any such effect. On the contrary, when once published, they occasioned, says Burnet, "great variety of censures." Beyond the walls of their assembly, "*quietness*," of any kind, was not to be the order of the day; although, at this moment, all the men within must acquiesce in the unbending will of their acknowledged Head. At least one hundred and nine individuals subscribed; including Crumwell and the two Archbishops, sixteen Bishops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty Archdeacons and Proctors.

Nothing can more forcibly illustrate the absurdity of this blind consent to certain propositions, professedly religious, than that this assembly had never yet been able to agree upon any translation of the *Sacred Volume* itself; nor, upon this subject, according to Cranmer's strongly expressed opinion next year, if left to themselves, would they ever have agreed, to the end of their days. But after thus subscribing, it would have been more inconsistent

still, had they now departed, without any reference to the subject. They had, to a man, professedly recognized the Scriptures as containing the essentials of the Christian faith, but could not agree on a *translation* into their own language; neither could they as a body, approve of *that* translation, through which many of the people were already so far before them in acquaintance with Divine Truth. They agreed, however, upon the form of a petition, to be presented to the King, that *he* would graciously indulge unto his subjects of the laity, the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, (which so many had already read without his indulgence,) and that *a new translation of it might be forthwith made for that end and purpose*. This was a convenient method for postponing the subject; but, providentially, their dissention or agreement was of no earthly moment, since neither the petitioners, nor the King they addressed, were to be *allowed* to furnish that translation of the Bible for England, which was, ultimately, to become her own.

Thus, Parliament having risen, and the Convocation being dissolved, after having shown nothing save profound subserviency to the wishes and the vices of the Sovereign, both Crumwell and Cranmer, will contrive to save themselves the trouble of consulting either of these bodies, for some time to come; for it must be borne in mind that there was neither Parliament nor Convocation held till the year 1539.

Immediately after this, the first act of Crumwell, as Vicegerent, was to issue certain injunctions, and, upon one account at least, they demand notice. Among these injunctions, however, by whatever means, there has crept into the pages of several historians, the following:

“Item.—That *every* parson or proprietary of *any* Church within this realm, shall, on this side of *the feast of St. Peter ad vincula, next coming*, provide a book of the *whole Bible, both in Latin, and also in English*, and lay the same in the choir, for every man that will, to look and read thereon, and shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible, *either in Latin or English*.”

There is no necessity for estimating whether there were in existence, anywhere in England, as many Bibles in Latin, much less in English, as is here supposed; nor for reminding the reader that the Convocation had advanced only so far as to *petition* for a translation to be forthwith made; as a little reflection might long ago have led to the suspicion, that there must be some palpable interpolation, or blunder here. But the paragraph is *not* to be found in the official copy of Cranmer's Register, *not* in Wilkins' Concilia, *not* in the folio editions of Burnet, nor, it might be added, in the *text* of any subsequent edition. It is only in the appendix of later editions, that the erroneous statement of Foxe has been substituted for what was before the correct one, though transcribed by Burnet himself from the Register. “It would appear then,” says Jenkyns, “that *no* order was issued for placing the English

Bible in Churches before Crumwell's second set of injunctions, which were issued in September 1538." Not one, certainly, in reference to the kingdom at large; though Cranmer, indirectly through the Chancellor in the summer of *that* year, issued such injunctions within the diocese of Hereford. That there were no other such, till then, will become increasingly evident, as we proceed. Meanwhile, *neither the King, Crumwell nor Cranmer had yet spoken one word officially respecting any Bible, or New Testament separately.*

Turning away, therefore, from the Convocation of 1536, which, with reference to the Sacred Volume, was equally fruitless of any benefit to the kingdom with that of 1534, no sooner do we come to the actual history of the English Bible, than it turns out to have been by far the most remarkable year of all that had preceded it! Nay, to those who have never looked narrowly into the subject, it may seem next to incredible, that there should have been of Tyndale's New Testament, as many editions as in most of the preceding years when put together! Such, however, will turn out to have been the fact, and of this state of things let us hope that our Translator could not have been kept altogether in ignorance, more especially as the jailor and his family will appear to have been won to his principles. So far as he did know, after such a passage through life, this must have cheered him in his entrance to the haven of eternal rest, as a finer sun, which was to shine for ages upon his native land. He had corrected his New Testament in 1534, and these were reprints of that edition.

His own country having left him to perish, the only remaining quarter to which we can turn, is to the Government of Flanders itself. Curiosity must be awake to know the character of the parties into whose hands Tyndale had fallen. The reigning Princess, Mary, was merely a vassal of the priests. With the chief man, still in power, *Carondelet*, the Archbishop of Palermo, we have been long familiar, and to him the character of Tyndale must have been well known for nine years past, at least; but he was a mere courtier without heart; and from the days in which Cornelius Grapheus, the learned Secretary of Antwerp, had, under his eye, suffered so severely, for publishing a book on "the liberty of the Christian Religion," he had been familiar with cruelty. No mercy was therefore to be expected from him. *Erardus à Marchia*, the Cardinal and Bishop of Liege, the man to whom Reginald Pole fled next year for protection, was, of course, a determined opponent of the Scriptures; and *Montigni* lived under the sovereign power of the monks. Such were the men of influence and authority. It was only three years since Erasmus himself, that eminent reviver of literature, was invited to this Court. But he was then, and ever afterwards, afraid to venture near it, even though the Emperor himself had invited him, and money had been remitted to defray his travelling charges. Sometime after this invitation, his picture of the Government was sufficiently graphical, and it serves our present purpose. Having referred to the monks

in a letter to Cholerus, in 1534, he says—"These animals are omnipotent at the Emperor's Court" in the Low Countries. "*Mary* is a mere puppet, maintained by our nation; *Montigni*, a man of authority, is a tool of the Franciscans; the Cardinal of *Liege* is an ambitious friend, and when he takes offence, a violent enemy; the Archbishop of *Palermo* is a giver of good words, and nothing else."

And thus it is at last, that the history of the times, and of the men of the times, whether in England or Brabant, but too well prepare us for anticipating the martyrdom at Vilvorde.

After the escape of Mr. Poyntz, "*Tyndale*," we are informed by Foxe, "was proffered an advocate and a procuror; for in any crime there, it shall be permitted to counsel to make answer in the law; but he refused to have any, saying, that he would make *answer for himself*; and so he did." But at last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned, by virtue of the Emperor's decree at Augsburg. Such had been "the power of his doctrine, and the sincerity of his life, that during the whole time of his imprisonment, which endured about one whole year and a half, (or rather a year and three quarters,) it is said he converted his keeper, the keeper's daughter, and others of his household. The rest that were in the Castle, and conversant with *Tyndale*, reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian man, they could not tell whom to trust: and the Procurator-General, the Emperor's attorney, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was '*Homo doctus, pius, et bonus*'—a learned, pious, and good man."

The decree issued at Augsburg, on the 19th of November, 1530, was still in full force, after which, no man was admitted into the judicature of the Imperial Chamber, unless he approved of it; and the Privy Council of Brussels, of which Carondelet was President, enjoyed ample authority in all matters, religious as well as political. The persecutors of *Tyndale*, therefore, knew full well, since his own King and Council had left him to perish, how they could, at any time, close the controversy and slay him. That detestable decree had not only enjoined the continuance of all the former ceremonies, rites, and superstitions,—but particularly rejected the doctrine of *justification by faith alone*. The doctors of Louvain must have discussed many subjects with their prisoner: his translation of the Scriptures, of course, he would defend to the last; but here was one point, on which *Tyndale* would remain firm as a rock. There was no man in Germany, to say nothing of England, who had written with greater distinctness on the subject of justification: no man who had discovered a more profound esteem for this sacred and precious truth. This was one of those "high matters," on which he had so warmly pressed his dearest earthly friend, Fryth, to remain immovable in London; and it is not a little remarkable, that, at this moment, besides his New Testament in *folio*, *Tyndale's* first publication was either printing or

finished, and in London, too, under this very title—" *A treatise of justification by faith only.*"

From the past history frequently showing how early, and with what accuracy, Tyndale was in possession of intelligence from England, we have already supposed it to be quite possible, that, though in prison, he may have heard of many things that had occurred there, during the last nine months; and, more especially, that his New Testament, as corrected in 1534, was so pouring into his native land, by repeated editions, from Antwerp. This is the more probable, from his having been made useful to the keeper of the Castle and his family, having thus gained their favor. But, besides this, all that he had translated, was now actually proceeding to the press, in folio, and under the eye of a competent friend and great admirer, John Rogers. This was more than Crumwell, or Cranmer, or the King, yet knew; although the volume was to prove absolutely the *first* Bible, the reading of which throughout England, *they* were to enjoin! But now, and after such years of persecution, the end was come!!

It appears to have been at some hour on Friday, the 6th of October 1536, that Tyndale was led forth to be put to death. Before leaving the Castle, he delivered a letter to the keeper, addressed either to Mr. or Mrs. Poyntz of Antwerp; but no copy of it remains. Having reached the fatal spot, the noble martyr was fastened to the stake—upon which, "crying with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice—'LORD! OPEN THE EYES OF THE KING OF ENGLAND'"—he was first strangled, and then his body was consumed to ashes! Though, strange to say, even up to this hour, "no marble tells us where!" For, surely, if ever the lines of England's choicest Christian poet [Cowper] were strictly applicable to any single man, every word, by way of eminence, belongs to the Memory of William Tyndale,—

—"His blood was shed  
In confirmation of the noblest claim,  
*Our* claim to feed upon immortal truth,  
To walk with God, to be divinely free,  
To soar, and to anticipate the skies.  
Yet few remember him. He lived unknown  
Till persecution dragg'd him into fame.  
And chased him up to Heaven. His ashes flew—  
No marble tells us whither. With his name  
No bard embalms and sanctifies his song;  
And history, so warm on meaner themes,  
Is cold on this."

Tyndale's dying invocation, most emphatically expressed *his* opinion of Henry VIII.; and uttered, as it was, with a *loud* voice, though in a foreign land, was meant to be heard, if not also carried to England. The precise meaning of the speaker, in these dying words, it may be difficult to divine; but if Cranmer could go so far as to grossly flatter his Majesty, even on the third of May, Tyndale told him the truth with his last breath, from the stake, on the sixth of October. He regarded all that Henry had



yet done, as the work of a blind man, and certainly this was the most charitable of all constructions. Though to us now, who view the royal progress entire, and such as it was, that blindness, even by this time, was no longer a mere misfortune, but his crime. The King had already, and but too manifestly, closed his eyes, and hardened his heart, of which his future life will afford the saddest evidence.

As for the Martyr himself, since no good man was ever cut off in the *midst* of his usefulness, so neither was Tyndale. His work was done, and by an invincible providence, he had been singularly preserved to the last. In the councils of heaven, he had accomplished, as a faithful servant, his day, and evening's welcome hour had come. Occupying a place in the history of his country, which no other man could ever occupy after him, he was now called off from his labor, and with a character unspotted. That character has been drawn long ago, and with so much of simple beauty, that we must give it entire. Oh, what a contrast does it exhibit to almost all those men around him, whether at home or abroad, to whom his life and labors have constrained us to allude!

"First, he was a man very frugal, and spare of body, a great student, and earnest labourer in the setting forth of the Scriptures of God. He reserved or hallowed to himself two days in the week, which he named his pastime, Monday and Saturday. On Monday he visited all such poor men and women as were fled out of England, by reason of *persecution*, into Antwerp, and these, once well understanding their good exercises and qualities, he did very liberally comfort and relieve; and in like manner provided for the sick and diseased persons. On the Saturday, he walked round about the town, seeking every corner and hole, where he suspected any poor person to dwell; and where he found any to be well occupied, and yet over-burdened with children, or else were aged and weak, those also he plentifully relieved. And thus he spent his two days of pastime, as he called them. And truly his alms were very large, and so they might well be; for his exhibition that he had yearly, of the English merchants at Antwerp, when living there, was considerable, and that for the most part he bestowed upon the poor. The rest of the days of the week, he gave wholly to his *book*; wherein he most diligently travailed. When the Sunday came, then went he to some one merchant's chamber, or other, whither came many other merchants, and unto them would he read some one parcel of Scripture; the which proceeded so fruitfully, sweetly and gently from him, much like to the writing of John the Evangelist, that it was a heavenly comfort and joy to the audience, to hear him read the Scriptures: likewise, after dinner, he spent an hour in the same manner. He was a man without any spot or blemish of rancour or malice, full of mercy and compassion, so that no man living was able to reprove him of any sin or crime; although his righteousness and justification depended not thereupon before God; but only upon the blood of Christ and his faith upon the same. In this faith he died, with constancy,

at Vilvorde, and now resteth with the glorious company of Christ's martyrs, blessedly in the Lord.—And thus much of the life and story of the true servant and martyr of God, WILLIAM TYNDALE, who for his notable pains and travail, may well be called the Apostle of England, in this our latter age."

Such was the estimate of old John Foxe in his day : and though, in various instances, he stands chargeable with indiscriminate praise, in the present he has not exceeded ; nay, living so early, he could not be expected to distinguish the relative greatness, and peculiar distinction of Tyndale's character. Standing above all his contemporaries, with only one man by his side, his companion Fryth, he had *never* temporized, *never* courted human favor, *never* compromised or sacrificed one iota of Divine truth ; but with his face to the foe, and dying on the shield of faith, he was called to quit the well-fought field, for his mansion near the throne ; to refresh himself, after the dust and turmoil and heat of the day, in the paradise of God. Having once exchanged contention with the votaries of darkness and superstition, for the harmony and the light of heaven ; the solitude of his dungeon, for the presence of his Redeemer, in the city of the living God ; his faithful and intrepid spirit, as *Milton* would have said of him, " had entered that region, where they, undoubtedly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferior orders of the blessed ; and in super-eminence of beatific vision shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss in over measure forever."

But the influence and usefulness of such a man, could not possibly die with him. If he had now rested from all his labor, we shall find his works following him. The light he had kindled, was to prove " the joy of many generations." Hence the force of individual consistent Christian character—the importance of individual exertion.

Vilvorde, (Vilvorden, or Villefort,) is situate at the confluence of the Senne and Woluwe, half way between Mechlin and Brussels, or about eight miles from the former, and seven from the latter. The large and strong castle, to which they had conveyed Tyndale from Antwerp, and where he remained to the hour of his death, was originally built by Duke Wenceslaus, in the year 1375. It was afterwards employed as a place of safe keeping for the archives and charters of Brabant, as well as of state prisoners. But the castle has now given place to a prison and house of correction on a very large scale.

"Tyndale," said the Belgian traveller's guide to us then, "Tyndale, who first translated the New Testament into English, suffered martyrdom here in 1536 ;" but the reader is now better able to estimate what had been the amount of his exertions and example ; and next year, we shall witness how much more of the Sacred Volume was conveyed to England, as the richest legacy she had ever received. Meanwhile, we are obliged to turn to a very

different subject, and present a melancholy, though instructive view, in the dark side of this entire picture.

To those who have never before been aware of the fact, it must appear extraordinary, that the *Martyrdom* of Tyndale, the first translator of our Bible into English, should stand so emphatically by itself. There was *no other*, with which the Councils of England, and of a Continental kingdom, were both concerned; *no other*, in the guilt of which, both our own country, and a foreign power, were alike involved. The eyes of Henry the Eighth, and those of his Ministers, were wide open, when the martyr fell under a decree of the Emperor Charles V. Considered as an event, amidst all the wide-spread and long-continued violence of the times, his martyrdom rises up to view, and appears like a conspicuous solitary column. If there be any memento inscribed, it is a *double* one—German on one side, but English on the other. In the scale of creation, the death of Tyndale was nothing more than that of any other human being, and, therefore, in itself, an every-day occurrence; though it will be conceded that he was no common character. He had engaged attention not only abroad, but especially at home, and that of public men, both dead and still alive. But then, besides, he was not merely the only conspicuous Englishman thus slain, with the full cognition of this country and the Continent; but the *only translator of the Sacred Volume* in Europe, so put to death. The moral crime attached itself, at once, to home and foreign authorities.

This was the Translator's martyrdom, but was truth to be silent or suppressed because folly frowned? So far from this, though the two last years had been more highly distinguished than ever, for the number of editions, the present year exceeded them both put together. Or, to speak more generally and from the beginning, from the year 1525 to 1530 there had been at least six impressions, which, on an average, was more than one edition annually; since then there had been seven if not eight editions, which was equal to two every year; but in this one year, or the last of the Translator's life, there were nine if not ten editions from the press. One gentleman, deeply conversant with the subject, does not despair of his being able to make out the round dozen.

Once more, therefore, and for the third time, these volumes come before us in contrast to all the mere confabulations of the Convocation men. They had met again, as if resolved to force themselves upon the notice of every future historian, and we have already seen them striving to settle matters of high behest; but to the highest of all, or the Sacred Volume itself, we are here confined; and now that Tyndale is gone, it seems to be due to his proceedings to glance at what these men had as yet said; for there had been *nothing done*, as Latimer, with such pungent or galling frequency, had thundered in their ear.

In the close of 1531, or eighteen months ago, these men had petitioned in the following terms,—“That his Majesty would

*vouchsafe to decree!* that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue by *some* honest and learned men to be nominated by the King;" and now, once more, after having completely failed among themselves, nay fighting with each other over the Sacred Record, here they are, professedly, a second time petitioning the King. And what is the language they now employ? They petition, "That the King would *graciously indulge* unto his subjects of the laity the *reading* of the Bible in the English tongue; though, as yet, according to their own showing, there was *no* Bible to read; and the Bishop of London has not only returned the portion of Scripture, with contempt, which has been assigned to him for revision, but he has declared that he will be no party in leading the people into *error* by giving them the Scriptures! Still, however, and as a Convocation, they go on, and now petition, "That a *new* translation might be forthwith made for that end and purpose;" that is, that the *laity*, under the *gracious indulgence* of Henry the Eighth, might read the Bible! But a *new* translation of it! Had these words escaped from them unwittingly? Were they a tacit admission, or confession, that one had been made already? Were they now saying that the New Testament, which was to be England's and Scotland's own book, long after they were in their graves, was of no esteem in their eyes? Or that the volume they had openly denounced and burnt so long, was now to be consigned to oblivion? Was this a frown upon Coverdale's new-born attempt, of which they may have only just heard? But especially, and certainly, upon Tyndale's numerous editions, which had now driven them to such perplexity? So it seemed to Lewis, above a century ago. "By this," said he, "it appears that the clergy did not approve of the translation already made by Tyndale and (or) Coverdale, and that their attempt, which they made two years (eighteen months) ago, to have the royal permission to make a new one, did not succeed." True, and we have read the history of its failure; but certainly if Cranmer had been a tool as deep and dexterous as any one man within the Convocation, he could not have contrived to place himself and his brethren before posterity, in a light or posture so little to be envied.

All this, however, only lends additional interest to the volumes, which, throughout the whole year, had been issuing from the press, and coming into England "thick and three-fold," without the "gracious indulgence" of his Majesty being either asked or granted. Of these New Testaments three separate and entirely distinct editions were in *quarto*. Of the duodecimo or small octavo size we know of five editions; and though in these pages we adhere to those books only which have been verified, we may add that another edition, if not two, may yet be ascertained to exist. All these editions, with the exception of one, had been printed abroad in Antwerp; but that one, in several respects, may be considered as equal in importance to all the others. The size of the book, *in folio*; the season of its publication, *the present*

*year*; but above all, the printer and the place, *his Majesty's own patent printer, in London*; all conspire to render the volume even still a mystery. It comes before us, unaccountably, as the top-stone of this hazardous but successful enterprise; brought into view, also, about the very time when our Translator was breathing his last, or consuming to ashes at Vilvorde. Some account of it, in particular, must not be withheld.

"The Newe testament yet ones agayne corrected by W. Tyn-dale: And in many places amēded, where it scaped before by neglygence of the printer. Also a Kalender, and a necessary table, wherein easely and lightly may be founde any story cōteyned in ye foure Euangelystes, and in the Actes of ye apostels. Also before every psytel of S. Paul, is a prologue, very frutefull to ye reder. And after ye newe testament, foloweth the Epistels of ye olde testament. Newly printed (by Tho. Berthelet) in the yere of our lorde MDXXXVI."—in the compartment of *the boys in triumph*, and with a small medallion of a head laureated, supported by sphynxes; peculiar to this printing press.

*Collation.* Prefixes, viz. Almanake for 23 years—Kalender—W. T. to the Christen Reder—a prologue into the four Euangelystes—the Offyce of all Estates, and the Bokes conteyned in the Newe Testament: 14 leaves. The Newe Testament contains folio xcvi., but the folios run on to ccv.; then the table of the Epistles and the Gospels, in double columns, &c. But at the end we have the following distinguishing mark—"GOD SAVE THE KYNGE, AND ALL HIS WELL-WYLLERS." Words which may have been actually printing, and in London too, not far from the hour when the Translator himself, the most eminent *well-willer* the King ever had, was praying for him, and passing into heaven.

Of this rare volume, a copy now lies before the writer. Very correctly printed, it is perhaps the first to be distinguished throughout for one peculiarity in its orthography, viz. the Anglo-Saxon particle of negation, *nat* for not, and *natwithstanding*; which was occasionally adopted after this, as in the Latin and English edition of Redman, 1538. and of Powell, in 1547 and 1549. In all other respects, the book is an exact reprint of Tyndale's corrected edition in 1534, having his name on the title page, and his long prologue to the Romans, which, by itself, had been so often and so long condemned!

The name of Thomas Berthelet as printer, it is true, is not mentioned, whether out of delicacy to the Bishops and their adherents, we cannot tell; but Ames, Herbert, and Dibdin, agree in ascribing the book to his press. It is known, indeed, by the type, and the ornamental title of the boys in triumph. In the Harleian Library there were two copies of this edition, one of them bound in red morocco, finely ornamented with gold. It is probably one of these which is now in the Bodleian at Oxford. But at such a season as this, in this style, and by the King's printer, the book, we repeat, is a mystery still. Must it not have been got up under favor of the late Queen? Such a supposition is only in harmony

with her letter to Crumwell, on behalf of Mr. Harman, and with Henry's printer being the man employed. But, at all events, such was *the first Sacred Volume printed on English ground*.

We, of course, cannot be supposed to have attached any *essential* influence to the late Queen. But, in conclusion of this year it ought to be remembered, that as she was now gone, and her influence at Court, whatever was its amount, had died with her, this will now render the future overruling of the King and his adherents, or of all surviving parties, only the more obvious and distinct.

In Bunyan's immortal story of "the Holy War," when ear-gate was once broken up, and its bolts and bars shivered into a thousand pieces, Emmanuel himself came forward, and set his throne in it; the weapons of war were then carried within the walls, to be employed on the citadel of the heart. So, in this long and arduous contest, Wolsey and Warham, Fisher and More, with many other opponents, were now gone; but if printers within the shores of England, and near to Henry's own person, have begun thus to act, what will signify all his proclamations, or the wrath of all his official men? In truth, the day was nearly won? The printing press abroad was now busy, in a style quite unprecedented; and next year, though quite unforeseen by the King, or Crumwell, or Cranmer, the victory will be complete! They had no idea whatever, of what was awaiting them, only eight months hence.

## SECTION XIV.

MEMORABLE INTRODUCTION OF THE ENTIRE SACRED VOLUME—MYLES COVERDALE—HIS CIRCUMSTANCES COMPARED WITH TYNDALE'S—COVERDALE'S TEMPORARY SUCCESS—THE REMARKABLY SUDDEN CHANGE—TYNDALE'S BIBLE—STATE OF ENGLAND BEFORE ITS INTRODUCTION—CRANMER'S PREVIOUS ENGAGEMENTS—TYNDALE'S BIBLE ARRIVED—IMMEDIATELY RECEIVED—MUST BE BOUGHT AND READ—THE KING AGREES—THIS AT FIRST SEEMS TO BE INCREDIBLE—GRAFTON THE PROPRIETOR—ALL PARTIES OVERRULED—DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE BIBLE REJECTED AND THE BIBLE RECEIVED—CONCLUSION OF THE FIRST YEAR OF TRIUMPH.

WITH regard to the highest favor ever bestowed upon this kingdom, there are no years so marked and memorable as those of 1526 and 1537. The former, distinguished by the arrival and introduction of the New Testament Scriptures, printed in the native tongue; the latter, by that of the entire Sacred Volume. The former, in defiance of all the authorities; the latter, with the immediate concurrence of the King and his best advisers. The former came as Tyndale's first effort; the latter arrived as the distinct and appropriate tribute to his memory; both alike being foreign printed books.

It was now above fourteen years since the design had been first formed. Up to this period, there had been more than *ten* years

of hard fighting, in single combat, with the nation entire, from its monarch downwards; but more than *twenty* editions of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament had passed through the press. They had gone into a thousand unknown channels; deep, nay, indelible was the impression already made upon many minds. Latimer has informed the Convocation of his brethren, that among the *people* there were "many children of light;" and Fox has told them, that "the lay people knew the Holy Scriptures better than many of themselves;" but it was time that the King and all around him should be overruled. The day drew near, though they knew not of it. The Translator was gone, it is true, but his translations were safe; and not only in safe keeping, but in the press. The volume must have been preparing before he was consumed to ashes. But, at all events, the Scriptures entire, from Genesis to Revelation will now be introduced; and his Majesty, however incensed before, or armed with power and pride still, must at once bow in assent, and all other men proceed, as it had been appointed they should. The opposition hitherto had been both loud and long; but when once the day for the arrival of the Scriptures comes, not a man must move his tongue against them.

We have heard already of one translation of the Bible by Coverdale; but the death of Queen Anne had retarded its appearance in England. Henry had married Jane Seymour, after which the name of her predecessor here inserted, was no passport to royal favor. Some time, however, having once elapsed, although there be no positive proof of this book having ever been laid before the King, what is curious enough, a *reprint* of it had obtained favor in his eye; so that we are now prepared for a comparison of Coverdale's Bible, with that of Tyndale, edited by his surviving devoted friend John Rogers, under the name of Thomas Matthew, and imported this year.

It is remarkable that such obscurity should have rested on the origin of our two first Translators of the Scriptures; though that which still prevails over the very name and parentage of Coverdale, be by far the greatest. No such surname being certainly known to exist, in the person of any other man, it has been supposed to have been taken or given, as in foreign countries, from the district in Yorkshire where he was born. The parish or township of Coverham, near Middleham, in the North Riding of that county, claims him for a native. Burnet strangely imagined him to be a foreigner, and native of Denmark. Into this mistake he may have been led, from Coverdale having afterwards married abroad, though this was to a lady of Scotch extraction, Elizabeth Macheeson; a circumstance which we shall find proved of great value to him, in the reign of Queen Mary. The surname itself being so unknown, if Lewis be correct in saying that one of this name took the degree of Bachelor of Canon Law at Cambridge, A.D. 1531, it could scarcely apply to any other than the future Translator; and it seems no unsuitable introduction to his engagements from that very time. According to Godwin, he received a doctor's

degree from Tubingen, and, though late in life, was admitted *ad eundem* at Cambridge, but no dates are mentioned.

The origin and progress of Coverdale's translation have remained in equal obscurity; and hence the extremely different opinions which have been hazarded as to the length of time he occupied in preparing for the press, or in printing it after it was ready.

Upon a marble tablet erected to his memory in 1537, by the parishioners of St. Magnus in London, where, in the close of his long career, he used to preach, they have engraved, that he "spent *many* years of his life in preparing a translation of the Scriptures;" and they add—"On the 4th of October MDXXXV. the first complete English printed version of the Bible was *published* under his direction." With regard to its appearance in England, however, the reader is already able to judge more correctly; for it does not follow, because the last sheet was committed to the press, in a foreign land, on the day mentioned, that the book was then published.

On the other hand, more recently, in "a historical account of the English version of the Scriptures," we have been told that instead of "many years," this translation of the entire Bible "could not have commenced before November 1534, and, probably, it was not until the following month! Thus, the longest time that Coverdale could have had for the completion, both of the translation and of the printing, was *eleven months*: and if this work did, in any way, result from the resolutions of the Convocation, 19th December 1534, then the whole was executed in the short space of *nine months and a half*! The time when he began was certainly not previous to November 1534."

If Coverdale had overtaken a translation of the entire Sacred Volume in the space of two years, or even three, and employed nearly another in printing it, when the time in which he lived is considered, it will be allowed by all who are competent to judge, that he must have been very busily occupied. And if it shall turn out that he was not only unmolested, but fostered in his undertaking, this he may have accomplished. Extreme opinions, so wild or wide of the truth, whether on marble or in print, need not be refuted; though they show the necessity for some more feasible and distinct account, if any evidence can be found.

We have heard of Coverdale before, again and again; though to those who have ever paid any attention to the subject, by this time it may have appeared extraordinary, that we should seem to have either forgotten him, or omitted frequent mention of his name. But the truth is, that we have searched for him all along, and yet, upon the broad surface of all these manuscripts, with the exception of one significant letter, we have not found a single intelligible allusion, since after meeting with him in Hamburgh, according to Foxe. We supposed that he had then returned again into England. This he certainly did, granting our old historian to be correct in thus sending him abroad; for the whole story rests upon his sole authority. But this was above six years ago.



Amidst this unbroken silence, however, we have this epistle from Coverdale himself, and but one, which has effectually prevented him from being forgotten. It would scarcely have been intelligible much before the present year, when, wherever he had been, we find him, for the first time, and then certainly upon English ground.

Before giving this letter, however, there is one notable circumstance, connected with Coverdale's name, which has never been pointed out, not the least curious in the history of these stormy times. The reader need not here be told, that a searching controversial war had been going on in England for years, or that the man who enjoyed the melancholy eminence of being the grand opponent to the new learning, was Sir Thomas More. But it so happened, that in opposing the translation of the Scriptures, and their introduction into his native land, it was a main point with the Lord Chancellor to report *names*; and this he did, not only with accuracy, but emphasis. Hence, not only is *Tyndale* named, times out of number, and *Fryth* very frequently; but we have "Friar *Barnes*, sometime doctor in Cambridge;" "Friar *Roye*, the apostate;" "George *Constantyne*;" "George *Joye*, otherwise called Clarke;" "Richard *Bayfield*, both a priest and a monk;" "Thomas *Bilney*;" "John *Tewksbury*;" "Thomas *Hytton*;" "John *Byrte*, otherwise calling himself Adrian, otherwise John Bookbinder, and yet otherwise I cannot tell what." In short, *names* were, in the Chancellor's esteem, of first-rate importance in the controversy; and, therefore, not only the Translator himself, by way of eminence, but all the subordinate agents, who, in the humblest manner, aided in the importation of his translation, or even read it, were held up to reprobation, or to the terror of all England. What, then, had become of Coverdale! Why was *he* not treated with derision as well as Tyndale! How is it, that in the wide compass of More's voluminous controversy, the name of Coverdale is not exposed as that of a delinquent, nay, never *once* mentioned? Was he not engaged; must he not have been busily at work somewhere, at the same time that Sir Thomas More was so busy in ferretting out, and naming every suspected individual? We have seen Coverdale make one narrow escape. His *name*, in 1528, when so many men were punished, had been very distinctly held up before Tunstal, as a noted delinquent. He had been preaching; he, as well as Barnes, had approved of Tyndale's New Testament, and of its dispersion; but we then quoted his own letter to Crumwell, in August 1527, as accounting fully for his safety, and his being then passed over in silence. But if since that period, and more especially at the very season when Sir Thomas was continuing to write so furiously against Tyndale's version, and all who dared to read it, Coverdale has been engaged in translating; and if by the close of 1535, he has finished at press an impression of the English Bible, he must have been employed upon it for a considerable time. There can be now no doubt that he was, and as little, that Sir Thomas More had been

perfectly aware of his occupation; though his singular silence, maintained throughout, must have always remained a riddle, not to be solved, but for this one solitary letter from Coverdale's own pen, which has never been printed till within these few years. It is addressed to Crumwell—

“Most singular good Master—With due humility, I beseech unto your Mastership all godly comfort, grace, and prosperous health. For so much as your goodness is so great toward me, your poor child, only through the plenteousness of your favour and benevolence, I am the bolder of your goodness, in this my rude style, if it like your favour, to revocate to your memory the *godly* communication which your Mastership had with me, your orator, in *Master Moor's* house in Easter Eve, amongst many and divers fruitful exhortations, specially of your singular favour, and by your most comfortable words, I perceive your gracious mind *towards* me.

“Wherefore, most honourable Master, for the tender love of God, and for the fervent zeal that you have to virtue and godly study, *cordis genibus prorolatus*, I humbly desire and beseech your goodness, of your gracious help. Now I *begin* to taste of Holy Scriptures; now, honor be to God, I am *set* to the most sweet smell of holy letters, with the godly savour of holy and ancient doctors, unto whose knowledge I cannot attain, without diversity of books, as is *not unknown* to your most excellent wisdom. Nothing in the world I desire, but *books* as concerning my learning. *They* once had, I do not doubt but Almighty God shall perform that in me, which He, of his most plentiful favour and grace, hath begun. Moreover, as touching my behaviour, *your Mastership's mind once known*, with all lowliness I offer myself, not only to be *ordered in all things, as shall please your wisdom*, but also as concerning the education and instruction of others, alonly to ensue your prudent counsel; ‘nam,’ &c.; for whatever of counsel is in thee, there is nothing which is not *politic*, nothing not divine; verily, whatever you do, you do nothing unadvisedly, never vaunting yourself the first philosopher: but of the dew of heaven, (in the manner of Jacob,) you have stolen away the chief blessing. Out of that mighty stream of yours, I greatly desire to drink, because, in your presence, I wish to speak not after an ordinary manner. Farewell, thou ornament of learning, of councils, and, in fine, of every virtue!—From the Augustine's, this May-day—Your child and beedman in Jesu Christ, FRERE MYLES COV'DALE.

“*Unto the right worshipful, and his most singular good Master, Master Crumwell, this be delivered with due manner.*”

This document is important in several respects; and though the year in which it was written be not marked, the style proves that Crumwell had already much in his power, and that, therefore, he must have been engaged officially near the King. His

Majesty's Commissioners in our day, who first printed the letter, in 1830, have said—"From the superscription it was clearly before Crumwell became Secretary of State, probably before he was of the Privy Council," and they have dated it 1st May 1532. But the "superscription" is literally the same which Vaughan and others employed, when addressing Crumwell in 1531; and as time must be allowed for Coverdale to complete his translation, we are inclined to think that the letter may have been written on May-day 1531. In May 1530, the Bishops and Sir Thomas More were mad to fury against Tyndale, but by the next year, his influence being more powerful than ever, Crumwell may have felt that something must be attempted.

As for the gentleman, in whose house Crumwell and Coverdale had conversed, Master *Moor*, there can be little hesitation. The name of Sir Thomas was then often so spelt, and it is well known, that, at that period, in familiar correspondence, titles were frequently dropt. Master *Moor's* name occurs in the letter of 1527, as well as in the present.

The *style* of this epistle, may have amused the reader, since adulation could scarcely farther go. This was the foible of the age; though, at the same time, it forcibly explains to us, the only course which Coverdale imagined *he* could pursue. He felt that he must have a Patron, and posterity has now the advantage of seeing, in the two cases of Tyndale and Coverdale, whether, in translating the Sacred Volume, a man succeeds best, *with* or *without* one. Coverdale was afterwards of great value; but as soon as he appears, when compared with Tyndale, we have no choice, but are obliged to discriminate. They were men evidently cast in two different moulds. The former never could have adopted such a style of address to any man, whether in or out of power. Once in his life, indeed, we have seen Tyndale approach Sir Henry Guilford, with the translation of a Greek Ode, as a specimen of his scholarship, and he advised him to apply to Tunstal; but being civilly enough refused, this at once opened his eyes, so that, from that moment he looked up to God alone, and went on his way. "God," said he, seven years afterwards, "who knoweth what is within hypocrites, saw that I was beguiled, and that *that* counsel was not the next way to my purpose, and, therefore, He gave me no favour in my lord's sight."

After such a letter, and "books once had," it is natural to suppose that Coverdale lost no time. He had been set to "the smell of holy letters" by no common Patron—a man rising into great power; though the spot to which this second translator retired, has never yet been ascertained. But wherever it was, there he sat down, and amidst all the war's tumultuous noise, as well as shielded from the keen arrows of the Lord Chancellor of England, he was left, like Luther on his mountain ground at Wartburg, to pursue the even tenor of his way. How striking is the contrast, when we turn for a moment to the situation of Tyndale, whether in 1531 or 1532? Having had no fixed abode, no certain dwell-

ing place, but under the pelting of a pitiless storm, by May 1531, for more than seven long years, he had already been doing his best for England. As far as reproach, denunciation, and persecution, could go, it might be said, "with many an arrow, deep infixed, his panting side was charged."—"As I now am," said he to Vaughan, in April of that year, "very death were more pleasant to me than life;" and if the reader will only glance over that stern and strange letter of this same man, Crumwell, he will be better able to judge of the contrast. Or let the date given in the Government State Papers turn out to be the correct one; then, at that moment, Sir Thomas Elyot had been charged by Henry VIII. to seize Tyndale, if he could; at home the bishops were tormenting Latimer, and burning Mr. Bainham; and as Coverdale dates his letter from *St. Augustine's*, he could scarcely miss hearing that gentleman, with Tyndale's Testament in his hand, address the Congregation *there*, as he did, with tears! At all events, if that letter was written on May-day 1532, Bainham had been consumed to ashes in Smithfield, that very morning.

If, however, we now assume the latest date, or that of the Government Commissioners, to be the true time, it is evident Coverdale had quite enough to do for fully two years to come, in bringing his manuscript of the entire Scriptures into such a state, as that he could please his employers with regard to any word or any rendering contained in it.

According to his own expression, he was then ready *to set forth* this special translation. In other words, he was then ready for the press. Nor is the time unworthy of notice. By May in that year, Crumwell had been appointed Secretary of State, and his influence was rising rapidly to its great height. He had, therefore, much more in his power, while Coverdale, as we have seen for years past, was at his disposal, or entirely subservient to his will. Now, it was the *New Testament*, all along, of which the authorities had been most afraid; the systematic alteration of certain words in it, might be regarded as likely to allay their apprehensions, and could be very easily done, before the manuscript was committed to the press. At all events, Coverdale was then ready to "set forth" his translation, "according as he was *desired*;" and the letter just quoted, indeed, is chiefly valuable as a key to certain expressions to be found in the preliminary matter affixed to the Bible of 1535. No fault can ever be found with Coverdale's amiable temper as a man, while his expressed humility as a scholar shines pre-eminent. Among his contemporaries he must ever be ranked very high. As a translator he did well; and had he not been encumbered with patronage, he would have done far better. We must, however, take the work as it came from his hands, and can now judge of it only by its merits.

But if the situation of the two men has furnished one contrast, the *origin* of the two translations presents another, not less worthy of remembrance. The *origin* of Tyndale's, must ever be traced to his own bosom and conscience alone. Before leaving

England, we have supposed that he might have said,—“The word of the Lord was in mine heart, as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay;” nay, and with the prophet of old, he might have added—“All my familiars watched for my halting; saying, peradventure he will be enticed, and we shall prevail against him, and we shall take revenge upon him.” With Coverdale, it was far otherwise. It was an undertaking, no doubt, congenial with his taste; but, left to himself, if we are to believe his *own* words, he never would have attempted it. In his prologue “to the Christian reader,” he styles his work a “special translation,” because he proceeded *as he was desired* under authority. “But, to say the truth before God, it was neither *my labour*, nor *my desire to have this work put into my hands*; nevertheless, when I was *instantly required*, though I could not do so well as I would, I thought it yet my duty to do my best, and that with a good will.”

Then, again, as to the *expense* of this undertaking, Coverdale was patronized. In Tyndale’s case, under the influence of the power of Christianity and the noblest patriotism, the whole commenced at his own risk; and purely for his country’s benefit, we have seen him, again and again, embarrassed in more ways than one. But Coverdale had no risk whatever to run. He was *employed*, and, whether he was to succeed or not, the work was to involve him in no expense whatever. He spake as he felt at the moment, and it was intended, no doubt, as a *hint* to the King; but certainly it was by far too bold to say, that “he trusted, that God would bring his simple and rude labor to good effect, seeing that others had been *moved by the Holy Ghost* to undertake the cost of it.” The glaring truth was, that the community at large had been even by *that* time happily brought into such a state, by manifold editions of Tyndale’s translation, that the patrons of Coverdale were *moved* by no higher feeling than that of imperative expediency; and this feeling forms decidedly one of the strongest testimonies to the effect and power of Tyndale’s exertions.

Having proceeded however to the close, Coverdale had now to approach his Majesty, no doubt under *direction*, that nothing might be wanting to secure acceptance; and therefore he came with the *first* of those dedications, which, to say the least, ought never to have been bound up with the word of the living God.

In the course of his dedication, he compares Henry VIII. to Moses, to David, to Jehosaphat, to Hezekiah, “yea a very Josias;” and as if all this had not been too much, he says—“I thought it my duty, and to belong unto my *allegiance*, when I had translated this Bible, not only to dedicate this translation unto your Highness, but wholly to commit it unto the same: to the intent that if anything therein be translated amiss, it may stand in your Grace’s hands, to *correct it, to amend it, to improve, yea, and* CLEAN TO REJECT IT, *if your godly wisdom shall think it necessary!*”

In the volume which Coverdale thus presented, were these words,

of his own translation,—“He that rebuketh a man, shall find more favor *at the last* than he that flattereth him;” though certainly, at the moment, it might seem, that under such high patronage, and after incense so dense and abundant as had been offered to his Majesty, he must succeed. And not only succeed, but overshadow the man who had been so signally raised up by God, and who, for twelve years, had been God’s own sanctioned instrument, for conveying into Britain His blessed Word. Often have we marked *his* labors, as forming a distinct and independent undertaking, with which Divine providence would not permit mere time-serving men, whoever they were, or worldly politicians, to interfere; but how will it be possible to draw this distinction *now*? And, more especially, as this is only the first of several distinct attempts, to bestow on this country, a translation different from that of the first—the unpatronized Tyndale’s?

Yet in serving man only, and in seeking to please him, there are many critical moments, while in serving God, there is not *one*: and, therefore, with regard to this attempt, it so happened that Coverdale had overshot the mark at a most critical period. This might have well warned any future individual, of the danger connected with such dedications. The last sheet of this Bible having been put to press on the 4th of October 1535, Coverdale had closed the heading, or title, of his dedication to Henry, by imploring the Divine blessing on himself, and his “dearest just wife and most virtuous Princess, *Queen Anne*.” Any copy of this book, bound, could not have reached this country before the beginning of 1536, at the soonest. But by February, if not earlier, the very name of Queen Anne, so far from being a passport to royal favor, was fatal to anything to which it was affixed! Crumwell, too, as we have already seen, had fallen in with the King’s barbarous intentions, so that till another Queen arose, in the person of Jane Seymour, the book must have remained unrepresented. After that, it is true, the Convocation assembled in June; but, as a body, they appear to have entertained no favor for the translation, no nor even sympathy for those who, as Coverdale has told us, had been “*moved to pay the cost*!” So far from this, “the Convocation agreed upon the form of a petition to be presented to the King,” as already noticed, “That he would graciously indulge unto his subjects of the laity, the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, and that a *new* translation of it might be *forthwith* made, for that end and purpose.” And, therefore, said Lewis, it appears that the *Clergy* did not approve of the translations already made by Tyndale and Coverdale, and their *own* attempt to have the royal permission to make a new one had *not* succeeded.

Here, however, was a Bible, completely finished by Coverdale, dated in 1535, and before any remarks respecting it, we give the Title and Collation.

“BIBLIA. THE BIBLE, that is the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe, MDXXXV.” The book is in black letter,

printed in double columns, in a foreign secretary-gothic type, with wood cuts; but the dedication, prologue, and contents of Genesis, are in a different letter. *Collation.* Wood-cut title; dedication to K. HENRY VIII., including his "dearest just wife, and most virtuous pryncesse, QUEEN ANNE,"—indicating the powerful influence she possessed in that year, 5 pages. "A prologue to the reader," 6 pages. "The Bokes of the hole Byble," 2 pages. "The contentes of the boke of Genesis," 1 page. "The first booke of Moses," fol. i.—xc.; then a map of the Holy Land. "The second parte of the Olde Testament," Josua to Hester, fol. ii.—cxx. "Job to Solomon's Balettes," fol. i.—lii. "All the Prophets in Englishe," fol. ii.—cii. "Apocripha," fol. ii.—lxxxiii., falsely numbered lxxxi., a blank leaf. "The Newe Testamente," fol. ii.—cxiii. and on the reverse of the last is, "Prynted in the yere of oure Lorde, MDXXXV. and fynished the fourth daye of October."

The death of Queen Anne, in May 1536, having proved fatal to the appearance of this book till after the event, various expedients were then tried to ensure success. "The interval," says Professor Walter, "between the date on the title-page and the actual publication, is clearly marked by a curious alteration in the dedicatory letter to Henry VIII. which contains these words,—'your dearest just wife and most vertuous pryncesse Qu. JANE.' This is not as it was printed; for Anne has been altered into JANE by the pen." Thus indeed it stands in the British Museum copy, but there is great variety as to this appellation. Lambeth Library has one copy with Anne, another with Jane. The Bodleian has Anne. Sion College has Jane, and in some copies the *name* of the Queen had been expunged. None of these expedients, it must be obvious, could possibly meet the case. The preceding phrase was now as inauspicious as that of the Queen's name. The epithet *just*, as intended to mark both Coverdale's and Crumwell's approbation of Henry's *second* Queen, had come too late; and it was more than awkward when applied to the third marriage, as it seemed to say that the question of legitimacy would *never* be laid to rest. Only one other device remained to be tried, which was that of a new title, as if it were a different book; changing the year to the next, or 1536, and leaving out the words "*translated out of Douch and Latyn*," as follow, "BIBLIA. THE BYBLE: that is, the Holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faythfully translated in Englyshe, MDXXXVI." But all was yet in vain, and that year expired without leaving one shadow of proof that the book had obtained the royal approbation. In June, the Prelates virtually expressed their dissatisfaction, with all that had yet been done; and we have already seen that there were no injunctions on the subject in 1536.

From all this, it becomes evident, that wherever Coverdale had superintended the press, whether at Zurich, Frankfort, or Cologne, for they have all been mentioned, in 1536 he must have been in London; and in 1537 we have evidence not only of his occupation and place of abode, but of his long-continued confidential

communication with Crumwell. We have never seen him but as his obedient servant for ten years past, or since August 1527. His return to England therefore, and his continued residence in it till next year, being thus ascertained, all such assertions as that "COVERDALE, assisted by Rogers, who corrected the press, revised the whole of Tyndale's work before they reprinted it, not only the published but the unpublished part of it," as Mr. Whittaker had imagined, are now at an end. Coverdale was at home in England, all the time that Rogers was so busy abroad; and from the superior manner in which he executed his task, it is evident that he required no such assistant. The alliance of Coverdale with Tyndale, at any time, is a historical fiction, which must now be discarded. No two undertakings could well be more distinct; though Rogers, it will be evident, had sat in judgment on whatever Coverdale had translated.

With reference, however, to the Bible brought into England in 1536, of Coverdale's qualifications as a Translator from the original, there can be little or rather no question, after what Mr. Whittaker has so ably written respecting his acquaintance with Hebrew; though, at the same time, his leaning to the Vulgate and German versions, has been made equally apparent by Professor Walter; who goes so far as to insist that the version cannot be ranked so high as that of a primary one. The truth seems to be, that between Coverdale and Crumwell, *expediency* had been far too much consulted in the undertaking throughout. Hence even the first title-page, bearing these words, "translated out of *Douche and Latyn*." These terms, as Whittaker had not seen them, he could scarcely believe; adding, "if this be the case, the title-page contains a very great misrepresentation." Hence the withdrawal of the words in 1536 by Coverdale, and this year by Nycolson: to say nothing of the awkward substitute, "translated in Englyshe." At the same time, Coverdale himself informs us that he had *five* different translations, both Latin and Dutch, that is German, before him, and "to help him herein;" and though he certainly does not appear to have venerated these "interpreters" as *authority*, he regarded their translations with "gladness," and therefore could not upon all occasions be free from some degree of bias.

But we are now advancing into the year 1537, and yet, if there has been any application to the King respecting this Bible, there is no reply. Not a single petition from Crumwell in its favor is to be found. A printer, however, and in London itself, now appeared in furtherance of Coverdale's design—James Nycolson in St. Thomas' Hospital, Southwark. By this time he had reprinted Coverdale's Bible, with his dedication to the King; and it deserves notice that there were other copies with a different title, *without* the dedication. From the spelling, we presume the latter to have been the first expedient for royal favor; but this is immaterial, for the fact is, that they both succeeded. Both titles bear at the foot of the page these words, "*Set forth with the Kynges most gracious license.*"



But when, or in what month of 1537, could this have been obtained? There was, as already hinted, no Convocation: but were the Bishops not consulted? It should seem not. Their Vicar-General had thought it unnecessary; for *he* it was who had applied to Henry and obtained his license. Coverdale himself was now in London; and though there be not a word yet found in favor of the first Bible printed in 1535, he now applied earnestly to his old patron, for *farther* favor to Nycolson, whom he was employing as a printer of several smaller things.

Here, therefore, and at last, it will be presumed by all that the business is *finished*. Coverdale is alive, and in high favor. The King's gracious license speaks for itself; and if Crumwell and Cranmer, nay, and his Majesty be gained over, what hope remained of the smallest notice being ever taken of Tyndale's labors? What hope of any just estimate being now formed of his merits as a Translator, however superior? He had not only left the world, but left not one solitary friend at that court, where his name had been branded with infamy, from the days of Wolsey until now; and, therefore, long before Coverdale had even sat down to his work. Besides this, the King and Crumwell, and Cranmer, had, for years, fully committed themselves *against* Tyndale; the two former by the most violent language, and Cranmer, all these years, by at least bowing to the storm, and winking hard at his martyrdom. Nor must it be forgotten, that the Primate, in his official capacity, in company with his brethren, had been striving hard after some translation by their own authority.

Such was the actual state of matters, down to the beginning of August this year; when, as far as it is yet known, not one man in all England, from the King downwards, said, or even imagined, that any change was at hand! But such are the ways of Him, who is the Governor among the nations. That which He most highly favors—that which, by way of eminence, is his own cause, He may allow, for a moment, to sink into forgetfulness, or in oblivion die, only that his own hand may be the more conspicuous.

In England itself, by this time, there were many admirers of Tyndale, who now revered his memory; many who had read and believed the truths of Scripture, which he had been importing into his native land since the year 1526; but they were like the seven thousand in Israel, in the days of Elijah. The printing press at home was fettered in the hands of but a very few individuals, and there was no man of sufficient nerve in this country to take up the cause. Tyndale himself, too, has been also withdrawn; but all this will only render that Providence, with whom the work had begun, still more conspicuous, when lending the finishing stroke to all that his chosen servant had translated. This then appears to have been, and not till then, the proper moment for *overruling* the men in England: that is, *after* all the three influential individuals, the King, Crumwell, and Cranmer, had fully committed themselves, again and again; and before any "injunctions" were issued, which might have misled the *people*.

As there was one man to whom Tyndale had been useful, John Fryth, who had first stood by him as an assistant, and then preceded him to a better world; so now, there had been a second raised up, to do justice to his memory as a translator. This was John Rogers, alias Matthew, a native of Warwickshire, born, it is most probable, about the year 1500. He had been educated at Cambridge, and having come to Antwerp while Tyndale resided there, he became a Chaplain to the English merchant-adventurers. By his intimate conversation with our Translator, he was induced to examine the Scriptures for himself, and the result was that he embraced, in a great degree, the same views with this eminent man. We have spoken with some limitation, as, according to Foxe, in future years he had not even then understood, so clearly as Tyndale, the subject of liberty of conscience, which indeed scarcely any man then did.

Where Rogers sat down to superintend the press, remains still only a matter of conjecture: but it must have been soon, if not immediately after Tyndale was imprisoned at Vilvorde, that his friend set about his edition of the Bible, in large folio, as the work was finished, and ready for importation to England, by the month of July 1537.

That this tribute to Tyndale's memory originated in the individual zeal of his friends, there can be little or rather no doubt; as Rogers had printed more than the half of the entire volume, before we have any evidence of the men coming forward, who then took up the work, as a matter of business or trade. These were Richard Grafton, and Edward Whitchurch, so well known afterwards, as printers of London. The former enjoyed the high honor of embarking almost his *all* in the undertaking; for neither Crammer nor Cromwell, nor the King, ever contributed one farthing of the expense. By the time, therefore, that Rogers had got to the beginning of *Isaiah*, these two individuals having embraced the design, on *that* page the numbers begin again, with a title, "*The Prophetes in Englishe*," in black and red letters, surrounded by sixteen wood-cuts; and on the next page there is printed in flourished text capitals, R.G. at the top, and E.W. at the bottom, with a large wood-cut between. The name of Tyndale affixed, would have been fatal to its acceptance with Henry. That of Thomas Matthew, at whose instance *perhaps* the undertaking may have commenced, was therefore printed, in the title-page, and T. M. at the end of the dedication; but to mark Rogers' connection with the book, we have at the beginning, "An exhortation to the study of the Holy Scripture gathered out of the Bible," which is subscribed J. R.: and what is singular, at the end of the Old Testament, we find W.T. in very large flourished text capitals, evidently intended for William Tyndale. Not that he had finished the whole, the remainder being completed as we shall presently describe. The object that Rogers had in view was to forward the work, and do justice to the labors of the man he admired. Accordingly, the whole of the New Testament, and of the Old, as far as the end

of 2d Chronicles, or exactly *two-thirds* of the entire Scriptures, are Tyndale's verbally, with an occasional variation only in the orthography; and as for the other *third*, while Rogers may have taken advantage of Coverdale's printed sheets, he evidently had sat in judgment on every page, and his method is not implicitly followed.

When referring to this book, Bale has said that "Rogers translated the Bible into English, from Genesis to the end of Revelation, making use of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and English (that is Tyndale's) copies." But this is merely a specimen of those loose and inaccurate statements which have been made by him, and Johnson, and various other writers. There is now no question that Tyndale translated his New Testament from the Greek; and the Old, as far as he had gone, from that Hebrew, which he so admired. What Rogers did therefore, was, that he adopted Tyndale as far as he had proceeded in translating; and as a variety of passages from the Old Testament had been not only translated, but *published* before Coverdale's Bible saw the light; so it must be presumed that there were other chapters in manuscript. In short, Rogers had the whole of Tyndale, whether in print or manuscript, as well as Coverdale's sheets, for the remainder, before him: and having now arrived at the close we find these words: "*To the honoure and prayse of God was this Byble prynted, and fynessed in the yere of oure Lorde God, a. MDXXXVII.*" No month is mentioned, but it must have left the press by the middle of July, if not in the end of June.

Richard Grafton, therefore, was now ready; but before any application is made to England, in favor of that Bible which was providentially to form the prototype of so many millions, it becomes of importance, first to ascertain the precise circumstances under which it came into our native land.

From the end of May Cranmer had been at Lambeth; Fox of Hereford was living at Poplar, and Latimer at hand, elsewhere; but they, with "other Bishops and certain learned men," met frequently, by appointment, at *Stepney*. They were engaged in long and harassing discussion over the terms of a book, which was to follow up their "articles" of last year; well known afterwards as "the institution of a Christian man," frequently styled "the Bishops' Book." For a season, it seemed altogether impossible for them ever to agree; and we need only refer to the months of July and August in illustration; the one *preceding*, and the other *following*, the reception of the Bible. Upon a Friday in the month of July, Fox of Hereford is writing to Lord Crumwell—

"Surely if it might so have stood with the King's pleasure and yours, I would to God *you* had been here with us, for we wanted *much* your presence. Albeit, sir, we have done, in your absence, the best we could, and have subscribed all our books, (their opinions as to the 'Institution,') and shall send them to your Lordship to-morrow. And now, if it shall be the King's pleasure to put the same to printing, I beseech your Lordship to know his

pleasure for the *prefaces* which shall be put unto the said book ; and *whether his Highness will, that the book shall go forth in his name*, according to such *device* as I once moved unto your Lordship ; or in the name of the *Bishops*. And thereupon, if it shall please your Lordship to cause Mr. Wriothsley to devise the said *prefaces* and send them hither, I shall be glad to employ my diligence to the speedy setting forth thereof to the uttermost of my power."

This book, accordingly, was sent to Berthelet's press, and on Monday the 27th of August, it was expected to be finished. In prospect of this, on the Saturday before, Latimer is writing to Crumwell—

"Upon Monday, I think, it will be done altogether. As for myself, I can nothing else but pray God, that, when it is done, it be well and sufficiently done, so that we shall not need to have any more *such* doings ; for verily, for my part, I had lever (rather) be poor parson of poor Kingston again, than to continue *thus*, Bishop of Worcester. Not for anything that I have had to do therein, or can do ; but yet, forsooth, it is a troublesome thing to agree upon a doctrine, in things of *such controversy*, with *judgments of such diversity*, every man, I trust, meaning well, and yet not all meaning one way."

The *device* to which Fox alludes in July, is now worthy of notice, as not unintelligible—

"It may have been," says Mr. Jenkyns, "that the commissioners should send a letter to the King, respecting their proceedings, and praying for his Majesty's sanction ; that the King should return a gracious answer, complying with their request ; and that *both* these documents should be printed by way of introduction to the book. Such a letter from the commissioners was actually prefixed to the *Institution*, and a minute of an answer from the King is preserved in the Chapter-house, Westminster, though it does not seem to have been noticed by the historians. In this, he informs the Prelates, that he had not had time to overlook their work ; he trusted to them for its being according to Scripture ; that he permitted it to be printed, and commanded all who had care of souls to read a portion of it every Sunday and holiday for three years. But it would appear, that, *cautiously* as this reply was worded, Henry VIII. *did not choose to commit himself* by its publication ; for the *Institution* came out with no other preface *than* the above-mentioned letter of the Prelates, and with *no farther claim to royal authority* than was implied in its issuing from the press of the King's printer."

Henry was a being, to whom no man, or set of men, must dictate at any moment ; nay, they might fail, any day, even when they approached him with the utmost courtesy ; and it must be obvious, that at this very period, a company of "Bishops and learned men in union," *had* failed in gaining all they wished, if not also craved. At such a time as this, therefore, beyond all others, if Grafton has arrived with his Bible, is it at all probable that

he *can* have succeeded? If a selected body of commissioners, with Cranmer, and even Crumwell at their head, have been treated with *caution*, is it possible that Henry has been overruled with regard to all that *Tyndale* had translated? Will he now sanction the work of that same man, against whom, he and his Council have been fighting for more than ten years? We shall see presently.

But the state of LONDON and WESTMINSTER must not pass unnoticed; more especially as it was so expressly marked by these Bishops, and had already excited general apprehension. Thus, on the 10th of August, we find that Tunstal is down at Laleham on the Thames; and though sent for by Crumwell, he is *afraid* to approach the capital. It was the *plague*, which had again appeared, as it had done last year, and the hand of God lay heavy on the metropolis and its vicinity.

"On Saturday the 25th of August," says Bishop Fox to Crumwell, "I have lain out of London myself (at Poplar) more than these three weeks; and the most part of all my servants have lain at Ruyslip (north-east of Uxbridge) more than these *ten* weeks. Wherefore, if it shall please your Lordship to send me word of the King's pleasure concerning my return to the Court, I would gladly come thither on Monday or Tuesday next, and then I shall bring with me *the book*, I trust, perfectly printed."—"Sir," says Latimer, on the same day, "we be here not without all peril, for two have died of my keeper's folks, out of my gate house; and even now Mr. Nevell (Cranmer's confidential servant) cometh and telleth me that my under-cook is fallen sick, and like to be of the plague. Set duodecim sunt hore diei, et termini vite sunt ab eo constituti, qui non potest falli; neque verius est tamen, quod nascimur, quam quod sumus morituri."

But what, then, has become of Cranmer? The fact was, that Fox and Latimer had remained where they were, for no other purpose than to superintend the printing of this foresaid book; otherwise neither of them would have been there; since Cranmer and the rest had taken alarm more than a month before. Thus he had addressed Crumwell as early as the 21st of July—

"I with other Bishops and learned men, here *assembled by the King's commandment*, have almost made an end of our determinations; for we have already subscribed unto the declarations of the Paternoster, and *the Ave Maria*, the creed, and the ten commandments; and there remaineth no more but certain notes of the creed, unto which we be agreed to subscribe on Monday next; which all, when they shall be subscribed, I pray you that I may know *your* mind and pleasure, whether I shall send them incontinently to you, or leave them in the Lord of Hereford's (Fox's) hands, to be delivered by him when he cometh next unto the Court: Beseeching you, my Lord, to be intercessor unto the King's Highness *for us all*, that we may have his Grace's license to *depart* for this time, until his Grace's farther pleasure be known: for *they die almost everywhere, in London and Westminster; and in Lambeth they*

*die at my gate, even at the next house to me.* I would fain see the King's Highness at my departing; but I fear me that I shall not, because that I shall come from this smoky air; yet I would gladly know the King's pleasure herein."

The next day, 22d July, the last letter which Cranmer wrote from Lambeth before departing for Croydon, was one already quoted, on behalf of that "very honest man," as he styled him, Mr. Theobald! On Monday the 28th, and Tuesday the 29th of July, he had been examining ROWLAND PHILLIPS, *the Vicar of Croydon*, that steady defender of the old learning, and an enemy to all changes. "I beseech your Lordship," Cranmer had said to Crumwell on the 21st, and who, as VICAR-GENERAL, it seems, must now be obsequiously consulted on every step, "to send me word whether I shall examine the Vicar of Croydon in this presence of the Bishops, and other learned men of our Assembly, or otherwise how I shall order him;" and so the examination was held before the Archbishop himself, on these two days. Some years before, this Vicar had preached at Paul's Cross a noted Sermon, one saying in which has been often repeated, without knowing precisely from whom it came. But this is the man—that very *Vicar of Croydon* who had declared, with no inferior sagacity—"We must root out printing, or printing will root out us." It is a coincidence, therefore, not a little remarkable, that this examination should happen to have been Cranmer's very last occupation before proceeding into the country.

Immediately after this, Cranmer hastened farther from the plague, into Kent, to his house at Forde; so that if Richard Grafton has arrived in London from the Continent, and intends to apply to the Archbishop, he must go down there with his Bible for inspection; and, for a moment, we leave Cranmer looking over it.

Already we have done full justice to Coverdale. He had stepped in, and occupied the field of favor, from all the higher powers—the King, Crumwell, and Cranmer. But by the end of July this favor had extended a little farther, and, more especially, since Gardiner was not in England. We have seen, by the Archbishop's own letter, as well as those of Latimer and Fox, that he and his fellow commissioners, after a tedious war of words, had agreed about their book, by Monday the 23d of July. Their preface having been also prepared, in it, as a body, the parties thus express themselves, with their accustomed flattery:—

"We, considering the godly effect and intent of your Highness' most virtuous and gracious commandment, do not only rejoice and give thanks to Almighty God with all our hearts, that it hath pleased him to send *such* a king to reign over us, which so earnestly mindeth to set forth among his subjects the light of Holy Scripture, which alone sheweth the right path to come to God, to see Him, to know Him, to love Him, and so to serve Him, as He most desireth."

Coverdale, as well as Crumwell his patron, could, at this moment, desire little more. Henry, observe, had treated the Bishops' book

with *caution* ; he would not commit himself by any formal gracious reply ; yet has he permitted these words to *pass*, which could refer to no other than Coverdale's Bible, if to any Bible already printed at all ; but they will acquire double emphasis, when the course that Cranmer and Crumwell, and even Henry pursued in *a few days hence*, comes to be observed.

There is, in short, another translation of the English Bible coming from abroad ; and, it is true, that as far as any connection with the Continent was concerned, the reader may be still haunted by the recollection, that he has found both Cranmer and Crumwell in busy confidential communication with such an unprincipled spy as Theobald ; and not only this year, but throughout the next. This, however, we can neither help nor soften. Gross inconsistencies of character must stand as matter of history ; but, in the present instance, they will only render it the more apparent, *who* it was that gave the Bible to Britain. To the people of this Country, it is of infinite moment now, that they should see more fully into the Divine character, with regard to an event never to be forgotten.

The laborious exertions of Tyndale, for twelve long years, which the King and his Councillors, nay, and the generality of these Bishops, had so violently opposed, are already before the reader ; as well as the editions of his New Testament and Pentateuch, which had been introduced into England, under so many proofs of their hot displeasure ; but the reader may, without reserve, admit the full force of that transient favor which had been now shown towards Coverdale's translation. Henry, without consulting either Convocation or Parliament, had certainly so far sanctioned it, sometime before August, at least in the instance of Nycolson's reprint.

We repeat, however, that there is at this hour *another Bible*, in folio, coming over the sea to old England, one page of which neither Cranmer the Primate, Crumwell the Vicar-General, or Henry the King, had ever beheld, and respecting which not one of them had ever been consulted. Such appears to have been the exact state of matters, *immediately before all that Tyndale had accomplished in translating the Sacred Volume was laid before his Majesty*.

Grafton therefore having arrived in England, from what has now been narrated, we can scarcely make any mistake with regard to Cranmer's state of mind. He had, in truth, been made as *sick of discussion*, as he had been *afraid of the plague*, and had only made his escape from both ; though had his fellow-commissioners but once suspected at the moment, what effect this sickness would have upon him, certainly they had argued less. Like the Jews at Rome, of old, they must have had "great reasoning among themselves" over this "Bishops' Book ;" and, in the next letter from the Primate to Crumwell, we shall see whether he does not hint, that, in his apprehension, there would be *no end to it*.

It may be regretted that there had not been some solitary expression of sympathy or admiration in the 'Translator's lifetime; but such was the preparation of Thomas Cranmer for the sight of Tyndale's labors—such the moment when his translation was brought before him! Grafton had resolved to apply first to the Archbishop, perhaps as not having been the patron of Coverdale: but whatever was the motive, he must have immediately followed him into Kent. We need not describe how he sped, as the following letters from Florde speak more forcibly than any description; but before quoting them, we give the title and collation of the Book which Grafton had brought home with him.

*Title.*—"THE BYBLE, which is the Holy Scripture: in which are containyd the Olde and Newe Testament, truely and purely translated into Englysh—by Thomas Matthew.—MDXXXVII."

*Collation.*—This title is in red and black letters, within a wood engraving, filling the page; and, at the bottom, in large letters, "SET FORTH WITH THE KINGE'S MOST GRACYOUS LICENCE." A Callender and Almanac for 18 years, beginning 1538, 4 pages. An Exhortation to the study of the Holy Scriptures, 1 page; having, in large flourished capitals at the bottom, the initials of the editor, I. R. The Summe and content of all the Holy Scripture, 2 pages. Dedication to Henry VIII., 3 pages, with flourished capitals at the beginning and end. "To the Christen Readers," and a table of principal matters in the Bible, 26 pages. The names of all the bookes of the Bible, and a brief rehearsal of the years passed since the begynnynge of the worlde, unto this yere of our Lord, MDXXXVII," 1 page. "Genesis to Salomon's Ballet," fol. i.—ccxlvi. "The Prophetes in English." On the reverse of this title is a large woodcut, between R. G. and E. W., in flourishing capitals—"Esay to Malachi," fol. i.—xciii.; and, at the end of Malachi, W. T. for WILLIAM TYNDALE, in large flourished text capitals. The Apocripa, put in from Coverdale's Bible. "The Newe Testament, &c., printed in the yere of our Lorde God, MDXXXVII," in red and black, as in the first title. "Matthew to Revelation," fol. ii.—cix. Tables, &c., fol. cx.—cxi. On the last leaf, is "The ende of the Newe Testament, and of the whole Byble."—"To the honoure and prayse of God, was this Byble prynced and fyneshed, in the yere of our Lorde God, a. MDXXXVII." A full page contains 60 lines.

The following letters are all addressed to Crumwell; and they are the very next that Cranmer wrote and sent, after those we have quoted.

"My especial good Lord, after most hearty commendations unto your Lordship; these shall be to signify unto the same, that you shall receive by the bringer thereof a Bible, both of a *new* translation, and of a *new print*, dedicated unto the King's Majesty, as farther appeareth by a pistle unto his Grace, in the beginning of the book, which, in mine opinion, is very well done; and therefore I pray your Lordship to read the same. And, as for the *translation*, so far as I have read thereof, I like it *better* than any



*other translation heretofore made; yet not doubting that there may and will be found some fault therein, as you know no man ever did or can do so well, but it may from time to time be amended.*

“And forasmuch as the book is dedicated unto the King’s Grace, and also great pains and labour taken in setting forth of the same. I pray you, my Lord, that you will exhibit the book unto the King’s Highness, and obtain of his Grace, *if you can*, a license that the same may be *sold and read of EVERY person, without danger of any act, proclamation, or ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary*, until such time that we, the Bishops, shall set forth a better translation, *which I think will not be till a day after doomsday!* And if you continue to take such pains for the setting forth of God’s Word, as you do, although in the mean season you suffer some snubs and many slanders, lies, and reproaches for the same, yet one day He will requite altogether. And the same word, as St. John saith, which shall judge every man at the last day, must needs show favour to them that now do favour it. Thus, my Lord, right heartily fare you well. At Forde, the 4th day of August, [1537]. Your assured ever—T. CANTUARIEN.”

So far, then, from Cranmer having the slightest connection with this undertaking, or “exerting himself” for this book, as Mr. Todd has imagined, this letter, in its proper connection, clearly shows that it came upon the writer in the way of *delightful surprise*. No doubt he had wished for a Bible: but, after vainly toiling with his coadjutors as to the New Testament only, he now very candidly acknowledges that the present production was literally beyond their power, as a body of men.

Here then, and at last, is that one transaction in Cranmer’s life, which those who must ever disapprove of many other things in his conduct, should therefore never forget. Considered in itself and in its consequences, every other good thing he ever did shrinks into comparative insignificance. For this, all who have prized the Word of God, or now do so, stand indebted to him as an instrument. It would have been gratifying could we have fallen upon some distinct testimony from his pen, at an earlier season; for it is passing strange, if he had never, till this late period, expressed his admiration of Tyndale’s translation; but such, alas! may have been one effect of that timidity which annoyed him all his days. The conjunction of circumstances, already described, seems to have emboldened him, and better late than never. But be this as it may, and after allowing to this first agent at home all the good he did, the reader, as he goes on, will lose sight of man; and, it is presumed, will not be slow to recognize, above all, that unseen hand, so conspicuously displayed throughout the whole affair, of which this is nothing more than the first movement.

Grafton, let it be observed, was not kept long in suspense; the entire request of Cranmer was immediately granted; for, though

all who could avoid London were gone, Crumwell had remained at his post—went to the King, and succeeded. Cranmer had heard of this in less than eight days; for thus he writes again, on Monday week after his last—

“My very singular good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me unto your Lordship. And whereas I understand that your Lordship, at my request, hath not only exhibited the Bible which I sent unto you, unto the King’s Majesty, but also hath obtained of his Grace, that the same shall be allowed by his authority to be *bought and read within this realm*: My Lord, for this your pain taken in this behalf, I give unto you my most hearty thanks; assuring your Lordship, for the contentation of my mind, you have shewed me more pleasure herein, than if you had given me a thousand pounds. And I doubt not but that hereby such fruit of good knowledge shall ensue, that it shall well appear hereafter, what high and acceptable service you have done unto God and the King; which shall so much redound to your honour, that, besides God’s reward, you shall obtain perpetual memory for the same within this realm. And as for me, you may reckon me your bondman for the same: And I dare be bold to say, so may ye do my Lord of *Worcester*. Thus, my Lord, right heartily fare ye well. At Forde, the 13th day of August” [1537].

The gratitude of Cranmer is expressed in the strongest manner: “In terms,” says Mr. Jenkyns, most correctly, “far too warm to admit of the belief that the *general use* of the English Scriptures was *already* allowed. There was, no doubt, something in the translation itself, that at once caught the eye and the approbation of Cranmer; but it was this step in advance, this “general use,” over which he also exulted. His Majesty had, it is true, acceded, and at Crumwell’s request, to Coverdale’s Bible, of Nycolson’s printing, having these words upon it—“Set forth by the King’s gracious license;” and Coverdale had requested, that this printer might have the monopoly for “certain years,”—but there was *no reply* to that application. Whereas now, the tide has not only changed, but it has begun to flow in another direction; for this Bible is not only to be stamped—*Set forth, &c.*, but it is to be *sold and read of every person without danger of any Act, Proclamation or Ordinance heretofore granted to the contrary!* All this Cranmer asked, and to all this Henry at once agreed! Cranmer, in short, felt like a man when every hindrance has been removed: and escaped, for the present, out of the paw of his brethren on the Bench, in a way that seemed quite marvellous to himself; so moved was he, that fifteen days after this, in his very next letter to Crumwell, he writes absolutely as if he had not yet written at all. Other subjects, indeed, demanded his attention, but, in the fulness of his heart, with this he must begin.

“My very singular and especial good Lord, in my most hearty wise I commend me to your Lordship. These shall be to give you most hearty thanks that any heart can think, and that in the name of them all which favoureth God’s Word, for your diligence

at this time in procuring the King's Highness to set forth the said God's Word, and his Gospel, by his Grace's authority. For the which act, not only the King's Majesty, but also you shall have a perpetual laud and memory of all them that be now, or hereafter shall be, God's faithful people, and the favourers of his Word. And this deed you shall hear of at the great day, when all things shall be opened and made manifest. For our Saviour Christ saith in the said Gospel, 'that whosoever shrinketh from Him and His Word, and is abashed to profess and set it forth before men in this world, He will refuse him at that day : and contrary, whosoever constantly doth profess Him and His Word, and studieth to set that forward in this world, Christ will declare the same at the last day, before His Father and all His angels and take upon him the defence of those men.' Thus, my Lord, right heartily fare you well. At Ford, the 28th day of August," [1537].

Grafton seems to have brought only *one* Bible with him, as a specimen, and had left his servant to follow him with other copies. The first he had presented to Cranmer, who sent him with it to Crumwell, and *he* requested six copies to be brought to him, on their arrival. The very day on which Cranmer was writing his last letter, the servant had arrived ; and in the midst of the *plague*, still raging, Grafton sent the volumes to Crumwell, with the following letter,—

"Most humbly beseeching your Lordship to understand, that, according to your request, I have sent your Lordship six Bibles ; which gladly I would have brought myself, but because of the sickness that remaineth in the City ; and, therefore, I have sent them by my servant, which *this day* came out of Flanders. Requiring your Lordship, if I may be so bold as to desire you, to accept them as my simple gift, given to you for those most godly pains, for which the Heavenly Father is bound, even of his justice, to reward you with the everlasting kingdom of God. For your Lordship's moving our most gracious Prince to the allowance and licensing of such a work, hath wrought such an act worthy of praise, as never was mentioned in any chronicle in this realm ; and as my Lord of Canterbury said, the tidings thereof did him more good than the gift of £1000."

In grossness of flattery, the printer exceeds Coverdale, to say nothing of the profanity of his compliment, betraying his ignorance of the truth, and the value of the truth contained in his Bible ; but then his language shows, that some great and *unprecedented* thing had taken place ; and thus it appeared in general estimation. So much so, indeed, that it seemed incredible. With some it was "too good news to be true." Others demurred, because they wished not to believe it : and Grafton therefore proceeds :

"Yet certain there are which *believe not* that it pleased the King's grace to license it to go forth. Wherefore, if your Lordship's pleasure were such that we might have it licensed under your Privy Seal, it would be a defence at this present, and in time to come, for all enemies and adversaries of the same. And foras-

much as this request is for the maintenance of the Lord's Word, which is to maintain the Lord himself, I fear not, but that your Lordship will be earnest therein. And I am assured, that my Lords of Canterbury, Worcester, and Salisbury, will give your Lordship such thanks, as in them lieth. And sure you may be, that the Heavenly Lord will reward you, for the establishment of his glorious truth. And what your Lordship's pleasure is in this request, if it may please your Lordship to inform my servant, I, and all that love God heartily, are bound to pray for your preservation all the days of our life. At London, the 28th day of this present month of August, 1537. Your orator while he liveth, RICHARD GRAFTON, *Grocer*."

The message in reply was, that Crumwell thought the "Privy Seal" would be unnecessary; but Grafton's anxiety was perfectly natural; for, let it be observed, that his *all* was embarked in the undertaking, amounting to above £500 sterling. This was a sum, equal in value of the present day, to more than as many *thousands*; and some would say, seven thousand five hundred at the least! No wonder, then, that he should very soon write a long letter to Crumwell, under the apprehension of being undersold by an inferior article from the German press, just as Tyndale had so often been, long before him.

"Most humbly beseeching your Lordship to understand, that according as your commission was, by my servant to send you certain Bibles, so have I now done, desiring your Lordship to accept them, as though they were well done. And whereas I writ unto your Lordship for a Privy Seal to be a defence unto the enemies of this Bible, I understand that your Lordship's mind is, that I shall not need it. But now, most gracious Lord, forasmuch as this work hath been brought forth to our most great and costly labours and charges; which charges amount above the sum of five hundred pounds; and I have caused of these same to be printed to the sum of fifteen hundred books complete, which now, by reason that of *many* this work is highly commended, there are that will, and doth, go about the printing of the same work again, in a lesser letter; to the intent that they may sell their *little* books better cheap than I can sell these *great*; and so to make, that I shall sell none at all, or else very few, to the *utter undoing* of me, your orator, and of all those *my* creditors, that hath been my comforters and helpers therein. And now this work, thus set forth with great study and labours, shall such persons, moved with a little covetousness, to the undoing of others for their own private wealth, take as a thing done to their hands. In which behalf the charges shall not come to them, that hath done to your poor orator. And yet will not they do it, as they find it, but falsify the text; that I dare say, look, how many sentences are in the Bible, even so many faults and errors shall be made therein. For their seeking, is not to set it out to God's glory, and to the edifying of Christ's congregation, but for covetousness. And that may appear by the former Bibles, (*i. e.*, the

New Testaments,) that they have set forth; which hath neither good paper, letters, ink nor correction. And even so shall they corrupt this work, and wrap it up after their fashions, and then they may sell it for nought at their pleasures. Yea, and to make it more truer than it is, therefore Dutchmen, dwelling within this realm, go about the printing of it; which can neither speak good English, nor yet write none! And they will be both the printers and correctors thereof; because of a little covetousness, they will not bestow twenty or forty pounds to a learned man to take pains in it, to have it well done.

"It were, therefore, as your Lordship doth evidently perceive, a thing unreasonable to permit, or suffer, them which now hath no such business, to enter into the labours of them that had both sore trouble and unreasonable charges. And *the truth is this*, that if it be printed by any other, before these be sold, which I think shall not be these three years at the least, *then am I*, your poor orator, *utterly undone*." (Even Grafton had no idea of the prospect now opening).

"Therefore, by your most godly favour, if I may obtain the King's most gracious privilege, that none shall print them until these be sold, your Lordship shall not find me unthankful, but that to the uttermost of my power, I will consider it: and I dare say, that so will my Lord of Canterbury, with other, my most special friends; and at the last, God will look upon your merciful heart, that considereth *the undoing of a poor young man; for truly my whole living lieth hereupon*. If I may have sale of them not being hindered by any other men, it shall be my making and wealth; and the contrary is my undoing. Therefore, most humbly I beseech your Lordship to be my helper herein, that I may obtain this my request.

"Or else, if by no means this privilege may be had,—forasmuch as it hath pleased the King's Highness to license this work to go abroad; and that it is the most pure Word of God which teacheth all true obedience, and reproveth all schisms and contentions.—It may therefore be commanded by your Lordship, in the name of our most gracious prince, that *every curate* have one of them, that they may *learn to know God, and instruct their Parishioners*; yea, and that every Abbey should have *six*, to be laid in six several places, that the whole Convent, and the resorters thereunto, may have occasion to look on the Lord's Law.—And then I know there would be enough found in my Lord of *London's* diocese to spend away a great part of them.—And I know that a small commission will cause my Lord of Canterbury, Salisbury, and Worcester, to cause it to be done through their diocese; yea, and this should cease the whole schism and contention that *is in the realm*; which is, some calling them of the *old learning*, and some of the *new*. Now, should we all follow one God, *one book, and one learning*: and this is hurtful to no man, but profitable to all.

"I will trouble your Lordship no longer, for I am sorry I have

troubled you so much : but, to make an end, I desire your most gracious answer by my servant. *For the sickness is brime (furious) about us, or else I would wait upon your Lordship :* and because of coming to your Lordship, *I have not suffered my servant with me since he came over.*—Your orator, RICHARD GRAFTON.”

From this letter it is evident, that as the volume had come upon Cranmer by surprise, so he had no concern whatever with the cost incurred ; nay, that *no man in England* shared in the expense. It was a gift from abroad, and the burden lay chiefly on the shoulders of this individual, as a man in business.

We have no written reply to this letter, which, however, does not signify, as it is well known that Grafton succeeded : but as to the present sudden and most memorable interposition in favor of Tyndale's exertions, it was an occurrence, the effects of which reach down to the present hour. The event itself, is only more extraordinary than the fact, that it should never have been even marked as it ought to have been, and much less dwelt upon, by any previous writer. But though hitherto buried among other casual incidents, it would be unpardonable *now* to pass on without contemplating an occurrence, in which, without either presumption or enthusiasm, the overruling hand of God may be so distinctly traced. There is here no interference with the *free agency* of man, but one of the most complete specimens of the mode in which an all-wise Providence governs the world. Grafton, indeed, and his co-partner Whitchurch, may be easily disposed of, or regarded throughout the whole affair as resembling only the hewers of wood and drawers of water, in ancient time ; but in looking back to the spring of 1526, when Tyndale's first efforts were so very keenly felt, as to awaken the wrath of all in power ; and following the track, as we have done, down to the month of August 1537, what a varied scene has passed before us ! The hand of the Most High has been visible all along ; but it was most of all conspicuous *now*, for the day was won ! In the course of the long conflict, not a few of the enemy have perished. Two Lords Chancellor, an Archbishop of Canterbury, besides, at least, four noted Bishops, have fallen ; to say nothing of other two, sent adrift into Italy. Wolsey and Warham, West of Ely and Nix of Norwich, Standish of St. Asaph and Fisher of Rochester, as well as Dr. Robert Ridley and Sir Thomas More, are gone.

But what, it may still be said, does all this signify ? There are, at least, eight or ten men yet alive ; and except it be the King himself transiently, when in some unwonted mood, not one of them has spoken a word in favor of Tyndale, or his exertions, up to this month of August ; nay, with two or three exceptions, all the rest have even raged against him. These men too, occupy the Privy Council, the Senate, and the Bench ; so that before such an event as the present could possibly have taken place, every one of them must have been overruled. And accordingly now, within the compass of ten days, each day for a year, and whether pacified or not, they *have all been overruled*.

Yes, the King himself, and his Prime Minister the Duke of Norfolk; Crumwell his Vicegerent, and Cranmer his Archbishop; Tunstal of Durham and Stokesly of London; Longland of Lincoln and Gardiner of Winchester; nay, Coverdale and his friend Nyeolson, have all alike, or every one of them, been disposed of.

For where is the individual who can now look so low, as to trace this change to Cranmer, and simply say that *he* was the cause? Already we have given him full credit, as well as done him ample justice, by giving his own letters entire. He was the superintended agent, and let it only be the more observed, the willing instrument, for certainly he did all, at this moment, not by constraint, but of hearty good will; and yet it must be clear as day, that of all others, *he* was *most* under the influence of predominant power. The step he took was a bold and decided one, and had Crumwell been the man, it would have been in perfect character: but Cranmer, though withal an amiable character, was by constitution timid, and according to his *own* repeated confession, had lost, beyond recovery, in his youth, every spice of audacity or daring. Yes, and he was therefore only the more fit to be employed as an instrument, to overrule or take by surprise, *all the rest*. After a long and tedious war, the bitter though fruitless opposition of eleven years, the opportunity for dealing with crafty opponents, with stiff-necked and rebellious enemies to the truth, had arrived; the time for showing "the weakness of God to be stronger than men." It was a select hour for choosing a cautious and a timid man to sway the mighty and the wayward. He himself, indeed, might be doubtful of success; for he said to Crumwell, obtain all I ask—if *you can*; but what was the result? Take up the men individually, and see.

In so sanctioning this prototype, which contained the translations of Tyndale, the *King* himself was overruled. Witness his violent language for years, employed in public documents—his interdict of Tyndale's version, and all his other writings—his commissioning men to apprehend him, though in vain—and his cold indifference at the end, only last year, respecting his very life. On the same ground stands *Crumwell*; after having vilified our Translator, and warned the English Envoy, Vaughan, if he dared to speak favorably of him; after having long patronized Coverdale, contributed to his support, nay, and there can be no doubt, to the *cost* of his translation, as well as obtained the temporary assent of Henry to the reprint of that book. As for the others, who had been sworn enemies all along: *Tunstal*, notwithstanding his raving in 1526, about the "pestiferous poison" that had infected his diocese of London, he is now in alarm as to other *infection*. He is now absolutely terrified to approach the capital, for fear of the plague; and besides, he is under marching orders for Newcastle, as President of the Council of the North. *Stokesly* of London, after all his bloody deeds, must now be quiet, although Grafton be proposing, for *his* diocese, such a plentiful supply of that very translation, for the reading of which, he was wont to

doom the party to the flames. Old *Longland* of Lincoln, who so exulted over Wolsey's "secret search, and at one time" in London, Oxford, and Cambridge, for books to be burnt, must, for the present, also ponder over the change, but remain neutral! *Gardiner*, when at home, of all other men, wonderfully contrived to retain the King's ear; but that shrewd and far-seeing man, the ablest foe of all, had been removed to a distance. As Tunstal was out of the way, in *Spain*, when the New Testament first came, so was *Gardiner*, in *France*, when the Bible arrived. After displeasing the King in 1535, it had been convenient to send him into honorable exile, as Ambassador to Paris, out of *Crumwell's* way, and he was not to be recalled for a year to come. The Duke of *Norfolk* too, *Gardiner's* dear friend, is down in the North; and though panting to return, and pestering *Crumwell* with letters for this end, he cannot wend his way to London till relieved by Tunstal, who, however, is slow to move. But, above all the rest, no one was more signally overruled than *Cranmer*, the agent first employed. No individual in England had striven so hard for some certain translation, to be sanctioned by his fellows. He had got them to petition his Majesty, in 1534, for such a one. In 1535, he had attempted the New Testament only, but failed; and last year, in Convocation again, he had not only petitioned once more for the same thing, but acquiesced, with all the rest, in the King's sacrament of *penance*; which the Bible of this year, over which he now so rejoiced, will not sanction! And finally, as for *Myles Coverdale* himself, he is shortly to be employed in correcting the press of a second edition of this very Bible which *Grafton* had thus brought into England.

In short, as this year no Parliament was assembled—no Convocation held, so neither the one nor the other was, or could be, consulted on the subject! The Bishops, as a body, were now scattered by the plague, "every one to his own;" while *Cranmer*, who has just fled from it, and in total despair of all deliverance arising from that quarter, boldly affirms, that a better translation of the Sacred Scriptures, they either could not, or would not, "set forth, till a day after doomsday!" To this, no doubt, the best men in all England then fully responded; and, in concert, they might all have said or sung, in the language of their own Bible—

O! sing unto the Lord a new song,  
 For he hath done marvellous things!  
 With *his own* right hand, and with his holy arm,  
 Hath He gotten the victory!  
 The Lord is King, be the people never so impatient:  
 He sitteth upon the Cherubins, be the earth never so unquiet.

At such a crisis, when the country was in danger of being deluged with corrupt versions of His own blessed Word, it was thus shown, in the most striking manner, to every devout and careful observer, that *the God of Providence is the God of the Sacred Scriptures*; and as He intended the version now given, to remain in this highly-favored land for generations then unborn, it



was fit that this interference should take place at the *beginning*. In the wide compass of English history, a more signal interposition of Divine providence on behalf of His own Word never occurred since, and that simply for this reason, it was never demanded; the present sufficed for all time to come. This same Monarch, indeed, and some of his wilfully blind Prelates, may yet rage and strive, but the version shall *never* be banished from the land. It may be corrected and improved, nay, and be burnt again; and seventy years after this, upwards of fifty learned men may be engaged for three years, in order to make it, as they said, "more smooth and easy, and agreeable to the text;" but the translation now received, shall be the basis of all future editions. And well it might; for after all this labor, and after all due praise to our present version, to say nothing of particular words, there are still happy turns of expression, which had better have been retained. "In point of perspicuity, and noble simplicity, propriety of idiom, and purity of style," it has been said, "no English version has yet surpassed it;" and if any one suspect that this is saying too much, let him first peruse Tyndale for himself, and then observe the innumerable passages, which, after so many revisions, are verbally the same as in our present version.

In the detail thus presented to the reader, he cannot fail to have observed more reasons than one for the distinction drawn between the translation of Tyndale and that of Coverdale. He has seen that the powerful *effects* of the former had roused Crumwell, and led him to employ Coverdale "instantly," or in all haste, to sit down to his task; and the task performed, before it could have made any impression on England, he has heard Fox of Hereford, in Convocation last year, allow or rather describe the glorious result of Tyndale's primary version—"The lay people," said he, "do now know the Holy Scripture, better than many of us." In one word, *the times themselves were the effect of Tyndale's translation*; Coverdale's translation was only one effect of the times.

But, independently of these material circumstances, or of Tyndale's version being preferable, for his choice of terms, and greatly superior in point of euphony, there is a far more important distinction between these two Bibles, than that of style or idiom; and it is one which renders it still more extraordinary, that the unpatronized, nay, obnoxious translator, and his hitherto obnoxious translation, should have gained the ascendancy. Instead of describing this, the better way will be to exhibit it.

## TYNDALE.

*Printed in 1525, imported 1526.*

Repent, the Kyngdome of heven is at hande.

Brynge forth therefore the frutes belonging to repentance.

And they went forth and preached that they should repent.

Repent and beleve the gospel.

## COVERDALE.

*Printed 1535, imported 1536.*

*Amende your selves*, the Kyngdome of heven is at hande.

Beuarre, bringe forth due frutes of pen-  
naunce.

And they went forth and preached that men should *amende them selves*.

*Amende your selves*, and beleve the gospel.

## TYNDALE.

But except ye repent, ye shall all in likewyse perish.

I say unto you that likewyse joy shall be heven over one synner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine iuste persons which nede no repentaunce.

Lykewyse I say unto you, joy shall be in the presence of the angels of God, over one synner that repenteth.

Rebuke him, and if he repent, forgive him.

Peter sayde unto them; Repent and be ye baptyzed every one of you.

Repent ye, therefore, and turne, that your synnes may be dene away.

## COVERDALE.

But excepte ye amende your selves, ye shall perish likewise.

I saye unto you: Even so shall there be joy in heven over one synner that doth penounce, more than, over nyne and nyentye righteous, which nede not repentaunce.

Even so (I tell you) shall there be joye before the Angels of God, over one synner that doth penounce.

Rebuke hym, and if he amende, forgive him.

Peter said unto them: Amende your selves, and let every one of you be baptyzed.

Do penance now, therefore, and turn you, that your synnes may be done away.

One passage may be quoted in full, Acts xxvi. 19-24, not only involving the same distinction, but as a specimen of their different styles.

Wherefore, King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision: but shewed fyrst unto them of Damasco, and at Jerusalem, and throughout all the coastes of Jewry, and to the gentyls, that they should repent, and turne to God, and do the ryght workes of repentance. For this cause the Jewes caught me in the temple, and went about to kyll me. Nevertheless I obtained help of God, and continue unto this day, witnessinge both to small and to greate, saying none other thinges, than those which the prophetes and Moses dyd say shuld come, that Christ shuld suffre, and that he shuld be the fyrst that shuld ryse from death, and shuld shewe lyght unto the people, and the gentyls.

Wherefore (O Kynge Agrippa) I was not faithlesse unto the heavenly vysion, but shewed it fyrste unto them at Damascoun, and at Jerusalem, and in all the coastes of Jewrye, and to the Heithen, that they should do penance, and turn to God, and to do right workes of penance. For this the Jewes teke me in the temple and went about to kyll me. But throughe the help of God lente unto me, I stonde unto this daye, and testifie both unto small and greate, and say none other thyng, then that the prophetes have sayde, (that it shoulde come to passe) and Moses: that Chryste should suffre, and be the fyrst of the resurrection from the dead, and shew lyght unto the people and to the Heythen.

We need not therefore now affirm, that the two productions were very distinct. No man was more conscious of this than Coverdale himself; and the modesty with which he speaks of his own performance, would be more than sufficient to have dissuaded from any comparison, if the interests and purity of Divine Truth were not concerned: but Lewis, in his "History of Translations," has so heedlessly confounded the one with the other, and, in our own day, others have been so misled, that no choice is left to any impartial writer. After comparing Tyndale's translation of one passage in the Pentateuch with that of Coverdale, in which the former is best, Lewis then adds,—“So Matt. iii. is, ‘sayinge, Amende your selves,’ as it is in Tyndale’s first editions.” But where is there any such expression to be found in Tyndale? Had Lewis not examined the first editions? Was he not aware that they were the first editions that Sir Thomas More attacked, and that upon *this* very point, among others? Or had he not read Tyndale’s able and animated reply in 1530, when he answered, *why*

he had translated love and *not* charity—congregation and *not* church—repentance and *not* penance? Yes, all this he had done, and of all this he seems to have been aware, and yet, strange to say, forgot *his own* previous history! No, there existed in Tyndale's mind a very different feeling from that which would have led him to have regarded penance and repentance as *synonymous* terms; and, more especially, since the *sense* of the previous term was so fully known and felt throughout Europe, when "the scourge inexorable, and the torturing hour, called them to penance." Coverdale, on the other hand, in obedience to the dominant power of the day, falling under the influence of expediency, mixed up those terms with others of far inferior moment, and here is his explanation.

"Sure I am," he says in his epistle to the reader, "that there cometh more understanding and knowledge of the Scripture, by these sundry translations, than by all the glosses of our sophistical doctors. Be not thou offended, therefore, good reader, though one call a scribe, that another calleth lawyer; or elders, that another calleth father and mother; or *repentance*, that another calleth *penance or amendment*. For if we were not *deceived by men's traditions*, we should find no more diversity between these terms, than between *four-pence* and a *groat*! And this manner have I used in my translation, calling in some places penance, that in another I call repentance; and that not only because the interpreters have done so before me, but that the adversaries of the truth might see that we abhor not this word penance, no more than the interpreters of Latin abhor *pœnitere*, when they read *resipiscere*."

Now, above five years before his translation was printed, Coverdale must have been perfectly familiar with Tyndale's strong impression, as to the vital importance of this word *Metanoia* being correctly rendered—he had heard him saying to his opponent, the Lord Chancellor—

"He cannot prove that I gave not the right English unto the Greek word;" and after explaining his views, had heard him add—"these things to be even so, Mr. More knoweth well enough, for he understandeth the Greek, and he knew them long ere I. So now the cause why our prelates thus rage, and what moveth them to call Mr. More to help, is, not that they find just causes in the translation, but because they have lost their feigned terms. wherewith Peter prophesied they should make merchandise of the people."

If, therefore, Coverdale had been for once with Tyndale, at Hamburgh, in 1529, we need not suppose that the former dissembled ever after, or kept in secret from Tyndale the course he was pursuing. No, the conclusion to be drawn is this, that there could have been *no familiar intercourse between the parties ever since that period*; while there can be no doubt, that had Tyndale known of this proceeding, or read Coverdale's lame apology for it, the voice of remonstrance, nay, and of strong reprobation, would have been heard from the castle of Vilvorde.

At the same time, a distinction so systematic, in opposition to all the editions of Tyndale's New Testament, which had been imported into England for above ten years past, could not now have been adopted, *but* under the sanction of *Crumwell*, though he must by no means be allowed to bear all the blame. Long after his death, this particular word was one to which Coverdale, when acting for himself, pertinaciously adhered. Indeed, of all the men now so signally overruled, it is natural to suppose that he must have felt the greatest mortification; but there was no help for him. He had been so profoundly obsequious to his Majesty as to give him his choice of putting his version *aside altogether*, and so it has come to pass. He must of course therefore now submit, and very soon, or almost immediately, he will be engaged to superintend the press of a second edition of the successful translation.

On reading thus far, however, it is by no means improbable that, owing to recent circumstances, a few questions will naturally occur to many. Was there not held in the year 1835 a commemoration of the 4th of October 1535, styled "*the third Centenary of the English Bible*." There was. And was it with reference to Coverdale's Bible just described? Of course it was. But were the parties aware that his version was thus laid aside? Were they aware that it was not only superseded, but *never* enjoined to be *read* in England, or that it stood at the top of the list of interdicted books in 1546? Above all, were they aware that this was the book, which contained these passages, *thus* rendered? Surely they were not; for if they had, the centenary must have been postponed; except they had been resolved to celebrate the wrong book, and rejoice before the proper time. But, again, did the year 1825 and 1826 pass by, without any notice of Tyndale, three hundred years before? They did. And was not the month of August 1537, far more worthy of joyful commemoration than that of October 1535, when, in fact, nothing whatever immediately followed? Of this, we presume, there can be no question now; but it also passed away without the slightest reference to Tyndale. The first introducer of *penance*, as printed in the English tongue, and forty-seven years before the *Rhemish* version, was held up to view by many, though, even then, not by all; on the other hand, his predecessor by ten years, and the first able advocate of "Repentance towards God," has been allowed to sleep in oblivion.

These, however, it is acknowledged, are matters of but small account, compared with the fact, that up to this hour the hand of the Almighty has *never* been distinctly, and therefore duly recognized. The very marked, and ever-to-be-remembered, period, when God, by his overruling providence and grace, was introducing that inestimable boon, which, as an instrument in his hand, has made our Country *what it is*, has never been clearly distinguished; never held up to public view as the fit season for grateful and adoring commemoration! It is one proof, among two many others,

that *due* regard has not yet been paid to the history of our Sacred Record.

It was only two months after the arrival of this Bible, when Henry met, most unexpectedly, with what was calculated to produce some permanent impression upon him. It was not yet seventeen months since he had so barbarously put his Queen to death, and married a third wife the next day! On the 12th of October Queen Jane Seymour gave birth to a son, but in twelve days afterwards sunk and died. Whether his Majesty was long or deeply afflicted by his loss, as historians have but too often represented, will appear very soon. But the birth of this amiable child following so immediately after the introduction of the Scriptures, it may now be said,—“*about which time EDWARD was born.*” Throughout his brief reign, the Word of the Lord, and in this translation of it, will be treated as it ought ever to have been, whether by the prince or the peasant.

But in conclusion of this present year, all other events sink into insignificance when compared with that extraordinary occurrence in the month of August. Such was the introduction of Tyndale's Bible to his countrymen; so peacefully, easily, and effectually accomplished, after all the blood and turmoil of the past. The *plague* was raging furiously all the time; yet the prototype, the first edition of our English Bible must be then and so introduced. Come it did, at a season so rousing, and fraught with solemn warning. Not to increase alarm, even Grafton who brought it, was cautious of approach. Official men had fled for safety from the Metropolis. Not so Crumwell. He stood firm in the midst of the dying and the dead. It was chiefly to do, what he did in this matter; while all other men of power and pretension have appeared before us, only as “clay in the hand of the potter.” To exempt any individual, would be historically incorrect: they have been overruled to a man.

If, therefore, there be any importance in setting an example; in exhibiting a pattern after which others may work, or in laying the foundation-stone of a great enterprise; if it be easy to follow where one has broken up the way, and smoothed it; and if the first individual who strikes out a new and untried path, in which his country, after having showed great resistance, at last follows, be allowed to discover a mind above the common order; then, so far as human agency was concerned, all this must be traced to one man; and one whom now we need not name.

But above all, the *mode* of the Divine procedure, in this instance, deserves special regard. In studying this, whether towards the Christian individually, or towards a people as such, it has been said that, in certain cases, something may be discovered, bearing no slight analogy to the principal sound,—the *key-note* in music; to which the whole piece is accommodated, with which it usually begins, but always *ends*. Now if the Sovereign disposer of all events had begun to discourse with the higher powers in this country after this fashion; had begun by an instance of his over-

ruling providence, so signal as the present ; it remains to be cautiously observed, whether He does not *so* interpose, again and again, in favor of his own blessed word. Nay, whether He has not once done so, even in our own times, and may yet do so, once more. At all events, ancient though this triumph be, hitherto almost unobserved, and therefore generally disregarded, it may yet be seen to carry a firm and determined aspect, quite beyond our own eventful day. The series of events subsequently to be recorded should resolve this point. But they will at least prove that we have far more to do, and to do now, with the history of the English Bible, than the great body of those who at present profess Christianity throughout this kingdom have imagined.

## BOOK II.—ENGLAND.

### REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

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#### SECTION I.

THE SECOND YEAR OF TRIUMPH—THE ENGLISH BIBLE PRINTING IN PARIS—PRESS INTERRUPTED—INQUISITION OVERMATCHED—THE BIBLE FINISHED IN LONDON—FIRST INJUNCTIONS FOR TYNDALE'S BIBLE—NEW TESTAMENTS, FRESH EDITIONS—COVERDALE'S TESTAMENTS—THE DESTITUTE STATE OF ENGLAND—JOY OVER THE SCRIPTURES—RETROSPECT.

THE Sacred Scriptures, in the English tongue, had now been introduced, and in a manner so remarkable as to excite curiosity with regard to the sequel. The victory already recorded, great as it was, would not yet suffice. If there was any spot on the Continent, where opposition to Divine Truth had been most of all virulent, that will be the proper place in which to complete the triumph of the English Bible. Before the printing of the Sacred Oracles is to become by far the most conspicuous or distinguishing feature of our own country, another conquest had been determined. Tyndale had toiled and died on the Continent, and that must be the seat of this second achievement. It comes like a double testimony to the work of his hands; but the story will appear in its proper colors, after we have glanced over other national, though to us now, subordinate affairs.

In a history such as the present, the year derives all its importance from its being that which immediately followed the public sanction of the Sacred Volume in England. With regard to the leading sovereigns of Europe, Henry, Charles, and Francis, they come before us precisely the same men they have ever been. The two latter, whether as rulers or as men, had been chastised and humbled in succession, by their endless conflicts; and Henry, too, since the rebellions of Lincoln and Yorkshires, had by no means sat so easy on his throne. As for his being now a widower, we shall find that this, in no sense, lay heavy on his spirits. The Emperor and the King of France were still at war; and being as nearly balanced in point of power as ever, the King of England, by throwing his influence into either scale, might still change the current of European affairs; but the steps he had already taken,

rendered him an awkward or ticklish ally for either party. This, of course, was owing to a fourth power, once the most formidable in the world, that of the Pontiff, to whose temporal sovereignty, at least, Henry was as much opposed as ever; but whom neither Charles nor Francis would disregard, whenever it seemed likely to serve their respective political purposes.

On the first of March, just when Francis had feigned to agree that Henry should be the mediator between himself and the Emperor, and charging the latter with deceit; Christopher Mount, a German frequently employed, and Thomas Paynel, were despatched into Germany, to ascertain precisely who the German confederates were, then assembled at Brunswick, and whether their league was for "general defence," or for matters of religion only. These States, aware of the Emperor's feeling respecting them, had desired that Henry should unite with them, and own the Augsburg Confession of Faith; Christian III., King of Denmark, having just united with them. They now, therefore, despatched three individuals on an Embassy into England, namely, Francis Burghart, Vice-Chancellor to the Elector of Saxony, George a-Boyneburg, and Frederick Myconius. These men arrived in England, on the 12th of May, the first of them bearing a letter from Melancthon to the King. His Majesty having appointed certain bishops and doctors to converse with them, the conferences and debates had continued for three months. So early as the month of June, however, the King grew impatient for the presence of Tunstal, who was still at a distance as President of the Council of the North. This was a bad omen, and the *first* token of some approaching change. Crumwell, however, must order him up, and Tunstal, far from reluctant, gladly replies from Newcastle on the 27th of June, that he is coming with all "convenient diligence." The King therefore employed *him* to answer the German Divines; but by the 15th of August, their patience being exhausted, they had resolved on returning home. From all that had transpired on the Continent, Henry, by this moment, was suspicious not only of treachery at home, but invasion from abroad. He was himself gone to some distance, "taking special care of the sea-coasts, and particularly had an eye to the actions of those who might stir in favor of Cardinal Pole." Cranmer, therefore, implored the Germans to remain at least till the King's return, and they agreed to abide for another month, in the faith of his Majesty writing in excuse of their long delay. The Primate then most earnestly turned to his brethren, the Bishops, but they were not to be moved *now*, by any of *his* solicitations. They had been treated as men of no account, ever since the memorable Convocation in 1536; so that after ten days he must inform Crumwell, that he now saw "they only sought an occasion to break the concord." They affirmed besides, that "they knew that the King's Grace had *taken upon himself* to answer the said orators." In this they were not far from the exact truth; and here was the second omen, to both Cranmer and Crumwell, of declining influence. To the German



objections against the half-communion, private masses, and the celibacy of the clergy, Henry would, on no account, bow; and having employed Tunstal to give them a formal reply in Latin, after commending the Envoys for their learning, and the trouble they had taken, to the great disappointment of Cranmer, his Majesty then dismissed them.

Before the Bishop of Winchester's return, there was one man, who, above all others, had excited Henry's warmest indignation. This, it may be anticipated, was Cardinal POLE. By the month of August, this year, Theobald, as well as others, had afforded information of his very courteous entertainment at Nice; but Gardiner, who cared for no man's life, if he could only rise in royal favor, and undermine all other advisers, could now plentifully furnish further particulars. He had joined with the King of France, last year, in banishing the Cardinal from Paris; and as he ever considered Pole to be a weak man, so he would not be slow now to assist the King in regarding him as the original author of the present combination on the Continent. Such, at least, was Henry's persuasion; and it must have been greatly strengthened, by the Cardinal being sent in November as Legate to Spain, to stimulate the Emperor to invade England. His relations in England, as suspected of treason, were now to be dealt with. His brother, Sir Geoffrey Pole, being first committed, is said to have made certain disclosures to the Council, when Lord Montacute, another brother, the Countess of Salisbury, their aged mother, the Marquis and Marchioness of Exeter, and Sir Edward Neville, were arrested. On the 31st of December last, the Peers were arraigned, and on 3d of January, the two Knights. Sir Geoffrey was pardoned, but the other three had suffered at Towerhill on the 9th of that month.

The present year, as connected with CRUMWELL and CRANMER, now demands notice. The influence of Gardiner and Tunstal, they being at last united, and near the King, was far from being confined to foreign politics. It was still more apparent in their taking advantage of what had been done in Gardiner's absence, and now artfully turning it to the disgrace of those they either hated or persecuted.

At that Convocation in 1536, or the *first* of an unprecedented character, where Crumwell had presided as Vicegerent, and with a high hand over the Bishops, Cranmer had introduced certain articles, informing all present that the *Sacraments* must be *first* settled; and as the creed, whether framed by himself or the King, or by both in union, was guarded by sanguinary penalties, it formed a most convenient instrument for any persecutor. After this, it is true, by his zeal for the Bible of 1537, Cranmer would seem as though he had either questioned or undervalued the articles passed and subscribed: but be this as it may, he had been evidently eager to receive the Germans to a conference, and as much so to have retained them in discussion. Probably he thought, that as *they* could defend their own faith, under safe-conduct, and so boldly question or oppose some of the royal dogmas, thus some impression

might be made on his obstinate and self-willed master. In this, however, he had now been deeply disappointed, when lo! Stephen Gardiner arrived in London.

Gardiner had been uniformly opposed to all this courting of the German Confederated States. Even when abroad, and two years ago, he had strongly advised the King against it; but he had now an opportunity of renewing his former arguments, and the crisis was particularly favorable to his adding "many like words." He had been living for three years on the Continent; and as his royal Master, in all his movements, was governed solely by political motives, no man was more able than Gardiner to turn his intimate acquaintance with foreign affairs to some positive account, in favor of his own views. These, of course, were diametrically opposed to the policy of Cromwell and Cranmer. Henry, he had insinuated formerly, was a Sovereign, but these Germans, very inferior princes, the mere subjects of the Emperor; and it was below the King's *dignity* to form any league with them, except as lord of them all. He was "Head of the Church" in his own kingdom; and in all matters of faith, they, of course, ought to bow to him. Besides, he was an author of high renown; and having, by his book against Luther, gained the title of "Defender of the Faith," it was now of more importance than ever, that he should appear the lord and master of all sentiments and opinions within his own dominions, and give distinct intimation to all what his own opinions were. Pole had charged his Majesty with the crime of *changing* his religion; whereas now, through Tunstal, not only private masses, involving auricular confession, had been maintained, but all the wonders of the mass. One of the points in discussion with the Envoys from Germany, had related to the Lord's Supper, and the denial of the cup to the people at large; but in the final reply by Tunstal and Henry, the corporal presence and concomitance had been affirmed to the last degree of incomprehensibility. Should any man in England, therefore, at this moment, presume to question *that* point, a fine opportunity was presented to Gardiner and Tunstal for using all their address and sophistry. The King, it has been said, "valued Gardiner's abilities for business, saw his meanness, and was not aware that he himself was sometimes influenced by the fawning subtilty which he despised." In one word, no moment could be more favorable for bloody purposes. Henry was chafed by the policy of the European Sovereigns, enraged at Pole as well as at his pointed charges, if not also irritated by the obstinate adherence of the Germans to their Augsburg Confession.

The creed of 1536, therefore, (forming the first articles imposed upon England,) as if framed for the occasion, was now to be put in operation. The King had entitled it—"Articles devised to establish Christian *quietness* among us;" and Cranmer, in bringing it before the Convocation, had insisted that the sacraments must be *first* settled; but in doing this, he probably little dreamt that two of those very articles would prove the first occasion of his imbruing his own hands in blood. The first article was baptism,

and with it the King began. Henry had decreed that all *his* people “ought *and must of necessity*, believe certainly, that baptism was instituted as a thing necessary *for the attaining of everlasting life*”—“that by *this* they shall have *remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God*”—“that this promise of grace and life, which is adjoined unto baptism, pertaineth not only to such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, who, by this sacrament, be made *thereby* the very sons and children of God—that infants must needs be christened, because they be born in original sin, which sin *cannot be* remitted, but *by* the sacrament of baptism.”

It has been affirmed that there were many in England who denied the gross errors here propounded; and the list of “dogmata” presented to the Convocation in 1536, as prevailing throughout the country, might be referred to as proving this; but the parties seized, at this moment, were *not* Henry’s people—*not* his own subjects. They were foreigners, Germans, who had fled from their own country to avoid persecution there. They might therefore have at least been first warned to *leave* the kingdom. But no—the King must speak out, in no unequivocal terms, as to his orthodoxy; and both Crammer and Crumwell, as well as others, now fall in with the stream of blood.

On the first of October, a commission, in the King’s name was given out to *Crammer*, Stokesly, and Samson, as Bishops, including Heath, Skip, Thirlby, Gwent, *Robert Barnes*, and Edward Crome, to try these people “lately come into this realm, where they lurk secretly in divers corners and places.” There is no evidence of any crime whatever, save the denial of this article, or the doctrine contained in it; and we have no record of their trial. Nor is this surprising; it was not to be expected; as by the commission itself, the commissioners had authority *to execute the premises, notwithstanding part of them might be contrary to the customary course and forms of law!* This most humiliating document for Crammer, was subscribed by Crumwell. The result was, that three men and one woman bore faggots at Paul’s cross, and two others, a man and a woman, were consigned to the flames in Smithfield.

But another article of the creed imposed, furnished ground for a far more conspicuous triumph to the Bishop of Winchester; when a more miserable spectacle of a royal tyrant taunting and worrying his victim, Westminster Hall probably never witnessed, before nor since. *John Lambert*, a convert of Bilney’s, who is said to have associated with Tyndale and Fryth when abroad, had, in the reign of Sir Thomas More, been brought to England; and before Warham, in 1532, had answered to not fewer than forty-five articles laid against him. Warham, however, died that year, and Lambert was discharged. To avoid the fury of persecution, he then changed his name to Nicholson; and being a man of learning, he had, since that period, earned an honorable subsistence, by teaching Latin and Greek. This year, Dr. John

Tailour, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, had been preaching at St. Peter's, Cornhill, on "transubstantiation." Lambert or Nicholson, after hearing him, had offered civilly to argue the point, but Tailour required him to commit his thoughts to writing; a very dangerous thing in those times, and that which had proved fatal to the immortal Fryth. On showing the paper to Robert *Barnes*, of whom we have just heard, as a member in commission with Cranmer, *he* advised Tailour to lay it before the Archbishop, now so rigidly observed by all his brethren of "the old learning." Lambert once brought into Court, appealed from the Bishops to the *King*; when Gardiner suggested that a fine opportunity was now presented to his Majesty, for putting an end to all insinuations, foreign or domestic, and of vindicating himself before the world, from the charge of favoring *heretics*. The King, in perfect character, taking up the appeal with a high hand, convoked his Nobles and Prelates immediately to repair to London, and assist at the triumph. Upon the day fixed Henry arrived, with a numerous guard, all clothed in *white*, and a cushion of white cloth of tissue was laid before his Majesty. On his right sat the Bishops, and behind them the lawyers, in purple. On his left the Peers, in their order, with the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber behind. The King, once seated on his throne, Samson, Bishop of Chichester, by command declared to the people, the cause of this assembly.—

"The King," he said, "had thrown off the usurpations of the See of *Rome*, discharged and disincorporated some idle *Monks*, who lived only like drones in a bee-hive; he had removed the idolotrous regard for *images*; published the *Bible in English* for the instruction of *all* his subjects, and made some lesser alterations in the Church, which nobody could deny were for the public interest. But as for other things, *he* his Majesty was resolved to keep constant to the Catholic faith and customs. That he was very desirous the prisoner would retract his errors, and return to the Catholic communion: That for this purpose, and to prevent the extremities which would otherwise follow, he had ordered the appearance of these grave and learned men, the Bishops; hoping that by the advantage of their character, and force of their reasoning, they would recover him to the Church, and wrest his unfortunate opinion from him. But in case he was not to be removed from his obstinacy, he (the King) was resolved to make him an example; and by a precedent, *of his own setting*, acquaint his judges and the Magistracy, how *they* ought to manage heresy and behave themselves upon such occasions!"

Henry then commenced, and with "brows bent unto severity;" but Lambert at once denying the corporal presence, he commanded Cranmer to answer him. With his characteristic mildness the Archbishop began; but very soon it appeared as if Lambert would triumph in argument. "The King," says Foxe, "seemed greatly moved—the Bishop himself that disputed to be entangled, and all the people amazed;" when Gardiner, whose cause it

truly was, before Crammer had finished, and who, according to previous arrangement, ought not to have spoken one word, till four others had finished, kneeled down for permission to break silence. Henry assenting he began—Tunstal, Stokesly, and two others, followed, occupying the solitary prisoner for five hours, or from twelve to five o'clock, when torches were lighted. Lambert maintained his opinions in answer to them all; but observing that there was no hope of being fairly heard, towards the close had become silent. At last, Henry inquired whether he would *live* or *die*? Lambert threw himself upon the King's mercy—that King who, in his anger, never spared any man. He replied, that he would be no patron of heretics; and then commanded *Crumwell*, as Vicar-General, to read the sentence of death! Such was the pitiful display on Friday the 16th of November; and on Tuesday following, the 20th, Lambert was burnt to ashes, with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. His last words were—"None but Christ—none but Christ."

On Saturday following, the foreigners suffered; and by Wednesday the 28th we have the following melancholy proof of the basest sycophancy, on the part of Crumwell, now striving in vain to retain his influence and power, in the face of Gardiner, the Duke of Norfolk, and others. He is writing to Sir Thomas Wyatt, then ambassador in Spain.

"On the 16th of this present, the King's Majesty, for the reverence of the holy sacrament of the altar, did sit openly in his hall and there presided at the disputation, process, and judgment of a miserable heretic sacramentary, John Nicholson, alias Lambert, who was burnt the 20th of this same month. It was a *wonder* to see how princely, with how excellent gravity, and inestimable majesty, his Highness exercised there the *very office* of a supreme head of his Church of England! How benignly his Grace assayed to convert the miserable man; how strong and manifest reasons his Highness alleged against him! I wish that the Princes and Potentates of Christendom had had a meet place for them there, to have seen it! Undoubtedly they should have much marvelled at his Majesty's most high wisdom and judgment, and reputed him none otherwise, after the same, than, in manner, the *mirror and light* of all other kings and princes in Christendom!"

Thus, if any man by a single epistle, ever "wrote himself down" in the eye of posterity, which any man may, it was Crumwell upon this occasion. He had not only read the burning sentence, but now justified the execution, and eulogized the royal murderer; so that his having been said to have asked forgiveness of Lambert before death, if not a mere gratuitous assumption, or embellishment of Foxe, was adding insult to injury. And as for Crumwell's *motive* in so writing to the Continent, at this juncture, if it was the pitiful timeserving idea, that he might thus raise his cruel master in the estimation of the Spanish Court, and so, in some degree, retain his own popularity or power, he entirely failed. With regard to the mock-trial itself; such an array, to browbeat

and overawe a poor solitary schoolmaster, was sufficiently contemptible. The thing was evidently got up to serve some purpose at the moment, while, like many other bloody steps, it proved an entire failure; though, after all, in the page of history, the event is not without its value. Henry had assembled all his authorities round him, and thus fully displayed what was actually *their* existing spirit or character, as well as his *own*. The firm faith and fortitude of Lambert, cleared the moral atmosphere, and served to show the entire assembly in its true colors. The right of private judgment, and the unfettered freedom of religious worship, were not understood, of course, by a single individual there present; but, on the other hand, if the Sacred Scriptures be actually now printing, and at the instance of Crumwell, one of these very courtiers, then their introduction into England, or diffusion there, is a cause just as distinct from these men, except as mere instruments, at it had ever been. And should another edition of the Sacred Volume, and that a larger impression, be thus advancing at press, it becomes doubly interesting to inquire, how such a thing could be accomplished.

The two cities in the west of Europe, or indeed anywhere else, which, *as* cities, had discovered the fiercest opposition to Divine Truth, were London and Paris. The former, after a siege of eleven years' duration, had now been taken. A succession of sappers and miners, by means of the New Testament, had fully prepared the way. The same gracious Providence, which had been so conspicuous from the beginning, at last, and most unexpectedly, brought the Bible entire, when, through the straitness of the siege, and the force of overruling local circumstances, all at once, Henry and the men around him, without one breath of hostility, struck their flag of defiance, and received the vilified and long-rejected version. The latter city, Paris, though assailed as long as London had been, was alas! never so to yield. Francis, though the attached brother of a pious sister would never bow, as Henry had been obliged to do. Of the two cities it might be said—"one was taken, the other left."

By the favor of God, Britain was to become the land of Bibles; and yet the next edition, after the imported one, was not to be commenced in her metropolis. A tribute higher still must be paid to the disinterested patriotism and Christian piety of our first Translator. London did not then afford such excellent materials for printing as Paris. It would therefore be a higher display of Almighty power, amidst the burning hate of the Parisians, of the King himself, and even in the face of that Inquisition, which had obtained no footing in England, if the next English folio Bible should be printed by Frenchmen; and in Paris itself! It will not only be so, but under the eye of the same man who had embarked his all in printing the first edition!

Such an event indeed might seem impossible, look where we may, at home or abroad. Henry himself, in eager correspondence with both Spain and France, is observed to have been engrossed

with Continental politics, and not only in keen pursuit after a fourth Queen, but busy in proposing matrimonial alliances for his children, or, as after this, in sanctioning bitter persecution. Crumwell, in communication with Germany, is employed in discussion for months with Envoys from that country; while Crumwell, between them both, though he might seem to have had enough to do, is also pursuing vigorously his own course, in the visitation of Monasteries and Abbeys, Images, Crosses, and Shrines, with a view to their common overthrow. The harvest months are marked by cruel preparations, and those of winter, by the shedding of blood, both foreign and domestic.

Grafton's edition of the Bible, so singularly introduced last year, was soon found to be but a poor supply, and a second, of 2500 copies, was now intended. Grafton may have suggested Paris as the best place for printing it, as well as for superior paper; and here now stood Coverdale, at Crumwell's command, ready to accompany him, as corrector of the press; but how was it possible for the work to be executed there? In the commencement of the year, owing to the feeling then existing between Henry and Francis, such a proposal was out of the question. The latter had given great offence, by refusing Mary of Guise to the English monarch, and by not bowing to his request as to her sisters. Both the Emperor and Francis, however, in order to gain time, were alike deceiving the King of England; and by the end of February, one of the French King's strokes of policy was, to *assent* to Henry becoming the mediator between the Emperor and himself; nay, before the end of April, he had offered his son, the Duke of Orleans, to Mary of England. Crumwell's policy, it has been affirmed, was to cultivate friendship with France, and, through that power, link Henry with the German States: but be that as it may, here was now an opening with *Paris*. At this moment, therefore, Crumwell must have succeeded in getting his royal Master to communicate with Francis; as it was expressly in consequence of this that a license was then actually granted by the King of France to Richard Grafton and George Whitchurch, to print the Scriptures. Now, as Francis *left* his capital about the first of June, and considerable progress had been made by the 23d of that month, it may be safely presumed that both Grafton and Coverdale had arrived in Paris sometime in May. It is worthy of remark, that the first step taken, was by a direct communication between these two monarchs, Henry and Francis; for Crumwell would not stoop to any intercourse through *Gardiner*, though the English ambassador there, who was a noted opponent. Granting the request, too, might, and probably did, serve the purpose of Francis in prolonging delusion, who was just then setting off for Nice, where, at last, the mask of friendship was to be thrown off. The French King, therefore, after issuing the license, *leaves* Paris, and Gardiner officially *follows* him; but it was three months before either the one or the other *returned*; and thus the printing of this Bible for England rapidly proceeded during their absence! When the English

Scriptures were to be introduced into our native land, the Bishop of Winchester was taken out of the way; and so it happened when they were to be printed in Paris. He may return for a few days in September, but *not* as ambassador: his influence was gone; it was merely to make certain arrangements before taking his departure for England.

Less than two years ago, when the Doctors of Louvain were wrangling with Tyndale, and thirsting for his blood, certainly there was nothing within the range of possibility so improbable, as that *his* translation of the Scriptures should be reprinting at a *Parisian* press, by the request of his *own* Sovereign, and with the sanction of the persecuting French King himself; but so it was! For while the common enemies of such a measure were *all* assembled at Nice, only to make bad worse, Grafton and Coverdale were busily at work! Their letters, without exception, are addressed to Crumwell, and the first is dated the 23d of June—


“After most humble and hearty commendations to your good Lordship. Pleaseth the same to understand, that we be entered into *your* work of the Bible; whereof, according to our most bounden duty, we have here sent unto your Lordship two ensamples; one in parchment, wherein we intend to print one for the King’s Grace; and another for your Lordship; and the second, in paper, whereof all the rest shall be made; trusting, that it shall be not only to the glory of God, but a singular pleasure also to your good Lordship, the *causer* thereof, and a general edifying of the King’s subjects, according to your Lordship’s most godly request. For we follow not only a standing text of the Hebrew, with the interpretation of the Chaldee and the Greek; but we set also in a private (separate) table, the diversity of readings of all texts, with such annotations in another table, as shall doubtless elucidate and clear the same; as well without any singularity of opinions, as all checkings and reproofs. The *print*, no doubt, shall please your good Lordship: the *paper* is of the best sort in France. The charge certainly is great; wherein, as we most humbly require your favourable help at this present, with whatsoever it shall please your Lordship to let us have; so trust we, if need require, in our just business, to be defended from the Papists by your Lordship’s favourable letters—which we most humbly desire to have by this bearer, William Grey, either to the Bishop of Winchester, or to *some other*, whom your Lordship shall think most expedient. We be daily threatened, and look ever to be spoken withal, as this bearer can farther inform your Lordship; but how they will use us, as yet we know not. Nevertheless, for our farther assurance, wherethrough we may be the abler to perform this your Lordship’s work, we are so much the bolder of your good Lordship; for other refuge have we none, under God and our King, whom, with noble Prince Edward, and all of you their most honourable Council, God Almighty preserve, both now and ever, Amen.—Written at Paris, the 23d day of June, by your Lord-



ship's assured and daily orators—MYLES COVERDALE—RICHARD GRAFTON, Grocer."

They must have already been a month or more in Paris; but notwithstanding those fears expressed, they were *not* impeded, nor will they be for nearly six months to come. Meanwhile, Grey went into England, but soon returned. After him a servant of Crumwell's, named Sebastian, (elsewhere styled his *cook*;) who had been sent over, most probably with money and letters, upon his return brought farther sheets, in proof of their progress; and their next epistle is one chiefly of explanation.

"After most humble and due salutation to your good Lordship. Pleaseth the same to understand that your work *going forward*, we thought it our most bounden duty to send unto your Lordship certain leaves thereof, specially seeing we had so good occasion, by the returning of your beloved servant Sebastian; and *as* they are done, so will we send your Lordship the residue, from *time to time*.


"As touching the manner and order that we keep in the same work, pleaseth it your good Lordship to be advertised, that the mark  in the text, that upon the same, *in the latter end of the book*, there is some notable annotation; which we have written without any private opinion, only after the best interpreters of the Hebrews, for the more clearness of the text. This mark  $\frac{1}{2}$  betokeneth that upon the same text there is diversity of reading, among the Hebrews, Chaldees, and Greeks and Latinists, as in a table at the *end of the book* shall be declared. This mark  $\sim x$  sheweth that the sentence, written in small letters, is not in the Hebrew or Chaldee, but in the Latin and seldom in the Greek, and that we nevertheless, would not have it extinct, but highly accept it, for the more explanation of the text. This token † in the Old Testament giveth to understand that the same text that followeth it, is also alleged of Christ, or of some Apostle in the New Testament. This, among other necessary labours, is the way that we take in this work; trusting verily that as Almighty God moved your Lordship to set us unto it, so shall it be to his glory, and right welcome to all them that love to serve him, and their Prince, in true faithful obedience,—at Paris the 9th day of August 1538. By your faithful orators—MILES COV<sup>r</sup>DALE. RICHARD GRAFTON. WILLM GREY.—Superscribed to the Lord Privy Seal, Crumwell."

It is curious enough, that Francis Regnault, the Paris printer, in whose house both Coverdale and Grafton were now lodging, had for many years printed English primers and missals for the use of the English Churches. But the times were changing: he was overstocked; having had no such sale as in former years, and more especially as the London booksellers had now interdicted him. To get rid of those on hand, he implored the kind offices of his guests and present employers; and on the 12th of September they address Crumwell, concluding in the following terms—

"He is also contented, and hath promised before my Lord *elect* of Hereford, that if there be found any notable fault in his books,

he will put the same out, and print the leaf again. Thus are we bold to write to your Lordship, in his cause, as doth also my Lord elect of Hereford, beseeching your Lordship to pardon our boldness, and to be good lord to this honest man, whose servant shall give attendance upon your Lordship's most favourable answer. If your Lordship show him this benefit, we shall not fare the worse, in the readiness of this your Lordship's work of the *Bible*, which goeth *well forward* and within few months, will *draw to an end* by the grace of Almighty God."

Whether this suit was successful does not appear; but most providentially, three months more were allowed to pass away, before any serious apprehension was felt as to the safety of the Scriptures already printed. By this period, too, the impression was so far advanced, that Coverdale was applying earnestly to Crumwell respecting the printing of the annotations. Now these, it will be remembered, were to be put at the *end* of the book; so that the Bible itself must have been very nearly *finished*. Thus, the hand of the enemy had been restrained from touching the work, for more than six months; but what was better still, though not observed by any historian before, anticipating what soon happened, Coverdale, and through *Bonner* also, conveyed "this much of the Bible" beyond the reach of danger. The letter to Crumwell, with this intelligence, is "written somewhat hastily at Paris the 13th day of December."

"Right honourable and my singular good Lord, after all due salutations, I humbly beseech your Lordship, that by my Lord elect of Hereford, I may know your pleasure concerning the annotations of this Bible, whether I shall proceed therein or no. Pity it were that the dark places of the text, upon which I have always set a hand , should so pass undeclared. As for any private opinion or contentious words, as I will utterly avoid all such, so will I offer the annotations first to my said Lord of Hereford! to the intent that he shall so examine the same, afore they be put in print, if it be your Lordship's good pleasure that I shall so do.

"As concerning the New Testaments in English and Latin, whereof your good Lordship received lately a book by your servant, Sebastian the cook, I beseech your Lordship to consider the greenness thereof, which for lack of time, cannot as yet be so apt to be bound as it should be.

"And whereas my said Lord of Hereford is so good unto us *as to convey this much of the Bible to your good Lordship*, I humbly beseech the same, to be the defender and keeper thereof: to the intent, that if these men proceed in their cruelty against us, and confiscate the *rest*, yet this at the least may be *safe* by the means of your Lordship, whom God, the Almighty, evermore preserve to his good pleasure."

The Bible itself, however, was to be *its own* interpreter; and of *annotations* there were to be *none*; a circumstance far too remarkable to pass unnoticed, for they were never added. But there

stand the pointing hands, both in the text and in the margin, by which the edition may be easily distinguished.

It was only four days after this letter, that the press was arrested in its progress. An order from the Inquisition, dated the 17th of December 1538, and subscribed "Le Tellier," was the instrument; citing "Regnault, and all other that it might concern," to appear and answer—inhibiting at once the printing of the Bible, and concealment of the sheets already finished. As this body acted under *royal* authority, as well as that of the Pontiff, some change must have taken place in the mind of Francis, before such a proceeding could have been winked at; and for this change it is not difficult to account. Bonner's appointment was far from an acceptable one to the French King. Coming as he did, it was impossible to regard him in any other light than that of a spy, and as a spy he had been acting most vigilantly. In October he was at St. Quentin, near Cambray, watching and reporting a suspicious interview of Francis with the reigning Princess of the Netherlands, the sister of Charles; and at Paris, so recently as the last day of November, he writes to Crumwell—"I shall, by God's grace, give vigilant eye to their doings here, and advertise you. Hitherto I have been strangely and very unkindly used in my lodging, having no kind of friendship shewed me in manner that was worthy—how it will be hereafter I cannot tell." Among other points which Bonner had in charge, there was an annual pension by Francis to Henry, in terms of a treaty between them, which was now in arrear for four years; and the zealous Envoy had begun to press payment in a style which finally occasioned his recall, next year.

But happily, after all, the Inquisitor seems to have been more than a day too late. The entire impression of the Bible, amounting to 2500 copies, could not have fallen into his hands. We have read Coverdale's information of the 13th of December, and as the present citation was the *second*, and is dated the 17th, there can be no doubt that, impelled by the *first*, he was then conveying away "so much of the Bible," as had been ready for removal. Even with regard to the sheets seized, there was considerable recovery; for having been condemned to be burnt in Maubert Place, "four great dry-fats of them" were regained by purchase. This was owing to the cupidity of the Lieutenant Criminal of the Inquisition, who, instead of obeying orders, had sold them to a haberdasher.

Old John Foxe, therefore, though others have followed him, was mistaken in supposing that these books were lost, and so was Lewis. The evidence now presented looks quite the other way, and the copies even still remaining in existence, confirms it. "I am inclined to think," says Todd, "that the proprietors lost *few* copies of the impression." And who were these proprietors? For the affair was by no means to end here. Henry VIII. himself, by Crumwell's request, and Crumwell much more deeply, were parties concerned. Whether, therefore, the alarm soon subsided

or not, or any means were taken to appease the Inquisitors, it must have been dangerous and impolitic at the moment to thwart even the Vicegerent, still in possession of great power, to say nothing of his imperious master. Crumwell had been assisting the undertaking by pecuniary supplies; the King himself had written to Francis, and *he* had fully committed himself before leaving Paris for Nice. Since then the Inquisitors had chosen to interfere in his absence—the King of France, nay, and the Inquisition to boot, must now be overruled to *help*, instead of hindering the work. Persons commissioned by Crumwell, soon returned to Paris, and they brought away with them the printing *presses*, the *types*, and even the *workmen*. In short, scarcely six weeks could have been lost, and scarcely a sheet could have been missing, as in two months more, the Bible entire was completed in *London*. On the last leaf they printed, “The end of the New Testament, and of the whole Byble, fynished in Apryll anno 1539. A Dño factū est istud”—emphatically acknowledging Him, whose cause it was; they did well to add, *A Domino factum est istud*.

It will certainly be very observable, if this interruption actually promoted the design, and to a *far greater extent* than if there had been none whatever. Had there been none, Coverdale and Grafton had finished their task in Paris, leaving the types and workmen on the spot. Meanwhile a hint had thus been given that they had better let all *annotations* alone, for they were *never* printed; leaving the Sacred text to speak for itself. But above all, it will appear that the Parisian *types* had come in far larger quantity, and even the French *workmen* in greater number, than has ever been before observed. In the editions of the Bible from this time to the close of 1511, we wait to discover the proof of this. At this crisis, certainly no gift, or *God-send*, to old England, could have been of more value than these types and printers. Very different employment must have awaited both, had they remained in Paris. Tunstal had been jocularly advised to buy the press and types out of Tyndale’s way, to *prevent* the New Testament from coming into England! Now, the authorities are importing both men and types to *print* the version.

Grafton, as we have seen, had laid down at the press two copies of this Bible in *vellum*, one for the King, and another for Crumwell. The sheets of both had been saved, as both are understood to be in preservation. The copy once belonging to Crumwell is in St. John’s College, Cambridge, and has been described long ago.

“We have such a Bible printed on *vellum*, and embellished with cuts, illuminated, the leaves gilt, and the cover embossed with brass, ‘fynished in Apryll anno 1539.’ The frontispiece is the same with that of 1510, only Crumwell’s arms are left *there a blank*; left out I presume upon his fall, which in our copy has his bearing like the rest, in colors. It might probably be the same book that was presented to Crumwell, there being only one other that we can hear of, that is the King’s. But how it came to us

does not appear, unless from the late Earl of Southampton, who gave us most of those manuscripts we now enjoy."

The only mistake here is that of supposing the *Royal* vellum copy to be of this edition. It is 1540, but the second vellum copy of 1539 is still understood to be in existence, though not in Peter College, as Lowndes has supposed, yet in the possession of a private individual. Of the copies printed on paper, there are not fewer than twelve to be found in different collections.

Such is the edition, which, on the authority of Coverdale's and Grafton's own words, ought to have been all along associated with the name of CRUMWELL, and *never* with that of *Cranmer*, as it has too frequently been. It was Crumwell's undertaking from beginning to end, and without *his importation of types and men*, Cranmer afterwards had never been able to have proceeded as he did. Throughout 1538, Cranmer was otherwise engrossed with the German commissioners, besides other business; in the whole of his correspondence with Crumwell, throughout 1538, there is not one allusion to the Bible; and although Cranmer's future prologue or preface has been bound up with some copies of this Bible, it does *not* belong to the book. The first Bible in which Cranmer took an interest personally, was the next which will come before us; but still, the materials and men now imported, and the *impetus* now given by Crumwell, will be found to prevail throughout the Bibles of 1540, and extend to those of 1541, after his death. To the Vicegerent must be conceded his own place in history, whatever afterwards may become of his general character. But for Crumwell's exertions at this period, it is next to certain that no *such* Bibles could have appeared in 1540 and 1541.

We have now returned to England, and ever after this decisive triumph, shall have much less occasion to look abroad. We have had one Bible, wholly imported in 1537, and a second, redeemed from destruction, finished in London; and notwithstanding the political frenzy, as well as all the cruelties perpetrating at home, the cause of truth throughout the year had been steadily advancing. Grafton, on proceeding to Paris, had left his first impression of 1537 to be disposed of, without any risk of loss or delay; and Crumwell in September put forth his first injunctions, in immediate reference to that Bible. This he did, as "Vicegerent unto the King's Highness,"—"for the discharge of the King's Majesty," and most providentially, he had issued his orders *before* the arrival of Gardiner from France. What a mighty advance had been made, since he left for Paris in October 1535! Or, more properly speaking, since he had been *sent out of the way*, as Tunstal had been before, and Bonner will be, after him. Gardiner might depart, rejoicing that Tyndale was at last in prison, and then, as perhaps he anticipated, to be put to death. But now, Gardiner had been removed once more out of the way, even from *Paris*; the Bible had been there printed before Bonner's own eye, and it was no other than Tyndale's long-translated version of the Sacred

Volume, which was held up to public view, by injunctions, to be "observed and kept, upon pain of deprivation."

"*Item*—That ye shall provide, on this side of the feast of N. (Natalis, Nativity of our Lord, 25th December) next coming, one book of the whole Bible, of the *largest* volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church, that ye have cure of, where your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same and read it; the charges of which book shall be rateably borne between you, the parson and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

"*Item*—That ye shall discourage *no man*, privily or apertly, from the reading or the hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort, *every person* to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every Christian person is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if they look to be saved; admonishing them, nevertheless, to avoid all contention and altercation therein, but to use an honest sobriety in their inquisition of the true sense of the same, and to refer the explication of the obscure places to men of higher judgment in Scripture."

These pointed injunctions to the country at large, bore solely upon the Bible of *the largest volume*, the very first time this phrase was employed, and as yet there was but *one* such edition, so that there could be no mistake. They may have been rendered more imperative from the rumor of which Grafton had forewarned Crumwell, viz., that they would reprint Matthew's Bible of 1537 in the Low Countries, so early as 1538. But this was only a rumor; they never did; as the Bible marked 1538 in our lists, from Lewis down to Cotton and Lowndes; is a mistake.

At home however now, Tyndale was not forgotten. There were two editions of his New Testament in quarto; one printed in Southwark by Peter Treveres; the other, which seems to have been finished by the beginning of summer, was printed by Robert Redman, next door to St. Dunstan's, where Tyndale used to preach, "set forth under the King's most gracious license—*cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*." It is in parallel columns of Latin and English; the former, be it observed, *not* the Vulgate, but the Latin of *Erasmus*, and the latter that of Tyndale or of the English Bible, now enforced. These books appear to be a set off in contrast to the Testaments of Coverdale, about to be mentioned, and they explain the injunctions of Cranmer, preceding those of Crumwell, already mentioned.

All compliant as Coverdale certainly had been under the unexpected change which had taken place at home, it is curious enough that this year an attempt was made at Antwerp to follow up his former exertions, by reprinting his translation of the New Testament, but with Tyndale's prologues. It is neatly executed, in small black letter by Matthew Cromer, with numerous and well-executed wood-cuts, marginal references, and glosses. Cromer even repeated this in a larger type, with different cuts, in

1539, leaving out the prologue to the Romans; but it abounds also with typographical errors. In 1537, the printer might not be aware of the change which had taken place in England, but we are quite unable to account for his mistaken zeal in 1539. Yet whatever was the occasion of this foreign attempt, at home Coverdale was still more unfortunate than he had been, even with his Bible. In the early part of this year, his friend Nycolson had proposed to print *his* translation and the *vulgate* in parallel columns. And previously to Coverdale setting off for Paris, he had drawn out another of his characteristic dedications to Henry VIII., trusting to Nycolson's care for the correcting of the press. When the book came out it was so incorrectly executed, that a copy having come to Coverdale's hand in July, at Paris, he saw that he stood even in a more awkward position than before. Grafton, therefore, on the first of December, wrote on his behalf, and in the following terms—

“Pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that it chanced, since our coming into these parts, that James Nycolson, dwelling in Southwark, put in print the New Testament both in Latin and English. Which book was delivered unto us by a stranger; and when Master Coverdale had advised and considered the same, he found his name added thereto as the translator, with the which he *never had to do*. Neither saw he it, before it was full printed and ended; and also found the book so foolishly done, yea, and so corrupt, that it did not only grieve him, that the printer had so defamed him and his learning, by adding his name to so fond a thing, but also that the common people was deprived of the true and sincere sense of God's true Word, and also that such an occasion was ministered to the enemies of God's Word, that rather seek occasions to rail and slander, than to be edified.

“And therefore, at his most honest and lawful request, (although I had enough to do beside,) I have printed the same again, translated and corrected by Master Coverdale himself. Of the which books, now being finished, I have here sent your Lordship the first, (and so have I sent my Lord of Canterbury another, and almost to every Christian Bishop that is in the realn; my Lord of Hereford, also, hath sent to Mr. Richard Crumwell one of the same,) the which I most humbly desire your Lordship to accept, having respect rather to my heart than to the gift, for it is not so well done as my heart would wish it to be. I have also added, as your Lordship may perceive, these words, “*Cum gratia et privilegio Regis.*”

This letter, to say the least, was certainly a very awkward one; since, wherever the blame lay, it was saying a great deal *too much*. It by no means corresponds with Coverdale's own language, in the dedication of his Paris Testament, not now to Henry, but to *Crumwell* himself, and actually forwarded *with* this letter!

“*Truth* it is,” says Coverdale, “that this last Lent, I did, with all humbleness, direct an epistle unto the *King's* most noble Grace, *trusting* that the book whereunto it was prefixed, should

afterwards have been as well correct as other books be. And because I could not be present myself, by the reason of sundry notable *impediments*, therefore inasmuch as the New Testament, which I had set forth in English before, doth so agree with the Latin, I was heartily well content that the Latin and it should be together: Provided alway that the corrector should follow the true copy of the Latin in any wise, and to keep the true and right English of the same. And so doing, I was content to *set my name* to it: and even so I *did*; trusting that though I were absent and out of the land, yet all should be well. And, as God is my record, I knew none other, till this last July, that it was my chance here in these parts, at a stranger's hand, to come by a copy of the said print; which when I had perused, I found that as it was disagreeable to my former translation in English, so was not the true copy of the Latin observed, neither the English so correspondent to the same as it ought to be; but in many places both base, insensible, and clean contrary, not only to the phrase of our language, but also from the understanding of the text in Latin."

But again, and as to the *Latin* text which had been used, and that even in the Testament which had been printed at Paris, *under his own eye*, in his preface to the reader, Coverdale expresses himself thus:—

"As touching this text in Latin, and the style thereof, which is read in the Church, and is commonly called St. Jerome's translation, though there be in it many and sundry sentences, whereof some be *more* than the Greek, some *less* than the Greek, some in manner *repugnant* to the Greek, some contrary to the rules of the Latin tongue, and to the right order thereof, as thou mayest easily perceive, if thou compare the diversity of the interpreters together, *yet forasmuch as I am but a private man, and owe obedience unto the higher powers*, I refer the *amendment and reformation hereof* unto the *same*, and to such as excel in *authority* and knowledge."

And thus once more are we constrained to observe the important distinction which must ever be drawn between Tyndale and Coverdale, whether as men, or as translators. They travelled in two paths, altogether distinct. The latter chose to express himself, in his dedications to Henry and Crumwell, as having a mind entirely at *their* disposal; while no sentiments could be more definite, and held with a firmer grasp, than those of the first noble and independent translator. As for the Greek original, he had kept a vigilant eye on the successive editions of Erasmus, which Coverdale had not; and with regard to the Hebrew, after quoting his expressions respecting the Hebraisms to be found in Matthew, it has been well said—"That a person who could thus write of St. Matthew's Hebraisms, should be compelled by ignorance to translate from the Septuagint, or the Latin Vulgate, is perfectly incredible; and that he would use the latter from *choice*, is inconceivable. We ought to remember that this translator's troubles chiefly arose from his determination to resist the imposition of an



authorized version, and that his whole life was a series of hostilities against the defenders of the Latin Vulgate."

As for the *blind* submission of his translation, therefore, to any man living, but, above all, to those before whom Coverdale bowed so profoundly, against this he had boldly published his dissent, above seven years ago, or five before his death, and it had circulated throughout his native land.

"Under what manner," said he, "should I now submit this book to be corrected and amended of them, which can suffer nothing to be well? Or what protestation should I make in such a matter to our Prelates, which so mightily fight against God, and resist his Holy Spirit, enforcing, with all craft and subtlety, to quench the light of the everlasting Testament, promises, and appointment between God and us."

Yet is this the very translation which has now prevailed; so manifest was the interposition of Providence, in every point of view.

But to proceed. Coverdale, good easy man, even tried to screen his former friend, the printer, if not the corrector;—"As for my part, though it hath been damage to my poor name, I heartily remit it." This distinct reprobation of Nycolson's Testament, did not however prevent Nycolson from putting forth another impression, to which he affixed the name of Johan Hollybushe. After this it may naturally be supposed Coverdale's countenance of the man must have come to an end. He is said to have called in the copies with his name, and hence they are so very rare.

The tide having so providentially and happily turned last year, this was a state of things for which some remedy must be sought. And, therefore, *before* Crumwell knew of the honor intended for him, by the dedication of the *Paris* production; aiming after a *fixed* standard, and *that* the translation sanctioned last year, an Inhibition had been issued. It is curious that it should have reached Paris, the day before that on which Grafton wrote his letter, and it was felt as if applying to what *they* had done, though it could only have reference to Nycolson's books, and to prevent more mischief.

"The day before this present," says Grafton, "came there a post named Nycolas, which brought your Lordship's letters to my Lord of Hereford, with the which was bound a certain inhibition for printing of books, and for adding of these words, 'cum privilegio.' Then, as soon as my Lord of Hereford had received it, he sent immediately for Mr. Coverdale and me, reading the same thing to us; in the which is expressed that we should add these words, '*ad imprimendum solum*,'—which words we never heard of before. Neither do we take it that these words should be added in the Scripture, if it be truly translated; for then should it be a great occasion to the enemies to say, that it is not the King's act or mind to set it forth, but only to license the printers to sell such as is put forth. Wherefore we beseech your Lordship to take no

displeasure for that we have done, for rather than any such thing should happen, we would do it again, but I trust the thing itself is so well done, that it shall not only please your Lordship, but also the King's Highness, and all the godly in the realm.

"And whereas your Lordship has added in the said Inhibition, that your Lordship, and all the King's most Honorable Council, willeth no book henceforth to be put in print, but that first it be allowed, at the least, by one Bishop, we most humbly beseech your Lordship to appoint certain thereto, that they may be *as ready to read them*, as other good men be *to put them forth*. For it is now seven years since the Bishops promised to translate and set forth the Bible, and as yet they have no leisure."

In conclusion of this year, as a striking illustration of the times, and as one proof that we have not been magnifying the importance of the labors of our first translator of the Sacred Volume, the miserably destitute state of England, with regard to *oral* instruction by preaching, so far as men nominally called to it were concerned, now deserves to be specially observed.

The "ministry of the Word of God," so clearly enjoined in Scripture, was a subject not comprehended by men in official power; and though it had, the men who were in charge of what were termed benefices, or cures, glaringly did not understand it; nay, they were the determined adherents of a system, diametrically at variance with that imperative commission which the Saviour at his ascension left to be obeyed. Instead of taking up Christianity, therefore, as a system of belief, to be drawn fresh from the Oracles of God alone, and received into the heart of man—instead of recognizing the absolute necessity of heartfelt repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, in the first instance, and in all cases, but above all, in men denominated Ministers of Christ: to enforce the reading of what was not *beloved*, and the preaching (if they could preach) what was not *believed*, the Vicegerent of Henry had conceived to be the only expedient. It was not the public sanction of the Scriptures last year, that would ever have induced these official underlings throughout the Counties of England, even to have looked into the Sacred Volume. To pray with the spirit and with the understanding also, was beyond their power, and to preach that Gospel which they did not themselves believe or comprehend, might have seemed a hopeless task to enjoin. Such, however, was the actual condition of the country, with regard to the governors and the governed, generally speaking; and had there not been now, as we have traced all along, a sacred cause independent altogether of both parties, nay, in spite of them, there would have been no reason whatever, in the year 1538, for any exultation over the progress of events.

Meanwhile, the injunctions of Crumwell, already quoted, as to the Bible itself, (p. 33,) had been thought necessary, on account of the indifference of these official men to the sanction of the Sacred Volume, and therefore the entire injunctions were thus enforced at the close—

"All which and singular injunctions, I minister to you and your successors, by the King's Highness authority to me committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the same authority to observe and keep, *upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as to the King's Highness, or his Vicegerent for the time being, shall seem convenient.*"

When these injunctions, however, did come abroad, still it is impossible to condescend upon any number, however small, who were qualified to obey. Few they must have been, and far between. But supposing, for one moment, that the orders given had been literally fulfilled, and that all who were enjoined to preach, had actually done so; how *far* did the injunction itself reach?

"*Item—That ye shall make, or cause to be made, in the said church, and every other cure ye have, one sermon, every quarter of the year, at least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith, especially prescribed and commanded in Scripture; and not to repose their trust and affiance in any other works devised by men's fantasies besides Scripture; as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles or tapers to images and relics, saying over a number of beads,*" &c.

Happily, however, there had long been certain other men in the country, and *readers* not a few, besides these slumberers whom Crumwell was now striving to rouse; nay, and other *listeners* too, who, far from looking to official men, who could not teach, and would not learn, had tarried not for Henry the Eighth, nor waited for his Vicegerent. No sooner do we turn to *them*, though long despised, than a very different prospect rises to view; the vivid contrast to *four* sermons in the course of a year! The free permission of the Scriptures now rendered this scene more visible and striking. It is from a contemporary document that Strype has drawn it.

"*It was wonderful to see with what joy this book of God was received not only among the learned sort, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's Word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was! Everybody that could, bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves. Divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose; and even little boys flocked, among the rest, to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read.*"

The modern reader may now once more very naturally exclaim—"Oh, could these men in power then have only been persuaded to have let such people alone! Could they have only understood the doctrine of non-interference!" Yes, and instead of encumbering a willing people with help, or tormenting them by interposition, have stood aloof in silence, and permitted these groups or gatherings to have heard the unambiguous voice of their God, and to have gazed upon the majesty and the meaning of Divine Truth!

The Sacred Scriptures, however, were now to be printed in England ; nor was there to be another *foreign* edition of the volume entire for more than twenty years, or till the year 1560.

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## SECTION II.

EVENTFUL YEAR—HENRY STILL A WIDOWER—PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION—ROYAL MESSAGE—MITRED ABBOTS—DISSOLUTION OF MONASTERIES—NEW ARTICLES—BILLS OF ATTAINDER—THE SIX ARTICLES APPLIED—FRUSTRATED—CRANMER SAFE—LATIMER IMPRISONED—THE TIDE TURNING—EXECUTION OF ABBOTS—CRUMWELL'S POLICY—MONASTIC SPOILS—THE SCRIPTURES PRINTING IN VARIOUS EDITIONS—CRUMWELL'S REMARKABLE ENERGY IN THIS DEPARTMENT—THE KING SWAYED ONCE MORE—THE CAUSE IN PROGRESS—CRANMER BUSY IN PROSPECT OF HIS FIRST EDITION, NEXT SPRING—IT IS DISTINCTLY SANCTIONED BY HENRY—SINGULAR PROCLAMATION—HENRY NOW COMMANDING ALL HIS SUBJECTS TO USE THE SCRIPTURES IN ENGLISH.

As if it had been to render the triumph of last year still more conspicuous, the present stands distinguished in Henry's reign, for the number of editions of the Sacred Volume entire. Not fewer than four editions of the Bible issued from the press, and a fifth was almost ready ; besides three editions of the New Testament separately. The compositors and printers in London had never before been so engaged, nor so hard at work in *any* department, since the invention of printing had been introduced into England.

After not less than three years of prorogation, Henry had resolved to hold a meeting of Parliament and Convocation. The subserviency of both to his will was notorious, and in this it appears that Crumwell cordially sympathized with him. "Amongst other for your Grace's Parliament," says he on the 17th of March, "*I have appointed your Majesty's servant, Mr. Morisson, to be one of them. No doubt he shall be ready to answer, and take up such as would crack, or face with literature of learning, or by *un-directed* ways, if any such shall be, as I think there will be few or none ; forasmuch as I, and other your dedicate counsellors, be about to bring all things so to pass, that your Majesty had never more tractable Parliament !*" As for the Convocation, since it had been summoned on the 12th of March, it is evident that whatever *articles* shall be issued, by that time they had been contemplated ; and Crumwell, at least, is either preparing to swallow them, or, what is very improbable, must have been profoundly ignorant of what was before him. At all events, for these three years past, as there had been no such assemblies under our despotic monarch, they were always ominous of some strong measures.

On the 30th of March, Tunstal, usually calm and still, preached his flaming sermon before the King ; Gardiner was preparing for

Parliament and the Convocation ; Norfolk was returning from the north ; and to announce his approach, by way of firing the first gun, only about one fortnight after his strange letter of the 29th of March, already quoted, he had quarrelled with Crumwell on a subject of inferior moment. But by this time Crumwell had been taken unwell, and had become so seriously. It was an attack of the ague. On the 23d of April, or the Wednesday before Parliament was to sit, he had made himself ready to wait on the King, when a fit came on, "and held him in great heat about ten hours." "The pain of the disease," said he, "grieveth me nothing so much as that doth, that I cannot be as I should there present, and employ my power to your Grace's affairs and service, as my heart desireth to do."

Meanwhile and at the moment when Crumwell was writing, Mount and Paynell arrived from Germany accompanied by Burghart, who had been dismissed in September last. The Emperor, it was said, had now deprecated, above all things, the German Confederates receiving any others into their league ; when Crumwell did not fail to suggest, that "if his Majesty would only join them, the other party, in his judgment, would be half in despair." But what was Henry to do ? He was now falling in with the counsels of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal ; Parliament must sit in five days hence, and Crumwell, in poor health, is but ill able to attend !

Accordingly, on Monday, the 28th of April, Parliament sat down, and the Convocation opened on the 2d of May. The Duke of Norfolk, as Prime-Minister, had been commissioned to conduct the business in the House of Peers ; and Crumwell's precedence as Vicar-General was recognized, but he could no longer brandish his rod of authority over the Bishops, as he had done at their last sitting, three years ago ; and much less send a deputy to claim his seat, above them all. Not only were the majority his opponents, but the Head of their Church had changed his mind. For three years had Crumwell and Cranmer enjoyed ample sway ; but Gardiner and Tunstal's day had now come. They must aim at retaliation for all the past, and no time was lost before the strength of parties was ascertained.

On Monday the 5th of May, a royal message to the House, was announced by Audley as Lord Chancellor. His Majesty, being greatly desirous of putting an end to all controversies in *religion*, ordered a committee to examine the diversities of opinion—to draw up articles for an agreement, and report ! Nine individuals were appointed, viz. Crumwell as Vicar-General, and Archbishop Cranmer, with Latimer of Worcester, and Goodrich of Ely, on the one side ; and Archbishop Lee, with Tunstal of Durham, Aldrich of Carlisle, Clark of Bath, and Salcot of Bangor on the other. While, therefore, these men are left to warm and busy discussion at St. Paul's, if we turn to Westminster, there we find the King engaged in reviewing the grand muster of the citizens of London.

At this period the order and nature of events strongly suggest

the idea of a laid plan, on the part of Henry, and one class of his advisers, in which every movement was preparatory to measures already determined. They were measures relating to money and property of course; for as to faith and opinions, among men of such licentious habits it would be absurd to suppose one grain of sincerity, or any conscience. To raise a false alarm, was the object in view. *Alarm* as an expedient, was altogether unnecessary in Crumwell's opinion, but he had taken special care to obey all orders. Thus, on the 17th of last month, he had assured his Majesty of there having been no lack of vigilant preparation for defence against all foreign aggression.

The fact was, that a muster, equally extensive with that in Scotland, or of all men from 16 to 60, with the number of their harnesses and weapons, had been ordered; and to satisfy the King, London is now displaying what she had done.

Five days after all this bustle in London, the subject was introduced to the House of Lords. To this Parliament all the mitred Abbots had been summoned of course, and for the last time. It was to receive final judgment; for however courteously they had been spoken of three years ago, when the *lesser* monasteries were dissolved, their day of doom was now at hand. One hundred and fifty abbots, and other superiors of a lower grade, had surrendered their houses and lands to the Crown before this year 1539; a step taken on the same principle with that of the unjust steward in the parable. They acted wisely, as they thought, for themselves, by making the best compromise they could. Still all such transactions required to be sanctioned by Parliament; and so now this most compliant House will not only confirm all that had passed, but secure all that is to come. On the 13th of May, therefore, a Bill was brought into the house by Lord Chancellor Audley, vesting in the Crown all the property, moveable and immoveable, of the monastic establishments, which either had already been, or should hereafter be, surrendered or suppressed.

It deserves notice, that, at this juncture, almost all the disciples of the "old learning" bowed to the King's last after monastic property. By yielding to him in *one* way, they might calculate on his compliance with their counsels in *another*. The mitred abbots in the house made no counter motion. Gardiner was even forward in declaiming against the religious houses, and commended the King for suppressing them. His friend, the Duke of Norfolk, had already purchased the monastery of Septon in Suffolk; and there was now opened up to all the nobility the inviting prospect of easy purchase, advantageous exchange, nay, of free gifts; and as since, if war ensued, it was to bring no additional burden, and even pauperism, as well as taxation, was to be heard of no more!—the delusion served its purpose, and the Bill passed.

To smooth the way for this result and pacify the other party, another Bill was introduced into Parliament on the 23d of May by Lord Crumwell. The House was to rise next day till the 30th of the month, and it is curious enough that this Bill, which was

to enable the King by his letters patent to erect new Bishoprics, was read the same day three times, and immediately sent down to the Commons. The preamble and material parts of this act, drawn by the King himself, are still extant in the British Museum, with a list of the Sees *intended*. But it is equally well known that there was a failure here also. Thirteen are noted in this list, and fifteen or sixteen were talked of. But the result was the erection of only six; Oxford and Bristol, Gloucester and Chester, Peterborough and Westminster, the last of which was soon dissolved.

But however bent his Majesty now was, upon what he chose to style unanimity of opinion, it was soon manifest that the committee of Bishops appointed, could never agree.

It was, as we have stated, on the 5th of May that the Committee of nine had been appointed. On every point, they divided regularly, as five to four, Cranmer and Cromwell being in the minority. Henry's patience was very soon exhausted, and by Friday the 16th, Norfolk was ready with the intended *remedy* for diversity of opinions. The King, and Winchester no doubt, had been preparing it, for the mouth of that Premier; who, on the 30th of March last, had told Cromwell, that he had been "praying to God, that he would give the King of Scotland grace to do, *as* Henry had already done!" The Duke having therefore informed the House that no progress had been made, or could be, by the Committee; proposed *six* questions for their consideration. They referred to—1. The Mass. 2. Communion under one kind, or the bread without the cup. 3. Private masses. 4. The celibacy of the Clergy. 5. Auricular confession, and, 6. Vows of chastity. Neither Audley nor *Cromwell* now took any part in the debate, nor indeed any layman; but Cranmer did, and with all his powers: for it is certainly going much too far, for any historian, upon a single loose anonymous authority, to deny him the credit of as much heroism as he then displayed. For three days the discussion continued, and though Henry himself had the effrontery to come down unconstitutionally, and join in the debate, and afterwards requested Cranmer not to appear and vote, he appears to have resisted to the utmost limits of his personal safety, and never gave his formal consent. True, he did not *act*, as Latimer did afterwards, for that was not in the man; but the only wonder has been that, going as far as he did, the King was not mightily offended. This, however, will be accounted for presently.

Six questions were tabled, and they ended in one act: frequently denominated afterwards "the bloody statute," and at other times, "the whip with six cords." Such was the remedy of Henry VIII. for diversity of opinions; for now, as he allowed his subjects no title to any opinion of their own, they must all believe, or profess to believe in—1. *Transubstantiation*. 2. That communion under both kinds is *not* necessary to salvation. 3. That Priests may *not* marry by the law of God. 4. That vows of chastity are *binding*. 5. That private masses ought to be *retained*; and, 6. That the use of auricular confession is *expedient and necessary*:

while the penalties annexed illustrated the growing brutality of the Sovereign. Denial of the first profane absurdity subjected the individual to death by the flames, for an authoritative stop was now put to *abjuration*. That could now save no man's life; and as for the other five points, for the denial of any one of them, the party was to die as a felon, or be imprisoned during his Majesty's pleasure. After the Parliament resumed on the 30th of May, this bill was introduced, though it was not read for the first time till the 7th of June, the second time on Monday the 9th, and passed next day. On the following Saturday it passed the Lower House, and receiving the royal assent on the 28th, its pains and penalties were to be inflicted from and after the 12th of July.

This, however, is not the full amount of the baseness of this Parliament. At its opening, instructions had been given to pass bills of attainder against Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole, now 70 years of age; Gertrude, widow of the Marquis of Exeter; and a young *boy*, son of Lord Montacute; Sir Adrian Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Dingley. Exeter and Montacute, it may be remembered, had already suffered; but great difficulty was felt in proceeding with these two ladies, and especially the old countess. After others had tried, Crumwell, who evidently thought himself skilful at cross-examination, "assayed the uttermost of his power." But he was still baffled by the Countess, who is said to have been "more like a strong and constant man, than a woman;" after which, so eager was the sinking courtier to please his Master, that he actually called up the judges and inquired—"Whether Parliament might condemn persons accused of treason, *without any previous trial or confession?*" These servile and unprincipled men replied, "that it was a *nice* question, and one that no inferior tribunal *could* entertain, but there was *no doubt* that the court of Parliament was supreme; and that any attainder by Parliament, (and of course by the present,) would be *good in law!*" Such a bill, therefore, they immediately passed, condemning to death all the parties, without any trial whatever! What became of the child no one knows. Fortescue and Dingley were executed on the 10th of July; the Marchioness was pardoned about six months hence, but the aged Countess was retained in prison nearly two years, till another frenzy having seized the monarch, she was dragged from her dungeon; but pleading innocence, and boldly resisting her very executioner to the last, till her gray hairs were covered with blood, the head was severed from the body on the 27th of May, 1541.

Crumwell, in ambitious pursuit of his own standing, had now, with a witness, entered into the field of temptation, and it becomes difficult to hold the pen; but impartiality forbids that he should, at such a moment, be the only man in view. Among those significant "*Remembrances*," so strangely left behind for the verdict of posterity, there is one *item* of awful import, suggesting the idea that Henry, far from unconnected with this tragedy, had been the director behind the scenes. *Item*, says Crumwell, in his own hand-



writing, "to remember specially *the Lady of Sarum*"—Salisbury; but then a little afterwards, "Item—*what THE KING WILL HAVE DONE with the Lady of Sarum.*" This, it may be presumed, must have been written before the judges were called; and such a Minister! such a Monarch!

In conclusion of these miserable proceedings, the Lower as well as the Upper House seems to have been willing to comply with *any* thing which might occur to the caprice or passion of the reigning King. His Majesty had taken offence at the manner in which some of his proceedings, and particularly his proclamations had been treated, since the last Parliament in 1536. An act was, therefore, now passed, which sets forth in the preamble, "the contempt and disobedience of the King's proclamations by some, who did not consider *what* a King by *his royal power might do*; which if it continued would lead to the disobedience of the laws of God! and the dishonour of the King's Majesty, who may full ill bear it. Considering also that many occasions might require speedy remedies, and that delaying these might occasion great prejudices to the realm—therefore it is enacted, that the King for the time being, with advice of his Council, might set forth proclamations with pains and penalties in them, which were to be obeyed, *as if* they were made by an act of Parliament!" If any now so offended, and in further contempt went out of the kingdom, they were to be adjudged as *traitors*. To this bill, indeed, some opposition was evinced, but it passed as well as all the others.

After doings so notable as these, and affecting so many parties, Parliament rose on the 28th of June, amidst feelings of exultation on one side, and indignation on the other; but, as far as "the six articles" were concerned, the *pet* measure of the Premier and his friends, backed as they were by the bloody statute, they were not slow in proceeding to action. This statute was not to remain a dead letter. Commissioners were instantly appointed to act upon it; that is, to seek out victims; and in the various jurisdictions, a *Bishop* was invariably to be one of the commissioners. To witness the commencement of operations, we require to proceed no farther than the metropolis. The inquisitors, selected with satanic discrimination, ignorant, headlong, and blood-thirsty, were "such as had read *no* part of the Scripture in English, or in any wise favored *such as had*, or loved the preachers of it." The commissioners sat in Mercer's Chapel, close by the old Jewry, Cheapside; and in fourteen days, there was not a preacher or noted individual in London, known or suspected to have spoken in any way derogatory to one of the six articles, who had not been harassed; nay, overstepping their commission, they inquired not only *who* came seldom to the church, but who *read the Bible* in it; so that more than five hundred persons had been indicted, and it became evident that the prisons of the city could not contain all those whom they thought must be brought to trial.

Thus, if the character of Henry, of his Bishops, and his nobility had been evolved in Westminster Hall, last November, at the trial

of Lambert ; so we have now at least five hundred witnesses to the tenets for which Lambert died. But, besides these, it must be remembered that many a man who could do so, had found it convenient at least to leave the city ; though as the facts stand, we have here one of the clearest testimonies to the strength of that cause, to which the reigning authorities had been at heart opposed from the beginning. The Bishop of the diocese, Stokesly, was here setting an example to the country at large, worthy of his character in past years. He was now indeed actually descending to his grave, for he died on the 8th of September ; but the busy scene, and the prospect of the moment, must have proved like a reviving cordial to his drooping spirits. Beside the Bishops, we know that the Premier, Norfolk, who had introduced the questions, was in the highest spirits, because the act had passed. In short, the preparations were finished, and could have left not the shadow of a doubt that England was about to become a field of woe, if not of blood. 'The whole scene is worthy of record and particular notice, were it for no other purpose than to show how remarkably a gracious Providence interposed, and overruling as before, "made the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof were stilled."

Blind zeal has been compared to the haste of a man in the dark, who knows not when or where to stop ; and shrewd as were the leaders of the old learning, they had gone at least one step too far. Both Tunstal and Gardiner had distinctly overshot themselves ; for pride of understanding, and abundance of caprice, had rendered the monarch one of the most ticklish of all leaders. In the course of the discussions in Parliament, it so happened that on *one* single point the King *agreed* with Cranmer. It was in reference to "auricular confession," that notable device, for not only enslaving the human mind, but preventing all sense of direct responsibility to God alone. Cranmer had maintained that it was unnecessary, by any Divine precept, and in this Henry chose to support him. Nettled at only one point out of six being controverted, Tunstal, Gardiner, and Lee, urged that the resolution of the House should declare auricular confession to be "a command of Christ, and part of the sacrament of penance ;" but the monarch would not allow one jot more than the simple declaration, that such confession was expedient, and necessary to be retained. With this they might well have rested satisfied, but no ; Tunstal had the temerity to write to the King afterwards, when he received a thorough set down for his presumption. In reply, Henry expressed no little astonishment at his writing *now*, after having been overthrown in the House by Cranmer and himself, and here simply sending to him a few texts, which "make small or nothing to your intended purpose." His Majesty closed with the following sentence—"I think that I have more cause to think you obstinate, than you me, seeing your authors and allegations make so little to your purpose—And thus fare you well."

The same parties must have been guilty of still greater precipitation in proposing their "Book of Ceremonies to be used in the

Church of England." They had pressed this strange and superstitious farrago to be received and passed as the act of Convocation; but the project completely failed, and the book was afterwards replied to by Cranmer.

But even though neither Tunstal or Gardiner had ruffled his Majesty's temper in the slightest degree, perhaps neither of them foresaw that there was one point still, where their whole procedure might be arrested, and prove a failure. Nor let it pass unobserved that if relief be obtained, it must, in part, at least, be traced to the noble stand made by the immortal *Fryth*. Hence the benefits which may ensue, *long after*, from only one faithful martyr "resisting unto blood, striving against sin." As he was the *first* man certainly known to have died upon English ground, *without abjuration*, (which was not now to be admitted,) so he was the *last* that had fallen under the sovereign power of the Bishops; and it may be remembered that in the very next session of Parliament after his death, that bill was passed, which took all reputed heretics, ever after, out of the hands of these merciless men. That act had passed in Gardiner's *absence*, and was now in force. All the parties *now* apprehended, therefore, must be proceeded against forthwith, by two witnesses, and in open court. A Bishop, indeed, must be one of the Commissioners; but then every man accused is entitled to a trial by jury, and even if found guilty, the King's writ must be obtained, before any sentence can be executed. The case, in short, was so far a civil one, and since these London Commissioners have run after their prey, as if the Act passed had been positively a *retrospective* one; in the midst of their dilemma, application must be made to the Lord Chancellor. Audley, in the House of Lords and before the royal disputant, had been silent, but now that it came to his turn to speak, perhaps viewing any selection as difficult, if not unjust, and the punishment of all to be inhuman if not hazardous, so it was that he advised the reputed criminals should be pardoned. Cranmer and Cromwell and the Duke of Suffolk (Norfolk's opponent) concurred, and not one man was brought up to trial! Though, therefore, these six articles remained as a source of great misery, and were employed afterwards, by stretch of law, as the occasion of much bloodshed, at this momentous crisis "the wise were taken in their own craftiness, and the counsel of the froward was carried headlong." The five hundred indictments fell to the ground, and there was nothing more left for Stokesly, just before going to render his account, than to reflect on his past cruelties. He was to be far exceeded by Bonner, his successor; and yet, if Foxe be correct, "at the point of death, he rejoiced, boasting that in the course of his lifetime he had burned fifty heretics."

One wonder of the day was, that the King was not offended with Cranmer; and as it has been a mystery to others since, some explanation is necessary. Perhaps a key may be found, which will serve for this and all similar occasions, in time to come.

The fancy of the moment might sometimes be favorable to an

opponent, or the oppressed, generally speaking, never did the King spare any man, but for some reason *personal* to himself, involving either his passions or his safety. His clemency to Cranmer was connected with both. Henry made but *one* Archbishop of Canterbury, and in a very strange way; but he could not have made a *second*, without the greatest personal hazard. Had Cranmer been removed, Tunstal and Gardiner stood in the way, and could not have safely been passed over; but though Henry has been listening to their insidious advice, he had no confidence in either. Besides, Bulls could *not now* have been obtained from Rome; and though the King certainly had gone a great way as Head of the English Church, an Archbishop of *his* making, without them, would even *yet* have stood but a poor chance for acceptance with the priests. In the King, therefore, it was nothing more than policy, to uphold his Primate. In his *official* capacity, often had he already served his Majesty's purpose, and his services will yet be needed again and again. His official character was Cranmer's *safeguard*, and this will preserve him through the bloodiest and most reckless scenes of Henry's remaining life. It was his post, not his prowess, or his personal skill, which enabled Cranmer to ride out all the storm. Should any doubtful reader request a further proof, it is close at hand, and a striking one—the King's inhuman treatment of Latimer.

Hugh Latimer in his day had the honor to stand alone. Though not a faultless character, at this period there was none like him in all England, more especially on the bench of Bishops; and he seems to have been literally the only man who ever had the courage to face Henry VIII. Cranmer had found it very convenient to employ him in 1536, to speak out before that Convocation, as he had boldly done; but he could not, or dared not, follow him in 1539. Latimer, it is to be observed, had not by any argumentation opposed the King, as Cranmer had; but after the bloody Act was passed, he resigned his bishopric, on the first of July. Laying aside his robes, he leaped for joy, and said—"I am now rid of a great burden, and never felt my shoulders so light before." Soon after, a bishop, supposed to be Gardiner, sent for him, and expressed his surprise that Latimer should object to the traditions then enjoined by the Council, as matters of belief; when he nobly answered—"I will be guided by God's book; and rather than dissent one jot from it, I would be torn by wild horses." He then retired to the country, intending to lead a quiet life; but soon after, by the falling of a tree, he was bruised so severely, that he was under the necessity of returning to London for surgical assistance. It was not difficult to vamp up a case against Latimer; for certainly he had said many things, which to all that party must have been like gall and wormwood. There is no record of his examination extant, but there is reason to think that it took place in the royal presence. However, whether it did or not, the King well knew, and ultimately sanctioned, nay, directed all that followed: for Latimer was committed to the Tower thus

unceremoniously, and there he lay till the accession of Edward VI. The conscience of Henry had constrained him, on different occasions, to mark, if not revere the fidelity of this man, whom he now unwittingly *promoted* to be a prisoner of Jesus Christ; but he could manage to get on well enough without a Bishop Latimer, though not without his own Archbishop of Canterbury.

It was now the month of August, when a lurid gloom rested on the minds of many. In London, itself, there was a pause; the commissions under the persecuting act had not been issued for the country at large, and they never were; but at present their issue was eagerly anticipated by some, and dreaded by others, as we shall see presently. Burghart's return from Germany was not without its effect, and must have galled the other party; but still the needle of the beam, in Henry's hands, oscillated in suspense, and no man could tell which scale would rise.

But the great question is soon to be decided. *Anne of Cleves* is certainly to be Queen of England. On Tuesday the 16th of September, Duke Frederick, the Count Palatine or Palsgrave of the Rhine, had arrived at Windsor; the Elector of Saxony, and three other ambassadors from the Duke of Cleves followed, and got to London two days after. Crumwell immediately prepares the way for their audience, and wrote to his Majesty on the 20th. After having waited in painful uncertainty as to how far the royal favor would ever return to him, with what delight must he have received such a reply, and on the same day; while the King, all sweetness, goes so far as to discover the most tender anxiety for the *health* of his Lordship!

"His Majesty," says the Earl of Southampton, "willed me to signify to you that he takes your letter in marvellous good part, being wonderful glad of the contents thereof, and specially, that the Duke of Cleves' men have commission apart; most heartily desiring you to *put all other matters out of your head, saving only this*, his great weighty causes; and sharp your wit to attend only unto the same. And I assure your Lordship he said these words—'I would for no good his mind should be so troubled, that it should cast him into any disease'—which words, to hear him speak them so heartily, I assure you did my heart good. Sir, he oftsoons desireth you, that he may hear from you, from time to time."

Although this was literally nothing more than a mere gust of royal favor, a momentary emanation of selfish passion, its effect on the character of Crumwell seems to have been melancholy and most injurious. The struggle to regain his Master's confidence or approbation having thus far succeeded, the *wildest* anxiety to please him, at all hazards, immediately ensued. Any man's life which came in the way, was then of small account and actually involved very little else than a line or two among the base *items* of the Lord Privy Seal. That book of "Remembrances," that standing witness to the writer's character, becomes fearfully illustrative of his progress in blood shedding.

The Marchioness of Salisbury, as well as others, had been dis-

posed of in a very summary style of injustice ; but Crumwell is now ready to go beyond even such proceedings. The monasteries being dissolved, the abbots and priors had, in general, proved so compliant as to excite astonishment ; but "all that a man has, he will give for his life." There were, however, three individuals, who either stood out, or stood in the King's way ; the Abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury ; the two latter being Lords of Parliament. They had been attainted, but to represent them as *tried* afterwards would be a prostitution of the term. No record exists, as in many other cases, and so there have been different opinions as to the ostensible grounds of proceeding against them ; though whether they were charged with aiding the insurgents of the north, or stickling about the King's Supremacy, or both, is of little moment. The *men* were inconvenient, but their *incomes* quite the reverse ; and we may safely presume, that here lay the chief impelling motive to action. The revenue of Colchester monastery is not known, but excepting St. Peter's Westminster, that of Glastonbury was the largest in England ; or, calculating according to the *present* value of money, above £50,000 annually ; while that of Reading Abbey was above £30,000 a-year.

Only a week after Crumwell had received this gracious message from his Majesty, or the 28th of September, Messrs. Pollard, Moyle, and Layton, the visitors, were down at Glastonbury ; and busy selling the cattle for *ready money*, letting out the pastures and domains from Michaelmas forward ; and, speaking of the house in which they were, they say, "it is great, goodly, and so princely, as we have not seen the like." It was not till four days *after* this that they had "come to the knowledge of divers *treasons* committed by the abbot." But it is altogether unnecessary to enter into any farther detail. We have only to glance over the "Remembrances" of Crumwell, and there we find the following autograph lines.

"*Item*.—Certain persons to be sent to the *Tower for the further examination of the Abbot of Glastonbury.*"

"*Item*—The Abbot of Reading *to be sent down, to be TRIED and EXECUTED AT READING, with his complices !*"

"*Item*—The Abbot of Glaston *to be TRYED at Glaston, and ALSO TO BE EXECUTED THERE, with his complices !*"

"Counsellors to give evidence against the Abbot of Reading—Mr. Hynde, the King's Attorney."—"Counsellors to give evidence against the Abbot of Glaston—Richard Pollard, Lewis Forsecw, Thomas Moyle."

"*Item*—To see that the evidence be *well sorted*, and the indictments *well drawn* against the said abbots and their complices !"

These fixed and fearful purposes of his Majesty's Lord Privy Seal, expressed in terms worthy of a Turkish Vizier, or the Grand Inquisitor, were literally fulfilled. The abbots of Whalley, Gerveaux, and Sawley, as well as the priors of Woburn and Burlington, had been executed before ; but John Whiting, the abbot of Glastonbury, with two Monks, and Hugh Faringdon, the abbot

of Reading, with two priests, all now suffered as traitors, and in sight of their own abbeys,—the latter party on Thursday the 14th, the former on Friday the 15th of November; and on the 1st of December, John Beach, the abbot of Colchester. Thus died three of the richest men, just as if to mark the falling of the curtain. The larger, as well as the smaller monasteries, were now no more.

This unprincipled practice on the part of Crumwell, of appointing men to be *tried and executed*, was, however, in perfect consonance with the *taste* of Henry the Eighth, who, in all his ways, had a passion approaching to extreme nicety, for doing everything under the form of law. The most avaricious or cruel deeds, must always appear robed in legal attire, and be recorded scrupulously as acts of perfect justice. Thus, in the whole process of dissolving these houses, the first step was to obtain by some, or by any means, a surrender of the property, then denominated a *voluntary* act; the second was to vest the property, by Act of Parliament, in the Crown; or, in other words, first fill the Court of Augmentation, and then secure the proceeds thus received; from men who, strictly speaking, were not proprietors but only tenants for life. Hence, in the Act of Parliament now passed, there was no occasion for the term *dissolve*, nor was it employed. There was only to come to his Majesty, all that had been, or should be, “suppressed, relinquished, forfeited, or given up.” To obtain the property by “forfeiture,” was, of course, an easy step to him, who could define *treason* to be whatever might exactly serve his intended purpose.

This determined course of proceeding with the monasteries, from first to last, involved the confiscation of property amounting to nearly *three millions* annually of the present day; besides a farther sum, in moveables, or money and plate, equal to more than *two millions and a quarter!* The entire value, however, must have been more than this, as the *Visitors* are understood to have helped themselves, wherever they could do so with impunity; but, at all events, it could not be less, though an exact estimate can never be attained.

With regard to the express history of the English Bible, the year 1539 is now to be added to all the past. But let the movements of time; the tyrannical procedure of the reigning Monarch; the obsequious deeds of both Houses of Parliament, lying prostrate at his feet; the notorious complexion of his Council, in hostile array against the progress of Divine Truth; the tottering influence of Crumwell, once so resolute; with his sad and bloody footsteps as a Privy Counsellor: let all these be surveyed in succession, and then the general aspect of the year, with regard to the printing and circulation of the Sacred Volume, must appear so extraordinary, as to be almost unaccountable.

It must be first observed, that in 1539 both Crumwell and Cranmer stand before us, in the character of thwarted and disappointed men; severely disappointed, for above *six* months of the year.

Three years before, in conjunction with the momentary humor of the King, Gardiner being abroad, they had introduced what were denominated "Articles of Religion" to the notice of the English people; but now they found, to their bitter mortification, that this was assuredly not the road to either "peace or contentation," or "unity of opinion." On the contrary, the mode which *they* had introduced in 1536, furnished the *precedent* which their opponents now followed; or the ground on which they stood, and tried to overawe the human mind. In the first Convocation, with Crumwell as Vicar-General, so far as the King and Cranmer had professedly meddled with Christianity at all, they had made it *technical and disputative*. It was not the voice of God, as contained in his Word, with which they began, for neither Cranmer or Crumwell could get those Bishops to assent to *any* translation of the Scriptures. Thus before the authority of Divine Truth in the language of the people was recognized, by these first articles a certain vocabulary had been introduced; and in the prospect of the present Convocation, Gardiner and his party were by far too shrewd not to take advantage of the precedent set. They fought and baffled the Archbishop with his own weapons, while my Lord Privy Seal, Crumwell, like a perfect politician, had bowed to the storm. So now when the tug of battle came, and Crumwell found that, as an expedient in his hands, "articles of religion" must be given to the winds; *then* it was that the Bible, and *the Bible alone*, afforded him the only prospect of turning the tide upon his political opponents. Thus singularly *shut up* to this one object, he was not slow to improve his powers; for though he could no longer shake his rod over the Bench of Bishops, his authority and precedence or rank as Vicar-General had been distinctly recognized; and this he could exercise still, very powerfully, without the doors of the Convocation, though not within them; while the dissolution and consequent dispersion of that body, was analogous to the breaking up of a combination against him.

The operation of the bloody statute being now also stayed, and no commissions issued for the country at large; Henry too having been fully apprised of how odious that statute was to his intended *matrimonial* connections, here was a favorable crisis. To the printing of the Bible, therefore, amidst his multifarious engagements, Crumwell lent all his energy, so that not fewer than four editions of the entire Scriptures, with which his personal influence was connected, now issued from the press.

The Bible, described last year, as commenced in Paris, and snatched from the flames of the Inquisition, was finished in London by the month of April, and ready for circulation under the following title, *before* the meetings of Parliament and Convocation:—

"*The Byble in Englyshe*, that is to saye, the content of all the holy Scripture, bothe of the olde and *Newe Testament*, truly translated after the veryte of the *Hebrue and Greke* textes, by the dylygent studye of diuerse excellent learned men, expert in the



forsayde tonges. ¶ *Printed by Rychard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.*" The Colophon is—"The ende of the new Testamēt and of the whole Byble, Fynished in Apryll, Anno MCCCCXXXIX. A dño factum est istud."

This title, as well as the representation round it, ascribed to the pencil of Hans Holbein, it is now abundantly evident, were alike in the teeth of history; to say nothing of the profanity involved, in which the Almighty is represented as saying of the King—"I have found a man according to my own heart, which shall fulfil all my will!" But this served to answer the purpose of Crumwell at the moment, in his gross flattery of the reigning monarch. Crumwell, as well as the King and Cranmer, at full length, are here distinguished also by their respective shields, or coats of arms; and this same engraving, finely cut in wood, will be employed in subsequent editions, though the arms of Crumwell, after his fall, will then be found *erased*.

This Bible, it is true, exhibits all the marks of a signal triumph, as already described; but let the men in Parliament or the Convocation be busy with what they might, this one edition or reprint will not suffice to meet the zeal of the Vicar-General. In chronological order, the next Bibles that were ready for circulation were two, if not three editions of the entire Bible, by *other* printers, as well as a *new* superintendent of the press.

And here it is not a little remarkable, that immediately before entering upon those editions of the Scriptures, afterwards set forth by Cranmer, we are summoned to look back; and back to the very commencement of this long and tedious warfare. Just as though it had been intended to lend *unity* to the entire procedure since the year 1526, we are to be reminded forcibly, of the deep and noisome dungeon under Cardinal College, Oxford, and of the interesting young men there immured, at the first burst of opposition, after the arrival of Tyndale's Testaments in England. One of those youths, it may be remembered, was named *Richard Taver-ner*. The son of an ancient family, born at North Elmham, in the parish of Brisley, Norfolk; he was one of those canons, chosen by Wolsey, whom he had intended to employ in opposing the "new learning." He had been selected from Benet College, Cambridge, and brought to Oxford. Though deeply implicated in 1526, as already mentioned, he was more gently dealt with by the Cardinal on account of his voice, or skill in music. He was then a *layman*, studying law, and abode by his profession through life; which renders his superintendence of the Scriptures, and his subsequently being licensed by Edward the Sixth, to preach throughout England, the more remarkable. Having taken his degree of A.B. at Oxford in 1527, and that of A.M. at Cambridge in 1530, he removed to the metropolis; and after passing through an Inn of Chancery, then said to be *near* London, (or on the site of the present Somerset House in the Strand,) he entered the Inner Temple. To the Greek language he had paid great attention, it

being "his humor to quote the law in Greek, when he read anything thereof." He had become known to Crumwell, and in 1534, after he was chosen principal Secretary of State, and Chancellor of Cambridge University, Taverner came into attendance upon him. In 1537, Crumwell had recommended him to the King, when he was advanced to be one of the clerks of the signet in ordinary; and the clerk had now, in 1539, turned his learning to the best of all accounts. For a considerable time past, he must have been working under orders, and very busily engaged, as the proof-sheets of two, if not three editions, had been passing through his hands. Taverner prefixed a dedication to the King, telling him, that "he never did anything more acceptable to God, more profitable to the advancement of true Christianity, more displeasing to the enemies of the same, and also to his Grace's enemies, than when his Majesty licensed and willed the most sacred Bible, containing the unspotted and lively Word of God, to be in the English tongue set forth to his Highness' subjects." But to all this he had been encouraged by his master, Lord Crumwell, as it will appear presently that no man could publish the Bible at this period, without his approving sanction.

His first edition in folio, and entitled—"The most Sacred Bible," &c., was "printed at London in Fleet Street, at the sign of the Sun, by John Byddell, for Thomas Barthlett;" or Berthelet, the King's printer; "Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." The next edition, in quarto, was executed by the same printer; but there seems to have been a third, printed by Nycolson, also in quarto. These Bibles were a correction of Matthew's, in which Taverner adopted a large proportion of the marginal notes, and inserted others of his own; yet so eager was Crumwell, that they were "allowed to be publicly read in churches."

In addition to these, that the effort now made was a bold and determined one, appears from another printer still having his hands filled by two editions of the New Testament by Taverner. This was Thomas Petit, who also printed for Berthelet, one in quarto, the other in octavo.

Now in the earlier part of this year, though the political atmosphere seemed to portend nothing whatever, save tempestuous opposition to measures such as these; preparatory work, it is evident, had been proceeding with great vigor within doors; and by the autumn, that same Monarch, who had hurried the "bloody Statute" through Parliament, professed to be all zeal for the printing of the Scriptures, and even their perusal! The prospect of connection with *Germany* had wrought wondrously, and a change had come over the spirit of the man. And as for Crumwell, though he still stood upon slippery ground, he could scarcely now think so, when, so far from frowning upon him, the King, on the 20th of September, had expressed himself as so solicitous about the state of his health. At all events, while he was in the act of carrying through the negotiation respecting Lady Anne of Cleves, almost anything he might request would then be granted. Apply

to his Majesty therefore he did, and successfully ; although still, it is no hypothesis, to say that both the one and the other, as it regarded the Scriptures, were nothing more than *overruled* men. The king, by his conduct in Parliament, had appeared in his real character ; while Crumwell, by his conduct elsewhere, has positively forced us to place him on the very lowest ground of political expediency. The following document, however, will show that there was no hazard, at present, of any of these Bibles not getting into circulation.

“Henry the Eighth, &c.—To all and singular, Printers and sellers of books, within this our realm, and all other Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our letters, hearing or seeing, greeting : We let you to wit, that being desirous to have our people at times convenient, give themselves to the attaining the knowledge of God’s Word, whereby they will the better honour him, and observe and keep his commandments ; and also do their duty better to us, being their Prince and sovereign Lord : And considering, that as this our zeal and desire cannot, by *any* mean, take so good effect, as by the granting to them the *free and liberal use of the Bible* in our own *maternal English tongue* : so unless it be foreseen, that the same pass at the beginning by *one* translation to be perused and considered ; the frailty of man is such, that the diversity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold inconveniences ; as when wilful and heady folks shall confer upon the diversity of the said translations. We have therefore appointed our right trusty and well-beloved Counsellor, the Lord Crumwell, Keeper of our Privy Seal, to take for us, and in our name, special care and charge, that no manner of person, or persons, within this our realm, shall enterprise, attempt, or set in hand, to print any Bible in the English tongue, of any manner of volume, during the space of *five years* next ensuing after the date hereof, but only all such as shall be deputed, assigned, and admitted by the said Lord Crumwell. Willing and commanding all *Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables*, and all other our officers, ministers, and subjects, to be aiding to our said Counsellor, in the execution of this our pleasure, and to be conformable in the accomplishment of the same, as shall appertain. In witness whereof—Witness *ourselves* at Westminster, the fourteenth day of November 1539.—*Per ipsum Regem.*”

The style of this public document, and at such a time, is pointed and very observable. The reader cannot fail to be struck with the absence of all reference to Henry’s Church or Convocation. The Sacred Volume, first printed abroad, it will be remembered, had been sanctioned without any consultation of that body ; and even now, after a flaming Convocation, they are to be passed over once more. Above two years ago, the King had been overruled to bow to the translation ; and last year, Crumwell as Vicegerent had enjoined the Bishops, on pain of deprivation, to see to its circulation ; but after the miserable display they had recently given of their characters, they are to be addressed by him no more. No

notice whatever is therefore now taken of *Bishop* or *Archbishop*, *Priest* or *Parson*; unless the ambiguous term "minister" at the very end, be allowed, by courtesy, to include them all. But it was the *civil* authorities on whom Crumwell now called; it was the Mayors, the Sheriffs, the Bailiffs, the Constables, who were so pointedly enjoined, and by the KING himself, to aid him! After having been so treated by the Bench, of which he was the Vicar-General; as long as he remains Lord Privy Seal, he was not to be insulted with impunity; the hour for retaliation had come; and as he had given up "Articles of Religion" in despair, so it is now evident, that he had also, as a body, given up the Bishops.

Nor was such a document, "*per ipsum Regem*," now to be treated with impunity. Little had they dreamt in Parliament, which would be the very *first* statute brought to bear upon his Majesty's subjects; for "the bloody statute" had been stayed in its operation; but they had gone so far as to pass a bill, showing, "*what a King by his royal power might do*;" and "considering that many occasions might require *speedy* remedies," they enacted that the King's proclamation, writ, or letters-patent, were to be obeyed "as if they were made by *an act of Parliament*;" nay, and if any after that offended, they were to be judged as *traitors*. If, therefore, the men of the *new* learning had been terror-struck in April, the men of the *old* might now well stare with amazement, but there was no remedy; they must all stand aghast for the time being, and make way for the Lord Privy Seal.

It is curious also to observe the efforts now made to place Henry, if it had been possible, in a fair way, once more, or to face him out, as the same man—notwithstanding his recent aberration, or natural leaning to his beloved associates of the old school. At this period, a long and strange justification of his proceedings was written out. It is to be found in the State Paper Office, and has been printed entire by Collier. The following statement taken from it, though far too strongly expressed, clearly proves, that, despite of Gardiner and all his associates, the Scriptures already printed had not been laid on the shelf.

"Englishmen have now in hand in every church and place, almost every man, the Holy Bible and New Testament in their mother tongue: instead of the old fabulous and fantastical books of 'The Table Round,' 'Launcelot du Lake,' 'Huco de Bourdeaux,' 'Bevy of Hampton,' 'Guy of Warwick,' and such others, whose impure filth and vain fabulosity, the light of God has abolished utterly,"—"Englishmen stick fast to the doctrine of God in the New Testament, and in the Old conformable to the New; and do esteem that it is '*Fons aque salientis in vitam eternam*.'"

In short, the same ardor which had been displayed in printing, seems to have been followed by a kindred zeal for distribution and perusal; and after such doings in Parliament, the opposite party, and all who loved the truth, had notable reasons for improving their time. Crumwell had yet eight months to live before his arrestment, so that here was a fine opportunity presented for

vigorous exertion, to every man who estimated the value of the Scriptures. How very unlikely was such a season to have arrived, only a few months ago!

Here, then, terminated that class of sacred volumes, which, with considerable propriety, may be denominated *the first series*: reaching from Wolsey's "secret search at one time," in London, Oxford, and Cambridge; or from the dungeon of Cardinal College, down to one of its inmates publishing three editions of the Bible, and two of the New Testament, in one year; when the long hostile Monarch had been made to declare, that *the free and liberal use of the Bible in our own maternal English tongue was the only mean by which his subjects could comprehend their duty to God or man*: and when his counsellor, the successor of Wolsey, to save his popularity and retain his place, was so evidently urging the printers to speed! The series referred to, now included above thirty editions of the New Testament, and five of the entire Bible, which for fourteen years had formed the spiritual nourishment of all those in this kingdom who had been convinced by their own experience, that "man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."

What a contrast, therefore, is now presented between William Tyndale and all his contemporaries, who have generally figured in the page of history, and so filled it, as to prevent posterity from duly estimating, nay, almost seeing, by far the most eminent benefactor of his country.

It is not here, however, that the year 1539 terminates. Tyndale's translation, or the Bible of 1537, had now been taken up, personally, by another individual, who has perhaps been expected to appear before this time, and certainly for some months before Henry's letters-patent (of the 14th of November,) this year, he had been engaged in his sphere, behind the curtain, perhaps as busily as any of Crumwell's printers had been. This, it may be anticipated, was Thomas Crammer; but, although it has been often done, with no previous edition can his name, with historical propriety, be associated.

The joy expressed by him, at the reception of the Bible in 1537, may have prepared the reader; but when he first met with Crammer on the Continent, seven years ago, in company with Sir Thomas Elyot, then charged by his Sovereign to seize Tyndale, and next year beheld him with pain, when sitting in judgment on the translator's bosom friend, Fryth; he certainly could not have imagined that, six years afterwards, the Primate himself would have been so busily employed in superintending an edition of Tyndale's translation. But so it was. Crammer, as well as Crumwell, had now given up the Bishops in despair, though his chief opponent, Gardiner, will not fail to cross his path presently, and try to sway the King.

It is singular enough that it should have been on this same Thursday, the 14th of November, to which we have repeatedly alluded, that Crammer first certainly appears to have been thus

engaged. The edition he had been bringing forward was a very fine one, and now nearly, if not entirely finished; but he had resolved, at this peculiar crisis, after being foiled by the Bench, to prefix a preface to the reader, of his own composition. This he had submitted, for his Majesty's approbation, and was now anxiously waiting its return, when he sent the following letter to Crumwell:—

“My very singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations, these shall be to signify unto your Lordship, that Bartelett and Edward Whitechurch hath been with me, and have by their accounts declared the expenses and charges of the printing of the Great Bibles; and by the advice of Bartelett, I have appointed them to be sold for 13s. 4d. a-piece, (one merk,) and not above. Howbeit, Whitechurch informeth me, that your Lordship thinketh it a more convenient price to have them sold at 10s. a-piece; which, in respect of the great charges, both of the paper, which is substantial and good, and other great hinderances, Whitechurch and his fellow (Grafton, his partner) thinketh it a small price. Nevertheless, they are right well contented to sell them for 10s., so that you will be so good Lord to them as to grant henceforth none other license to any other printer saving to them, for the printing of the said Bible: for else they think that they shall be greatly hindered thereby, if any other should print, they sustaining such charges as they already have done. Wherefore I shall beseech your Lordship, in consideration of their travail in this behalf, to tender their requests; and they have promised me to print in the end of their Bibles the price thereof, to the intent the King's liege people shall not henceforth be deceived of their price.

“Farther, if your Lordship hath known the King's pleasure concerning the *Preface* of the Bible, which I sent you to oversee; so that his Grace doth allow the same, I pray you that the same may be delivered unto the said Whitechurch unto printing; trusting that it shall both encourage many slow readers, and also stay the rash judgments of them that read therein. Thus our Lord have your good Lordship in his blessed tuition.—At Lambeth, the 14th day of November 1539.”

This Preface, however, demanded cogitation. Preferring the words of John Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzen, Cranmer had now ventured to go to the full extent of truth and duty, as Tynedale, in his own name, had so often done, on behalf of the people of England. Cranmer now at last pled, but through his ancient authors—

“That every man should read by himself *at home*, in the mean days and time, between sermon and sermon—that when they were *at home* in their houses, they should apply themselves, from time to time, to the reading of the Holy Scriptures. For the Holy Spirit hath so ordered and attempered the Scriptures, that in them, as well publicans, fishers, and shepherds, may find their edification, as great doctors their erudition. But still you will say, I cannot understand it. What marvel? How shouldst thou under-

stand, if thou wilt not read nor look upon it? Take the books into thine hands, read the whole story, and that thou understandest, keep it well in memory; that thou understandest not, read it again and again. Here may all manner of persons: *men, women: young, old; learned, unlearned; rich, poor; priests, laymen: lords, ladies: officers, tenants; and mean men; virgins, wives, widows; lawyers, merchants, artificers, husbandmen, and all manner of persons*, of what estate or condition soever they be; may in THIS BOOK learn all things, what they ought to believe, what they ought to do, and what they should not do, as well concerning Almighty God, as also concerning themselves, and all others." "This one place of John Chrysostom," said Cranmer, "is enough, and sufficient to persuade all them that be not forwardly and perversely set in their own wilful opinion."

These were sentiments, certainly by far too strong to pass in high places, in those days, without murmuring and disputation; nor in all probability would they have been allowed to pass, but for the conjunction of circumstances, already so far explained. Henry, as we have seen, had softened, even towards Cromwell, and he was more likely to have done so towards Cranmer. He had thwarted him in the Convocation, but then his official situation, as Primate, was not to be trampled on; and the King had therefore set him up again, by commanding his highest counselors afterwards to go and dine with him. The wind, in short, had changed in the fall of the year. Henry is now on the tip-toe of expectation as to his intended Queen, and the Archbishop, of course, must perform the intended marriage ceremony. No moment could be more favorable for Cranmer asking any favor.

But then it so happened, that not only this preface, but the Bible itself, had been brought before his Majesty, and hence still further delay; for though Cranmer be almost ready, and is now, in *November*, pressing the return of the preface for the press, the volume did not appear till *April* following. The fact was, that Henry had consulted certain Bishops, not forgetting Mr. Stephen Gardiner.

"After the book was finished," says Fulke, "and presented to King Henry the Eighth; and by him committed to diverse Bishops of that time to peruse, of which (as I remember) Steven Gardiner was one: after they had kept it long in their hands, and the King was divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at the last being called for by the King himself, they redelivered the book: and being demanded by the King what was their judgment of the translation, they answered that there were many faults therein. 'Well,' said the King, 'but are there any heresies maintained thereby?' They answered, 'there were no heresies that they could find, maintained thereby.' 'If there be no heresies,' said the King, (in his own profane and impatient manner,) 'then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people.' According to this judgment of the King and the Bishops, M. Coverdale (who had been corrector of the press,) defended the translation,

confessing that he did now himself espy some faults, which if he might review it once over again, as he had done *twice* before, he doubted not to amend: but for any heresy, he was sure there was none maintained by the translation."

Only six months ago the gentlemen of "the old learning," with the Duke of Norfolk at their head, had been in high glee; but of late it had come to their turn, to feel no small disappointment, if not alarm: and Gardiner is understood to have exerted all his powers to influence the King, by persuading him that it must be his duty not to allow the people to read the Bible by their own fire-sides, or, as Cranmer expressed it, *at home*. One day these two men met in the presence of his Majesty, when he engaged them in discussion. After descanting on the danger of allowing the people at large to read the Scriptures, Gardiner chose to affirm that what were called the Apostolic Canons, were of equal authority with the Sacred Scriptures, and challenged Cranmer to disprove this. Cranmer did so, and to Henry's satisfaction. The disputation is said to have lasted for some time, when the King abruptly addressed Gardiner,—“such a novice as you, had better not meddle with an old experienced Captain, like my Lord of Canterbury;” and then remarked, that “Cranmer was too experienced a leader, to be defeated by a novice.”

As for Cranmer's first edition, therefore, since it did not appear till April next year, it will come before us in due time. But in the meanwhile, and independently of all such skirmishing before the King, the *other* editions which had been sanctioned by Crumwell, without any formal reference to his Majesty, must not be forgotten, nor the New Testaments which had been printed at home, nor the numerous foreign editions. This is a period noted by Strype, as one in which “the people greedily bought up and read the Holy Scriptures.” The truth is that, however other matters might proceed, whether in Court or Parliament, the people had been all along reading, without asking his Majesty's leave. He little thought that he was led on by a current far too strong for his resistance. Yet in the course of such a year as the present, in which the King was so surrounded by hostile parties ever whispering in his ear; who would have imagined that he should have so sanctioned the reading of the Scriptures? This, however, he had actually done, and done more emphatically than ever before! Some complaints having reached him through the enemy, that the reading of the Bible or New Testament in public, was often in a voice so loud, that it threatened to drown if not expel the mass; Henry by proclamation ordered a lower tone, and that, while mass was going on, reading should be suspended; as well as that no man should “teach or preach the Bible,” except such as were admitted by himself, or Crumwell, or a Bishop. But then he added, what was of far greater moment, though it must have been like an additional dose of wormwood to the gentlemen of “the old learning”—

“Notwithstanding his Highness is pleased and contented, that



such as can and will in the English tongue, shall and may quietly and reverently read the Bible and New Testament by themselves secretly *at all times and places convenient*, for their own instruction and edification, to increase thereby godliness and virtuous learning."

Finally, the Monarch must, *in effect*, tell posterity that in thus acting he was still nothing more than a man overruled; since, with mingled pride and profanity, he adds—

"His Highness signifieth to all and singular, his loving and obedient subjects, that his Majesty was not, nor is compelled by God's Word, to set forth His Scripture in English to his loyal subjects; but of his own liberality and goodness was and is pleased, that his said subjects should have and read the same in convenient places and times—Wherefore his Majesty chargeth and commandeth all his said subjects to use the Holy Scripture in English, according to his godly purpose and gracious intent, as they would avoid his most high displeasure and indignation, beside the pain above remembered."

The hand of Crumwell is very visible in all this; and if the proclamation "came out about May, being *now* equal with the law," as Strype has told us, it shows what confusion had been shed into the Council of his Majesty; but followed as it was, in the close of the year, by the decided approval of Cranmer's preface, we have only one proof more of the truth of Solomon's proverb—"The King's heart is in the hand of the Lord as the rivers of water; He turneth it whithersoever he will."

In conclusion, therefore, as already stated, we come to the end of what may be styled the FIRST SERIES of *Bibles and Testaments*. Last year, indeed, we looked at them as divided into books printed *abroad*, and then begun to be printed at *home*. But at present we allude to all that had issued from the press before the first edition by Cranmer was put forth. Of the whole array the reader may form a distinct idea, on consulting our list of Bibles and Testaments at the end of this volume.

Now, if it be observed that even by this early period, such a number of editions of the New Testament, of all descriptions, as well as of the Sacred Volume entire, had passed through the press; and that Divine Truth had obtained a footing in our land, from the moment of its entrance in 1526; he will allow that in these fourteen years, a great work had been accomplished; and greater still when he comes to see all that had been going on in Scotland, as well as in England. The full effects, though no historian can ever detail them, must have been far greater than has hitherto been supposed. Yet is it but little more than two years since the adversary lowered his colors, and gave in. Up to August, 1537, in England, we have witnessed only one uninterrupted battle, without a solitary truce; and since then, as far as Crumwell was concerned, we have seen him, in his ardor, officially pushing on the work. When, once on a time, writing so bitterly against Tyndale, he little thought that, in the very height of his

career, though loaded with the affairs of the nation, he would tax himself, and strain every nerve, in the very direction which the Translator had so long pointed out; no object appearing to himself, even as a politician, of greater importance. He is now, however, soon to be called away from the field of action, leaving the cause to that unseen hand which had guided it from the beginning, and which will employ or overrule others, as it had done himself. Crumwell's energetic influence is not, however, yet paralyzed. He has six months to live, and the Bible, printed still more magnificently, will be in circulation before then. In common justice, therefore, to the only Vicegerent that Henry ever had, and with regard to any of those volumes already published on English ground, including the Bible which was nearly finished in Paris, it should be observed, that when Cranmer's name has been associated with them, in any degree, whether as to preparation or printing, this appears to have been historically incorrect. We have seen him, for the first time, engrossed with one book, but the publication of it belongs to next year.

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### SECTION III.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS—HENRY'S FOURTH MARRIAGE—GARDINER AGAINST BARNES AND GARRET—PARLIAMENT OPENED—CRUMWELL NOW EARL OF ESSEX—THE USE ALL ALONG MADE OF HIM BY HENRY—HENRY HAS TAKEN OFFENCE—CRUMWELL APPREHENDED—PARTIES OPPOSED TO HIM—FIRST CHARGES—BILL OF ATTAINDER—HENRY'S FOURTH MARRIAGE ANNULLED—FINAL CHARGES AGAINST CRUMWELL—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER—MORE EXECUTIONS—HENRY'S FIFTH MARRIAGE—THE OLD LEARNING PARTY IN TRIUMPH—THE LARGE FOLIO BIBLES, IN SIX EDITIONS—THE FIRST OF CRANMER'S—A DIFFERENT EDITION—THE SECOND OF CRANMER'S—THE THIRD PREPARING, TO BE ISSUED NEXT YEAR, BUT WITH A DIFFERENT TITLE—QUARTO NEW TESTAMENT.

THE second series of Bibles and Testaments, commencing with the first of Cranmer's editions, will reach to the end of the reign of Edward the Sixth, embracing the next twelve years and a half, to July, 1553. At the best, it will be a strange and varied scene; but at present our attention must be confined to the first of those eventful years. It was the year of Crumwell's downfall and death, a subject which has been allowed to pass without due investigation, and, consequently, has been misunderstood.

It will be remembered that, in September last, Henry had ordered Crumwell to "put all other matters out of his head, saving only the negotiations for that great affair—his marriage; and, since then, his impatience for the approach of his intended Queen had risen to its utmost height. The Lady Anne of Cleves having arrived in England, had reached Rochester on the 31st of December. Upon New Year's day, therefore, Henry, and actually in disguise, set off to obtain a sight of his intended consort. The

first glance was enough. He chose to express himself as disgusted. It was, "woe that ever she came into England," and he began to ruminate whether or how he could break off his engagement. "But, considering again," says Lord Herbert, "that this would make a ruffle in the world, and drive the Duke, her brother, into the Emperor's or French King's hands," he said, "it was too far gone." Had it not been for this apprehension, Henry would have immediately sent her back. On the 6th of January, therefore, after expressing, repeatedly, the strongest reluctance, he was married by Cranmer at Greenwich; having resolved to confederate with the Princes of Germany. The ceremony once performed, "as if in judgment," it has been said, "for his cruel and capricious conduct to his first and second Queens, Henry was now linked to one whom he abhorred."

Foreign affairs had not been the only source of anxiety to both the King and Cromwell. During all this spring, matters at home had been proceeding from bad to worse. Bonner, who had returned from France in the early part of the year, and was now Bishop elect of London, yet still *professedly* eager to please Cromwell, had appointed three individuals to preach, during Lent, at Paul's Cross—Dr. Barnes, Thomas Garret, one of the first dispersers of Tyndale's New Testament, now Rector of All Hallows in Honey Lane, of both of whom we have often heard before, and William Jerome, Vicar of Stepney. Barnes was to commence on the first Sunday of Lent, or the 14th of February. Gardiner, however, now in high favor with Henry, sent a message to Bonner, his old acquaintance, and with whom he had quarrelled so bitterly in France, that he intended to preach there himself on *that* day, and this he accordingly did. "From an accomplished scholar," says Mr. Todd, "as Gardiner certainly was, one could hardly have expected such worthless oratory. It might indeed be intended as a sharp defiance to the men of the 'new learning,' though they must have despised it."

A fortnight elapsed, when Barnes officiated at the same place, and taking the same text preached the opposite doctrine; but very foolishly descending also to low wit, he made some unhand-some references to Gardiner's person, and even played upon his name. Garret and Jerome also preached, but made no personal reflections on any man. The friends of Gardiner then complained to the King of the "insufferable arrogance" of the first preacher. His Majesty, interesting himself in the affair, called Barnes before him. He was overawed; signed a renunciation of the articles informed against him; confessed that he had overshot himself; and promised ever after to beware of such rashness. In this he was followed by Jerome and Garret. Henry, however, commanded all the three to preach at the Spittle, and recant what they had said; while Barnes there in public, and in Gardiner's presence, must ask his forgiveness. This he did, on what they called "Low Sunday," or the 4th of April; but he, as well as the other two, having reasserted or justified in one part, what they recanted in

another, his Majesty ordered them all to the Tower, there to await his decision.

Barnes, for years in the confidence of Crumwell, had not only been before employed by him in Germany, but more recently in the ill-assorted negotiations respecting Anne of Cleves. It was, therefore, positively presumed, that the disgrace of the one might bring the other into disrepute or suspicion, and the votaries of the old learning were indulging hopes of Crumwell's fall. So confident indeed were they, that his office of Vicar-General they had bestowed, by anticipation, on Tunstal Bishop of Durham, and that of Lord Privy Seal upon Clerk, Bishop of Bath. At this moment, however, they were completely mistaken in their calculations; nor is there one particle of evidence that such an idea had as yet entered into Henry's mind, as that of the destruction of Crumwell; and far less that he *ever* intended to have *another* Vicar-General, for he never had. On the contrary, Crumwell is just about to be raised still higher, and actually to have fresh honors and more power conferred upon him!

Upon Monday the 12th of April, Parliament was opened, where, for the first time, there was no Abbot or Prior present. After Audley, the Lord Chancellor, had addressed the house on civil affairs, Crumwell rose, as Vicar-General, and introduced a message from the King, lamenting the religious dissensions by which the country was still agitated; so that neither the first "Articles" by Cranmer, nor the second by Gardiner, had produced either "peace" or "contentation." His Majesty, said Crumwell, "leaned neither to the right or left, neither to the *one* party, nor to the *other*!—but to remove or root out at once all evils, he had appointed two sets of prelates and doctors; one to reform the *tenets*, and the other the *ceremonies* of the Church!" In other words, they were to try and draw out another form of faith and practice for the people of England, to be imposed upon them once more. They were to sit three days entire in each week, and the half of the other three, and proceed with deliberation. The whole address, from such a man as the King, and to such a House, was literally nothing short of profanity; while amidst all, so strange was the mixture, the Scriptures themselves were not overlooked—his Majesty demanding the aid of both Houses to enact penalties against such as treated the Sacred Volume with irreverence, or explained rashly and erroneously the Holy Scriptures. From the men thus appointed by the King, we need scarcely add, that nothing save greater confusion and perplexity were the results. Their proceedings ended in the publication of what they styled "The necessary Erudition of a Christian Man," above two years after. It was a confused and heterogeneous compound, in which, says Burnet truly, "*both* parties found cause afterwards for both joy and sorrow."

On Wednesday the 14th, the Convocation assembled, and at the close, both Houses adjourned till Saturday the 17th, which was the last day in which the Vicar-general sat as Baron Crumwell.

It so happened that last month Henry had been deprived, by death, of two of his nobility. The first, Bouchier Earl of Essex was killed by a fall from his horse, on the 12th of March; and within a week after, died "the great Chamberlain of England," Vere, Earl of Oxford; and as if my Lord Privy Seal and Vicegerent were not only overloaded with both honor and office, his Majesty had actually resolved to combine those of both men in the person of Crumwell! After Parliament rose, therefore, on the 17th, or as Halle has it, next day the 18th, Sunday, Crumwell was not only created Earl of Essex, but appointed Great Chamberlain; and on Monday he entered the House of Lords, where his name stands at the head of the roll—"Vicesgerens Regius, *Thomas Essex* comes." The former Earl having died without heirs, the King, gave him at the same time, *all* that fell to the Crown. He was now in possession of all his honors, which in number, if not in emolument, far exceeded even those of Wolsey!

It is apparent to any intelligent observer that Henry used Crumwell only as an instrument to get money for himself. No other man in his dominions had the capacity to raise such sums, and to make him more powerful and successful, the king heaped honors after honors upon his head. But there was one point beyond which even Crumwell could not go with impunity. He came to the House and demanded an enormous subsidy in the shape of a tax on the income of the members. This exasperated the House and the people. But the bill was passed, and on the same day a bill of permutation, or exchange of some property, between the King and Crumwell, had been brought in and read a first time, so that every thing seemed to be proceeding successfully—BUT—next morning arrived, and what is this? For some cause or another, his Majesty is now seriously offended, and this is the first positive intimation. It was only three weeks since he had heaped honor upon the man; he has, since then, carried through money matters, of which, perhaps, no one else would have risked even the suggestion; and, besides, this is *Sunday*. No matter, Henry must write immediately, and here is his letter:—

“Henry R.

By the King.

“Right trusty, and right well-beloved Cousin, we greet you well; signifying to you our pleasure and commandment, is, that forthwith, and upon receipt of these our letters, setting all other affairs apart, ye do repair unto Us, for the treaty of such great and weighty matters, as whereupon doth consist the *surety of your person, the preservation of our honour, and the tranquillity and quietness* of you and all other our loving and faithful subjects, like as at your arrival here, ye shall more plainly perceive and understand. And that ye fail not hereof, as We specially trust you. Given under our Signet, at our Manor of Westminster, the 9th day of May.”

It is singular that the *first precise cause* of offence, so strongly marked in this letter, has never transpired; though, after this, it must be evident that Crumwell could not have passed one easy

hour. Still, upon Monday, the Earl appeared among the Lords as usual, when his bill of permutation with the King was read and passed; but the very next day Parliament was *prorogued* till the 25th of May, and this was ominous. On Wednesday, however, the *Vicar-General* attended Convocation, and *finished* the business of the subsidy there also.

The displeasure felt all around, on account of these enormous levies, joined with the displeasure of the King, which must have soon been whispered, furnished, during the recess, a fine opportunity for getting up the bill of accusations against Crumwell, which, no doubt, was skilfully improved; but Tuesday the 25th arrived, Parliament sat, and the Earl was there as before! Bills of attainder without any trial, according to the shocking precedent which Crumwell himself had introduced last year, were passed again and again in this Parliament, against a number of individuals; and now, at last, he is himself about to become the victim of his own measure; though still, every day, or as duly as the House assembled, *there* was the Earl, and so, generally speaking, was Cranmer. Thus it happened on Thursday the 10th of June, and after Parliament adjourned at Westminster, there was a meeting of the Privy Council; Crumwell was present, but not Cranmer. The Duke of Norfolk and his party were now ready. The Duke, for particular reasons then high in the King's favor, preferred against the falling Minister the charge of high treason. His despotic Majesty, of course, had been consulted, and had concurred; and, therefore, Audley, as Lord Chancellor, having arrested him, he was forthwith conducted as a prisoner to the Tower. Thus the man who had sat on high in Parliament in the morning, by three o'clock was regarded as a traitor, and is said to have been even insulted on his way to the Tower in the afternoon!

That very night one party "banqueted and triumphed together, many wishing that that day had been seven years before; while some, fearing lest he should escape, though imprisoned, could not be merry. But others, who knew nothing but truth by him, both lamented, and heartily prayed for him."

The step thus taken has been long very loosely ascribed to Henry's recent marriage; but that event could *never, of itself*, have led to this. Crumwell would have outlived that vexation of his royal Master, by at once putting an end to it. A better key to the secret may be found. Serving a capricious monarch, sometimes pleased, and soon angry, the eager and too ambitious servant must have been often at a stand. His own course was erratic. To pull down an ambitious man with safety suddenly, Lord Bacon has said, that the only way is the *interchange* continually of favors and disgraces, whereby he may not know what to expect, and be, as it were, in a *wood*. Now although Henry, it is most probable, had no fixed intention, only a month since, it is certain that Crumwell had been first in favor then in disgrace, or first elevated, then depressed, as his Majesty had both smiled and frowned, in the short compass of three weeks. No wonder,

then, if Crumwell had found himself before now, but especially of late, "as it were, in a wood." Too much elated by the favor of the King, his arrogance, in the possession of so much power and authority seems to have increased. He has been said to have treated all the men of the old learning, whether clergy or nobility with equal haughtiness, and even the Duke of Norfolk, his chief rival, he had threatened with the royal displeasure. Though, therefore, the immediate occasion of Crumwell's arrest has never been pointed out, it may now be very safely, if not clearly traced, to certain Bishops, headed by his Grace of Norfolk.

About the month of August last year, Crumwell had been incensed by one of these men, Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, as playing false with the King, having a secret favor for the Roman Pontiff, with special good will to the old learning and all its ceremonies. Correspondence and personal communications had passed between them, but up to the day of his own arrest, the tokens of Crumwell's displeasure had not been removed. The fact was, that the Bishop, in company with Dr. Nicholas Wilson, he had committed to the Tower. There, in trouble and dejection, if not fear of his life, Sampson had made certain disclosures—confessing a combination between himself, Tunstal Bishop of Durham, and Stokesly of London, lately deceased. They were to do their utmost to preserve the old doctrines with all their appendages. Upon this, Crumwell made no scruple to charge Tunstal with what he had heard; but he denied it. On Monday, the 7th of June, therefore, only three days before the arrest, Dr. Peter, and a Mr. Bellows were sent to Sampson to signify this, on which he sat down, and in writing addressed to Crumwell an ample and decided confirmation of all he had confessed. To refresh Tunstal's memory, if not confound him, Sampson pointed distinctly to a certain period, when they, the Bishops, were busy with the Germans and the *Bishop's Book*; he described graphically the doings of both Stokesly and himself—repeating that "Tunstal will not say otherwise, but that he, and the late Bishop of London were fully bent to maintain as many of the old usages as they might, and so they said it was necessary to do." Here, in short, were the authors of "the Book of Ceremonies," to which we referred last year. But this was not the whole confession now. "Winchester," said Sampson, "was not *then* here, but the encouragement *he* had given him *was now, lately*,"—"not to fear to help things forward, for the King's Highness was very good Lord in them." Gardiner wished him to be diligent in ceremonies and to *leave none*. Heath, too, whom Gardiner had just consecrated Bishop of Rochester, had turned, and was of the same mind. In short, "Winchester told him that they were all of one mind, very few excepted."

To be thwarted in Parliament as to their Book of Ceremonies had been grievous enough, but to have its secret history thus fully exposed to Crumwell, was more vexatious still. Tunstal and Gardiner, in their true characters, stood fully before him. Now, all this happened on Monday, or only three days before the arrest.

By this moment, Henry was sick of all confabulation about Germany; being secretly, and to his dying day, a votary of the old ceremonies. The niece of Norfolk had caught his eye; while the alleged *treason and mal-administration* of Crumwell were poured into his ear; and these were charges to which his Majesty at this moment was all alive. Meanwhile, the new-made Earl had already secured the subsidies, and would now inherit all the odium, or like the scape-goat carry it away from the King. After such a pointed written disclosure on Monday, no wonder if high words, for the last time, had again escaped from Crumwell on Tuesday or Wednesday; and on Thursday he was laid low.

Next day the event was known to all, when the time-servers were busy in changing sides. Among others, Bonner, formerly so compliant, so zealous for the Scriptures and full of promise, when at Paris, who had been solely indebted for his elevation to the unhappy prisoner in the Tower, had already wheeled round. "As soon as ever Crumwell fell, the very next day he shewed his ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the wind. For Grafton, the printer, (so intimate with Bonner in France,) meeting him, said, he was very sorry for the news he had heard of Crumwell's being sent to the Tower. Bonner answered, 'It had been good he had been despatched long ago.' So the other shrunk away, perceiving the change that was in him."

In short, of all the friends that once so courted the friendship of Thomas Crumwell, there was only one solitary individual left, and this was Cranmer; at least he was the only man who said anything at the moment. The certainty seems to be, that Cranmer was not present when Crumwell was arrested; that he heard this day, at the Privy Council, the grounds of his arrest, and on the morrow, or Saturday, sent his letter to the King. The following fragment, as given by Lord Herbert from the original, is all that remains:—

"I heard yesterday in your Grace's Council, that he (Crumwell) is a traitor; yet who cannot be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a traitor against your Majesty? He that was so advanced by your Majesty; he whose surety was only by your Majesty; he who loved your Majesty, as I ever thought, no less than God; he who studied always to set forwards *whatsoever* was your Majesty's will and pleasure: he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your Majesty; he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness and experience, as no Prince in this realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning. If the noble Princes of memory, King John, Henry the Second, and Richard II., had had such a counsellor about them. I suppose that they should never have been so traitorously abandoned and overthrown as those good princes were: \* \* \*

"I loved him as my friend, for so I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever



towards your Grace, singularly above all other. But now, if he be a traitor, I am sorry that ever I loved or trusted him, and I am very glad that his treason is discovered in time; but yet again I am very sorrowful; for who shall your Grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? Alas! I bewail and lament your Grace's chance herein, I wot not whom your grace may trust. But I pray God continually night and day, to send such a counsellor, in his place, whom your Grace may trust, and who for all his qualities can and will serve your grace like to him, and that will have so much solicitude and care to preserve your Grace from all dangers as I ever thought he had."

This letter has been described as remarkable for its "very earnest and persuasive" tone; but in truth this fragment conveys no request whatever on behalf of Crumwell; and if any was made, the communication, as addressed to such a man as Henry, was not likely to operate in his favor. The remark made as to Cranmer's letter respecting Anne Boleyn, is not less applicable here. The alternative is put in such a style as to prove injurious; the "*but now, and if,*" were, at such a moment, almost fatal to any escape, or equal to acquiescence. The quick eye of the monarch, already incensed, would at once fix on certain expressions—He is "*very glad,*" he says, "that his *treason* has been discovered in time,"—may he only heard *yesterday*, and is already "praying night and day that God would send such a counsellor *in his place!*" Taken all in all, to say the least, this was by no means the judicious effusion of a friend "born for adversity" or bent on fair dealing.

It was on the day after his arrest, or Friday the 11th, that Crumwell underwent his *first* examination. Though denied the benefit of a public trial before his Peers, he seems to have been confronted with at least one accuser, in presence of certain members of the Privy Council; and having thus far ascertained the accusations against him, the next day he sent his first letter to the King, dated "Saturday, at your Tower of London." Even this, however, he had not presumed to do without a direct message from his Majesty, through the "Controller" of his household; requesting him to write "whatever he thought meet concerning his most miserable state and condition."

Taken in connection with the history through which we have passed, this letter enables us to penetrate so far into the secrets of the cabal against Crumwell, as well as the charges preferred at first against him. Treason was the *first*; Injustice to the commonwealth, by winking at combinations, conventicles, or such as were offenders against the laws, was the *second*; Disclosing a state secret, which, in fact, was nothing more than that Henry had resolved to divorce his Queen! was the *third*. This appears to have been the whole count on this first day; and the letter sent takes them all up in order. The three charges he denies, though in a style which it is painful to read. His imprecations on himself, if any one of these imputations were true, are not only so frequent,

but so dreadful, that as in all such cases, one is at a loss to know whether they were well founded or not. At the same time, the most serious charge, that of *treason*, so far as it was now laid, appears to have been base, hollow, and incredible. In rebutting it, one or two singular circumstances are disclosed.

It will be remembered that in the year 1536, by Crumwell's own suggestion, a Court was formed, styled, "the Court of Augmentations," to register and secure the enormous sums coming in to the Crown, by the suppression of monasteries. Here, it was affirmed, the treason had been uttered or disclosed, and apparently in the summer of 1537. Why then was not the present witness seized for concealment? Better men had fallen in these days for no other crime. But who turns out to be the accuser? It was no other than a man already famous, or rather infamous, for ensnaring state prisoners. Richard Rich, the Chancellor of this very Court. The blood of Sir Thomas More, if not also of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was already upon him. He it was who at least ensnared them both in one day; so that Henry's Council had taken advantage of Rich's baseness before now; though still it is remarkable, that the first insinuations against Crumwell should have been laid in the very Court which he had himself established. Rich, in his allegation, referred to another person, named Throgmorton, for so Throgmorton was then often spelt; but *he*, very conveniently, could not be present, either to confirm or deny the statement. If this was Michael Throgmorton, of whom we have before heard, a gentleman of family, the confidential agent and friend of Cardinal Pole, he was distant as far as Italy. He had re-visited England in very critical circumstances, as we have already seen, and used to make it his high boast, ever after, that he had then deceived or outwitted both Crumwell and Sir Richard Moryson in his employ. If this indeed be the man, for we can find no other, Rich, in the wickedness of his heart, well knew that he was now touching Henry's tender toe. Anything in the slightest connection with Pole, or any friend of his, put him at once into a rage. No supposition, however, could be more preposterous, than that the shrewd, though fallen minister, should then especially utter one word, or do a single thing, bordering on treason against his royal Master; much less in presence either of Rich or Throgmorton. But what does Crumwell himself say in reply? We except the imprecations.

"And now, most gracious Prince, to the matter. First, where I have been accused to your Majesty of treason. To that I say, I never, in all my life, thought willingly to do that thing that might or should displease your Majesty. Mine accusers, your Grace knoweth; God forgive them. Most Gracious Sovereign Lord, to my remembrance, *I never spake with the Chancellor of the Augmentations and Throgmorton together, at one time; but if I did, I am sure I spake never of any such matter.* And your Grace knoweth what manner of man Throgmorton hath ever been, ever towards your Grace and your proceedings; and what

Master Chancellor hath been towards me, God and he best knoweth. I will he can (neither) accuse him. What I have been towards him, your Majesty right well knoweth. I would to Christ I had obeyed your often most gracious grave counsels and advertisements; then it had *not* been with me, as now it is."

With regard to the second charge, Crumwell speaks in measured language, but as for revealing Henry's mighty secret, this he pointedly refutes. The minute style in which Crumwell dwells on this, the intended dismissal of the Queen, only shows what a fastidiously tyrannical being, and capricious even to childishness, his Master was. There was not a single courtier, nor even any of the people who cared one straw about the matter, who were not anticipating what he actually did so soon. To call it a secret was ridiculous.

This first examination, therefore, if intended chiefly to ensnare, which it probably was, seems to have failed of its effect. But it was only a preliminary step to a far broader bill of attainder, without the trouble of any farther inquiry, which was brought into Parliament on Thursday the 17th. Cranmer, who had been in the House of Lords every day they sat since the 10th was *not* now present; but the Earl of Southampton entered and took his seat, and as *Lord Privy Seal!* The bill, therefore, was but a mere form, in usual style, and Crumwell's certain disgrace, if not death was now apparent to all. On Saturday this bill was read the second and third times, when Cranmer *was* present, and, by his silence, acquiesced. It was then sent down to the Commons, where, however, there must have been some hesitation or objections, as it remained there for ten days. In the end, having drawn out another bill, they sent both up on the 29th. The Lords, more zealous than ever, accepted the bill sent up, and having read it three times at one sitting, the King also assented on the *same* day.

Their bill having passed, and the King assented, the very next day, no doubt, these men were ready for Crumwell's execution, and would have rejoiced in it; but he is not to die for a month to come. On Henry's part there must have been some wavering; at least he had sent Audley, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Russel, (whose life, by the way, Crumwell had once saved when abroad,) with a message to the Tower, informing the prisoner of the bill having passed, and inquiring once more into circumstances connected with the last marriage. From the minute reply sent next day, or the last of June, it appears that his Majesty had sent Crumwell money, and this seems to have either encouraged the hope of life, or led him to plead the more earnestly for it. At the same time he says—

"Sir, upon my knees I most humbly beseech your gracious Majesty to be good and gracious lord to my poor son, the good and virtuous woman his wife, (actually the sister of Henry's *last Queen*, Jane Seymour,) and their poor children, and also to my servants; and this I desire of your Grace for Christ's sake." He closes in the

following terms—"Written at the Tower this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart, and trembling hand, of your Highness' most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave. 'Thomas Crumwell. Most gracious Prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy!"

For four weeks from this date did Crumwell remain in a state of suspense, while at least two other letters had been addressed by him to the King. According to Foxe, in reference to the first of these, on applying to one of the commissioners to convey it, he refused, saying, that "he would carry no letter to the King from a traitor." Crumwell then inquired if he would convey a *message*, when he assented, on condition of its not being contrary to his allegiance. Upon this, Crumwell, appealing to the other Lords present as to the promise, and turning to the man, only said—"You shall commend me to the King, and tell him, by the time he hath so well tried and thoroughly proved you, as I have done, *he shall find you as false a man as ever came about him.*" If this was not the Duke of Norfolk, who had so shamefully dissembled and deceived him, it must have been Chancellor Rich, the Solicitor-General, and a Privy Counsellor. The other letter was conveyed by Ralph Sadler, in former days a clerk of Crumwell's, whose fortune he had made; a letter which it is said Henry commanded to be read to him three times.

In the prospect of destroying Anne Boleyn, it may be remembered, he must hold a tilt and tournament at Greenwich. So now, at Westminster, as late as the first week in May, he had been feasting sumptuously with his *Queen*, Anne of Cleves, and all the Lords, on the very eve of her divorce, and while that Parliament was sitting, which would soon, with all due form, settle the business!

On Tuesday, the 6th of July, his Majesty's ministers, no doubt under orders, having consulted the House of Lords on his situation, they, with the Commons, *petitioned* their Sovereign to allow the Convocation to *try* the validity of his marriage, and adjourned for two days to afford time; Henry having profanely replied—"that there was nothing he held dearer than the glory of God, the good of the commonwealth, and the declaration of truth!" Cranmer, who had performed the marriage ceremony, concurred with this proposal, and was one of the commission appointed. Stephen Gardiner expounded the matter in order to the Convocation, informing the assembly that his Majesty had never given his *inward* consent! Among the disgusting details, poor Crumwell's letter from the Tower was produced in evidence! The Bishops, with their underlings, were then *unanimous*, and presenting the sentence of nullification on the 9th, next day Cranmer reported to the House of Lords, that the marriage which he had celebrated was contrary to the law of both God and man; when they sent *him* and Gardiner down to the Commons to report the same! Overcome with fear, for it could not be argument, Cranmer consented with all the rest. The dread of Crumwell's doom might be before his eyes. The Commons also having given their assent, not an

hour was now to be lost, as the King's business demanded haste. The very next day, therefore, being *Sunday*, Norfolk, Southampton, and Gardiner were at Richmond, busy enough in laboring to secure the Queen's consent, nay, her approbation! They assigned to her £3000 annually, with the palace of Richmond as her residence; but this income was to depend on her living in England, and as the King's *sister*. In conclusion, she agreed literally to everything proposed, and, as it is well known, lived in this country till her death, seventeen years after.

Only four days after Parliament was dissolved, on the morning of Wednesday, the 28th of July, Crumwell was beheaded in the Tower, and buried within its walls, in the Chapel of St. Peter ad vincula, where so many victims had preceded him, and to which so many followed. All his property was, of course, forfeited to the crown.

Such was the end of Thomas Crumwell, the servant and successor of Thomas Wolsey; but it is with their *official*, far more than their personal characters, that the historian and posterity have to do. They were Henry's *two* great men; for he never had a third.

These two men had formed a bridge for him to pass over, and down he sat, in his usurpation of power, superior and unknown to any King in Europe. The first Vicar-general, before his appointment to that office, had helped him to his title of "Defender of the Faith," no matter though it was the *old learning*; the second fixed him in his seat, as "Supreme Head of the Church of England;" and though Henry died, after all, an adherent of the Roman faith, still it is matter of history that both titles he bequeathed to his successors on the throne. Confirmed by Henry's most *tractable* Parliament, in 1544, the titles thus assumed have not only continued to be worn, but they have extended in their application over a broader surface.

The unwarrantable power in which Henry had now resolved, not only to reign, but direct and govern, appeared at this moment in all its enormity; for only two days after he had despatched the Earl of Essex, an event occurred, full of perplexity to all parties in his kingdom. The number of persons who had been impeached or attainted during this Parliament, and according to the fashion which Crumwell, no doubt with the royal sanction, had so unconstitutionally and cruelly introduced, amounted to not fewer than a round dozen: and six of these were ordered for execution forty-eight hours after the scene in the Tower. As if awfully to verify the expressions which Henry had ordered Crumwell to utter, at the opening of the Session—that "he leaned neither to the right or left, neither to the one party nor the other"—three of *each* were to be put to death; that is, three, for what they called *heresy*, and three for denying the King's *supremacy*! The three former were no other than *Dr. Barnes, and even Garret and Jerome*. The names of the latter were Abel, Featherstone, and Powell. One of each class being placed upon the same hurdle, by way of

equally vilifying both, thus they were dragged from the Tower to East Smithfield. No person present, not even the Sheriff, could answer BARNES, wherefore he and his companions were put to death; but they all suffered with great constancy at the stake, while the others were hung at the same time, on the same spot! A foreigner, it has been said, who had mingled with the crowd, exclaimed, "What a country is this! on the one side they are hanging the Pope's friends, on the other they are burning his enemies." Both parties, seeing their adherents so dragged to destruction, were alike shocked and disgusted.

According to the general voice and opinion, the man who was at the root of this barbarity was Gardiner, originating in his pique against Barnes. The imputation he tried to evade, and in print; yet in vain, for it attached to him as long as he lived. But the cruel procedure to *both* parties had become successful, through the existing division among Henry's courtiers. Both divisions equally disowned the right of private judgment, they vied with each other in servility, and to a man they had already sanctioned the assumption of mental supremacy by a Monarch, who, so far from having any command over himself, was governed solely by his own unrestrained passions. Such, therefore, was the first act of Henry, after he became, more signally, his *own* minister; and if only for the first fortnight we observe his course, it will be found sufficiently characteristic.

On Saturday the 24th of July, the King had sanctioned the bill for his *third* divorce, and then dissolved Parliament. On Wednesday the 28th, he had put Crumwell to death, and two days after, BARNES, JEROME, and GARRET, with three others. Only ten days after this, or on Sunday the 8th of August, his Majesty was married once more, by Cranmer, that is, a second time within the same year, and to his fifth Queen, Catharine Howard, daughter of Edmond Howard, and niece to the Duke of Norfolk; the marriage and presentation at Court being on the same day. The uncle and niece are understood to have had no small share in these bloody catastrophes; but Henry had obtained his wishes, promising himself, in the sequel, no small enjoyment. Nothing, indeed, it has been said, could exceed his matrimonial contentment; but a little time will show how long it continued. In the meanwhile, the gentlemen of "the old learning" *seemed* to have recovered all the influence and favor they had lost under the sway of Crumwell. In the summer Lord Lisle had been recalled from Calais, and his place supplied by Lord William Howard, the brother of the Duke of Norfolk; and in order to carry on his amicable connection with the Emperor, in the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was sent as ambassador. He had not, however, come to any audience by the end of the year, and we have yet to see what transpired during his absence of eleven months. "The reigning Queen," says Lingard, "first attracted the royal notice at a dinner given by the Bishop of WINCHES-TER."

For the five first months of this year, the most powerful subject in the kingdom had been rising to the top of his ambition. It was Crumwell, with all his honors thick upon him, and crowned with an Earldom—an Earldom of a hundred days, or by far the most miserable period of his existence. He is now dead, and buried in that Tower, to which he had often sent others. But as he had finally shown himself ardent in favor of the Scriptures being printed, we are now furnished with one of the strongest proofs as to whether the progress of this cause depended on the life of any such man, or was at all affected by the death of the Vicegerent and last Vicar-general.

We come now to the second series of Bibles, or the result of Tyndale's exertions, as still more visible in his native land, and in the Scriptures which were printed and published before the face of the notorious Bonner. It should not be forgotten that we now, in fact, see the Bible of 1537, as already described, with nothing more than certain verbal alterations here and there; some of which were not improvements, and others, though now attempted, in the end did *not* prevail; while, at the same time, the first introduced Bible, and verbally, as first imported, is to be reprinted, again and again.

But, first, and with regard to those large Bibles of different dates, to which the name of Cranmer was affixed in the title-page, or *four* in number, and other *two* editions, with the names of Tunstal and Heath, and not Cranmer's, or six distinct editions in all; such has been the confusion, that they have hitherto baffled the research of all our bibliographers. Preceding authors having failed, Dibdin happens to be the last who attempted an explanation, and he fairly gives up the subject in despair. "After all," says he in conclusion, "there seems to be some puzzle, or *unaccountable* variety, in the editions of the Bible in 1540 and 1541. The confusion itself, indeed, may be accounted for. All those largest black-letter Bibles are most interesting relics, for such was the ordeal through which they passed, first in Henry's reign, and then under his daughter Mary; such was the havoc to which they were exposed from the enemy, or, in other words, such the enmity evinced by official men, that the only wonder is, that *any* of them remain. Yet, upon the whole, the number left, or surviving, is by no means the least remarkable feature in their history. The consequence, however, has been, that, before an experienced eye, many of them are found to be copies *made up*." This remark applies generally to all collections, whether in our universities, our public libraries, or in the hands of private gentlemen. Such, therefore, is the value of a *perfect* copy throughout, of these Bibles, or so highly have they been estimated by posterity, above those who first read them, that they have been sold for above forty, if not fifty pounds sterling. The original price was *ten shillings* in sheets, or twelve, when bound with *bullions*, clasps, or ornaments; that is, about seven pounds ten shillings, or nine pounds, of the present day.

In this state of things, the first step which required to be taken, was to obtain *perfect* copies of all these six large black-letter Bibles, with their genuine titles and last leaves; as all the editions to which we now refer, happen to be very distinctly dated, first on the title-page, and then more fully in the colophon. Even after this, at first sight, it might be presumed, and it has been, when the books were viewed separately, that there were here probably not more than two or three editions, with different titles, and another date in conclusion. Such a thing, however dishonest, though it has often been done with certain books since, seems to have been then unknown, for upon further examination, all the editions are distinct. On observing, however, that the catchword at the bottom of the page, and at the top of the next, are in so many instances the *same*, the next supposition may be, that as there might not be *types* in sufficient quantity, after the first impression was thrown off, the forms, in succession, may have been transferred to another press; and thus, like the ploughman overtaking the reaper, copies might follow each other at the distance of only three or four months. But even this supposition will not solve the phenomena; for upon examining the body of the page, so numerous, or rather innumerable, are the differences in point of spelling, contractions, and even pointing, that no alternative is left but that of comparing the six volumes page by page. The reason for our being thus particular will appear presently; but who, it may be asked, will ever be at the pains to do all this? He must possess the perfect copies, or have the genuine leaves of all the six Bibles before him, and these were not to be found in *any* public collection in the kingdom; nor was this sufficient, for the very pages of each and all must be patiently examined to mark their curious and minute distinctions. But the fact is that, at last, all this has been accomplished, through the indefatigable perseverance of one gentleman, though we must not say at what expense. Yet he himself, thus carefully collating them, the result is, that of these large Bibles, specially intended for public worship or public reading, there were six distinct editions, three dated in 1540 and three in 1541; two of which were issued this year, and four in the next. In all such labor, however, there is profit, though it may not appear at first; for even at this stage, there was still some degree of mystery in every one of these Bibles being dated from *London*.

One day, in the metropolis, a gentleman, no inferior judge, remarked to the present writer—"I cannot believe that these Bibles were actually printed *in London*." "Where then," it was asked, "do you suppose?" He replied, "I think most probably in *Paris*." But why so? "Because of the *type*; for at that time the London types, as used in all other books, were inferior to that fine bold letter." Certainly they were, it may now be added, and these, there can be little or no doubt, were Parisian types. But as for their being *so* employed in *that* city, after the violent interruption in the end of 1538; when once the wrath of the Sorbonne against



Robert Estienne, that is Stephens the printer, is observed, and still more, the state of feeling between the French and English Kings, throughout 1540 and 1541; such employment of these types, and to such extent in *Paris*, must appear to have been altogether impossible. Thus then, in the end, are we brought back to admire the *energy* of poor CRUMWELL's character, in a step, hitherto but very slightly noticed in history. In bringing over the very presses, the Parisian types and even French workmen, he had done his business thoroughly, after his own manner. Types to a greater extent certainly, if not workmen more numerous, had arrived, than has ever been before imagined. He had seen that the Bible being speedily multiplied, and generally read, was his best, his only mainstay, against the insidious and powerful opposition of "the old learning" party. So that but for what *he* had done, we are now led to infer, that *Cranmer* would never have had it in his power, to have put forth at least *such* and so many Bibles as these. It was something for Crumwell to have drawn such spoil, if not from the "Fonderie du Roy," yet from its immediate vicinity, for it certainly appears now to be far more than probable, that an English folio Bible printing in Paris, once interrupted, had ended in six others being printed in London! The history of the books themselves, will afford some farther curious information, and the more so when taken in the order of their dates.

The first of these Bibles which was finished in April with Cranmer's name, we have referred to under 1539, as preparing. We have seen that it had been subjected by Henry to the inspection of certain Bishops, though merely as individuals, but belonging to that body, which had all along shown such hostility to any translation whatever. The determined aspect and imperative tones of the Monarch had very soon made these enemies yield their feigned obedience; and his heart, however capricious, being in the hand of God, here is the book entire, and with Cranmer's preface attached, enforcing "high and low, male and female, rich and poor, master and servant," to read it, at *home* in their own houses, and ponder over it! This, the first Bible, is entitled—

"*The Byble in English*, that is to saye the contēt of *al the holy Scripture*, both of the Olde, and New testamēt, with a *prologe thereinto made by the reverende father in God, Thomas*, archbishop of Cantorbury, ¶ *This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the Churches.* ¶ Printed by Edward whytchurche. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum MDXL." The colophon is—"The ende of the new Testamēt: and of the whole Bible fynished in Apryll, Anno mccccxli. A duo factū est istud."

Of this first edition printed on English ground, there is a splendid copy on *Vellum*, with the cuts and blooming letters, curiously illuminated, in the British Museum. It has, for some reason, recently been rebound, in three volumes; but splendidly in *morocco*. This fine book, once actually possessed by Henry VIII., is valuable, as one key to the party concerned in the *expense* of the impression; for so far from this being the King himself, this copy

was given to him as a *present*. The first leaf bears the following inscription in legible characters—" *This book is presented unto your most excellent Highness, by your loving faithful and obedient subject and dayly oratour, Anthony Marlar of London, haberdasher.*" "Who this haberdasher was," said Baker, "I wish to know. He must have been a considerable man that could make such a present to a prince, and seems to have been a sharer in the charge of the impression." Respecting this London gentleman, nothing more has been ascertained except that he was a member of this Livery Company, whose records were almost wholly destroyed in the great fire of 1666.

No sooner were copies of this large volume ready, than the King's brief for setting up the Bible of the greater volume was issued, ordering now that the decree should not only be "solemnly published and read," but "set up upon every church door—that it may more largely appear unto our subjects. Witness myself, at Westminster, the seventh day of May, in the thirty-second year of our reign," *i. e.* Friday 7th of May 1540.

It is curious enough, however, that there was another Bible in folio, also dated in *April* of this year. It has been frequently mis-stated as being Cranmer's, as if it were the same as the last. There are various distinctions. It is not only without Cranmer's prologue, and differs from his translation in the psalms and elsewhere, but the New Testament is said to be after the last recognition of Erasmus: that is, it is the same version as that which accompanied the Latin and English Testament printed by Redman in 1538. The book, therefore, is to be classed with Matthew's or Tyndale's translation. It is on a smaller type and paper than the last, and seems to have been intended for the use of families,—Entitled,

"*The Byble in Englishe, that is to saye, the content of all the holye scripture, both of the old and Newe Testament, truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrew and Greke textes. Printed at London by Thomas Petyt and Robert Redman for Thomas Berthelet, printer unto the Kynge's Grace, 1540.*" The Colophon is—"The end of the New Testament, and of the whole Byble, finisshed in Apryll, Anno MCCCCXL."

This book had been submitted neither to the *King*, nor any *Bishop*, even though it was executed for his Majesty's printer. It was warranted by Cromwell, according to the privilege given to him on the 11th of November last. By the month of July, however, another of the great Bibles was ready.

☞ "*The Bible in Englyshe, that is to saye the contēt of al the holy Scripture, both of the olde and newe Testamēt with a prologe thereinto made by the reverende father in God, Thomas Archbishop of Cantorbury.*" ☞ "*This is the Byble apoynted to the use of the churches.*" ☞ "Printed by Richard Grafton, cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum, MDXL." The colophon is—"The ende of the newe Testament and of the whole Byble, fynished in July, Anno MCCCCXL."

Trembling for his life, and imploring mercy from his inhuman master for a month past, this Bible is remarkable for its being finished at the very time of Crumwell's execution, and the more so from its having *still* on the engraved frontispiece, his shield or coat of arms! This had first appeared last year, or 1539, and now a third time in this book; but Crumwell is dead, nay, was put to death on the 28th of this very month, and any *other* undertaking must have suffered, in which he, or any other disgraced minister, had taken such a prominent interest. It has been asserted, indeed, that after his fall, the Bible was complained of, as being heretical and erroneous; nay, that means were taken to persuade the King that the *free* use of the Scriptures, which Cranmer had so strongly urged in his preface, was injurious to the peace of the country. But a crisis had come, for here, by the month of November, a *third* folio Bible is ready for publication. Two editions with Cranmer's name on the title, and marked as appointed for public worship, were already out, and what was now to be done? Crumwell is gone, and Cranmer had not power sufficient to command the Bishops; but there is one alive who in a moment can command them all, or any one whom he is pleased to select. This book, then, must not be lost, nor even suppressed, though the Vicar-general be no more. Nay, an expedient must be adopted not only to silence all calumny, but *push the sale* of the work, to which, it will appear in due time, neither the King nor the Bishops had contributed any pecuniary aid. Here, then, was *Tunstal* standing by, who of all the rest had been so conspicuous as an opponent since 1526, and it was fit that the unbending heterodoxy of this original enemy should now be put to the test; and here was Heath, who had recently gone over to Tunstal's party. Henry, therefore, did what seemed to him the best thing that could have been thought of in these circumstances. He *commanded* these two men to sit down, and say what they thought of the Bible now ready. The book was printed by November: meanwhile Gardiner is sent out of the way to the Emperor's court, and Tunstal and Heath must apply to their task. As Gardiner and others had delayed Cranmer's first edition, and then declared in the end that there were "no heresies in it," why examine the translation again? We may reply, because of Crumwell's execution, and because it was much better, by way of confounding the enemy, to make these opponents speak out. They took time, till the year to which the book belongs was ended, or the 25th of March, and then out it came with a title still more pompous, declaring the fact as now stated.

"*The Byble in Englishe of the largest and greatest volume, auctoryed and apointed by the commandemente of our moost redoubted Prynce and soueraygne Lorde Kynge Henry the VIII., supreme heade of this his churche and realme of Englaunde: to be frequented and used in every churche in this his sayd realme, accordynge to the tenour of his former Injunctions giuen in that behalfe.* ¶ *Oversene and perused at the commaundmēt of the*

Kynge's Hyghnes, *by the ryghte reverende fathers in God Cuthbert Bysshop of Duresme, and Nicolas Bisshop of Rochester. Printed by Edward Whitchurch. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 1511.*" The Colophon—"The end of the New Testament and of the whole Byble Fynisshed in November 1540," though not published till 1541.

This was in truth another triumph over the enemy, one of most grievous annoyance to Master Gardiner; and this he will not fail to discover on the first occasion in which he can find his brethren assembled, after his return from abroad. Some poor petty spite was indeed already discoverable. The reader will recollect of the homage falsely imputed to Henry, by an engraved frontispiece to the three last Bibles; in which Crumwell and Cranmer are represented at full length, above, as receiving the Bible from the King, and below, as giving it to the people. At the feet of each figure, it will be remembered, was his shield or coat of arms. The frontispiece, esteemed a treasure of its kind, must not be thrown away. But the *arms* of Crumwell are now erased! Still there stands the figure intended for him, and so it continued to do, throughout seven editions! That is, three of them with his shield and four without. But if this was the first with the shield erased, it was the first also with Tunstal's name, and the figure of Crumwell, now so well known, standing by. And *is Saul also among the Prophets?* might not the people have exclaimed, and perhaps did; though we have yet to hear again of Tunstal and Heath's feigned obedience. There had been no time left for them to *alter* the translation. The book was laid before them, no doubt, as it had come from the press. A title was wanting to suit the moment, and Henry, *now* his own Vicar-general, commanded the present one. It will make way for two other editions from Cranmer.

In addition to these four Bibles, it is said that there was a fifth, and in five volumes as small as sexto-decimo, printed by Redman; but, at all events, there was a New Testament in quarto, with Erasmus and Tyndale in parallel columns. Thus amidst all the turmoil, and in spite of foes, the cause went forward, and still from conquering to conquer.

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## SECTION IV.

EUROPEAN POWERS VERGING TO HOSTILITY—THE THIRD LARGE BIBLE, WITH TUNSTAL'S NAME, BY COMMAND—THE FOURTH, IN MAY, WITH CRANMER'S NAME EXPENSE OF THESE LARGE UNDERTAKINGS—THE MEMORABLE PROPRIETOR, ANTHONY MARLER—THE FIFTH GREAT BIBLE, WITH TUNSTAL'S NAME—THE SIXTH, WITH CRANMER'S NAME—GARDINER RETURNED, TO WITNESS THE PROGRESS NOW MADE DURING HIS ABSENCE.

AFTER the fall of Crumwell, after the royal marriage of last year, and some degree of amicable intercourse commenced be-

tween the Emperor and Henry; the Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal party may be considered as at the height of their power; so that whatever shall take place with regard to the printing or publication of the Sacred Volume, becomes the more remarkable, and especially when viewed in connection with civil affairs.

Although the spirit of the English nation was now so crushed, or sunk, under the despotic sway of her King, in the month of April an inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, but it was soon suppressed, and the leader, Sir John Neville, with several other gentlemen, put to death. This rising having excited fresh fear respecting the influence or intrigues of Cardinal Pole, "the Lady of Sarum," or Countess of Salisbury, his aged mother, the last of the Plantagenets, on the 27th of May, was beheaded in the Tower. Though in her seventieth year, owing to her bold resistance of the sentence, and the bungling barbarity of the executioner, every spectator must have been horrified.

At this period, all the powers of Europe, but ill at ease, were once more verging towards a state of open war. No man, however, could have divined, how all the parties would ultimately arrange themselves into two hostile bands; and we shall have to wait till the spring of 1543 before they have assumed their respective and memorable positions. We refer not to England and Scotland only, or to France and Spain, but also to Germany, Italy, and even the Grand Turk.

Considerable interest belongs to this year, as being the last in which Bibles were printed under the present reign, even though Henry had still five years to live. By his "commandment" both Tunstal and Heath gave in their adherence to the translation, and in an edition certainly finished in November last. It may therefore be presumed that the order to look over it, had come after the book was finished at press, since it did not appear before the 25th of March this year. But this would not suffice for 1541.

By the end of May another edition was ready by Cranmer, thus proving that, for all practical purposes, the version was precisely the same throughout, whether his name, or that of its ancient foe, Tunstal, was affixed. This edition, as if marked out for observation, is particularly dated in red on the *title* page, as well as in black at the end.

"*The Byble in Englysh, that is to saye the content of all the holy Scripture, both of the olde and newe Testament, with a prologe therein to made by the reuerende father in God, Thomas archebysshop of Cantorbury.*" "This is the Byble appoynted to the use of the Churches. Printed by Edwarde Whitchurch. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum. Finished the xxviii daye of Maye, Anno domini MDXLI." The Colophon is—"The ende of the newe Testament: and of the whole Byble, Fynysshed in May MCCCCXLI. a dño factū est istud."

Here then was not less than the fifth folio Bible completed, in the short space of less than two years. Nay, four have been completed in thirteen months! We have before us therefore, unques-

tionably, a magnificent undertaking. Means must be taken for the disposal of these volumes, and provision for this end may well be made by those who had been at *no* expense, should they possess *any* influence. We dismiss, at present, the expense of all other editions, and taking up those only in which we find the names of Grafton or Whitchurch, partners in business as the printers; from that first edition which was imported by them in 1537 down to only the present moment, we have six editions. The impressions thrown off have been rated at from 1500 to 2500 copies; so that if we take the medium, here were twelve thousand volumes. We now know, from Grafton himself, that £500 had been embarked by him in the *first* edition, given to Britain; but those that followed after, were still finer books. Granting therefore that there had been here a sum of no more than £3000 incurred, though there must have been more, this, according to the value of money in our day, was equal to forty, if not forty-five thousand pounds!

The memorable edition of 1537, and that chiefly printed in Paris and finished in London in 1539, are not to be forgotten; but we now only look to those volumes to which the brief of the *King* on the 7th of May last year, and the names of *Craumer* and *Trustal* on the title-page direct us, or four editions. These, according to our very moderate calculation, involved £2000 in advance, or equal to thirty thousand pounds now.

The *sale* of these large volumes, so long loosely styled "Cranmer's Bibles," must now no longer be neglected, lest the noble proprietor, though to us hitherto little more than an unknown private gentleman, should be, as he said himself, *undone forever*. It was a crisis, in the finest keeping with our entire history. There was no application about to be made by him to Government, for any *pecuniary* aid, and far less to Henry VIII. personally; but it was at least proper that his Privy Council should be reminded of their royal Master's imperative injunctions of May 1540; and so they were in prospect of Cranmer's last impression.

After the death of Crumwell, Henry's Council was divided into two separate sections; of which one sat in London, the other was with the King; and, what is curious enough, then, for the first time we have regular minutes of his Privy Council. It is from this source, the most authentic of all others, that we hear more particularly of that worthy citizen, *Anthony Marler*. Strange! that for three hundred years he should have been overshadowed, by the King on the one hand, and the Primate on the other; but they are now *both* certainly here present, to witness for themselves, and to be overshadowed in their turn. Thus it is that "time unveils truth."

*Minutes of the Privy Council: at Greenwich 25 April, 33 of Henry VIII.*, that is 1541, "It was agreed that Anthony Maler of London, merchant, might sell the bibles of the Great Bible unbound for x s. sterling, (equal to £7, 10s.,) and bound, being trimmed with bullyons for xii s. sterling;" or equal to £9. What then must have been the cost of that splendid illuminated copy,

printed on *vellum*, which he had presented to the King? But once more.

*Ibid.* at *Greenwich*, 1 *May*. "Whereas Anthony Marler of London, merchant, put up a supplication to the foresaid Council, in manner following,"—"Whereas it hath pleased you, for the commonwealth to take no small pains for the furtherance of the price of *my books*; most humbly I beseech the same, to have in consideration, that unless I have, by the mean of proclamation, some charge or commission that *every* church, not already provided of one Bible, shall, according to the King's Highness' former injunctions given in that behalf, (7th May 1540,) provide them with a Bible of the largest volume, by a day to be prefixed and appointed, as shall be thought most convenient by your wisdoms, my great suit that I have made herein is not only frustrate and void, but also, being charged as I am with an importune sum (troublesome number) of the said books *now lying on my hands*, am *undone forever*. And therefore trusting to the merciful consideration of your high wisdoms, I humbly desire to obtain the same commission, or some other commandment, and I, with all mine," &c.

Now, in reply to this application, we have not one word from his Majesty, then presiding, from Cranmer, then present, or from any other, as to any advance of money; nor indeed any other mode of relief, except that which was so reasonably requested. Therefore, "It was agreed that there shall be another proclamation made, and that the day to be limited for the having of the said book shall be Hallowmasse," or 1st November. Only five days, therefore, were allowed to pass, when there was issued—

"A proclamation by the King's Majesty, with the advice of his Council, for the Bible to be had in every church, &c., devised the sixth day of May, the 33d year of the King's reign"—That is, Friday, 6th May, 1541.

This proclamation, after referring to the former injunctions, goes on:—"Notwithstanding many towns and parishes within this his realm have neglected their duties—whereof his Highness marvelleth not a little—and minding the former gracious injunctions, doth straitly charge and command that the curates and parishioners of every town and parish not having already provided, shall, on this side of the Feast of All Saints (1st Nov.) next coming, *buy* and provide Bibles of the largest volume, and cause the same to be set up and fixed in every of the said parish churches, there to be used according to the former injunctions—on pain, that the curate and inhabitants of the parish or town shall *forfeit* to the *King* forty shillings (equal to £30) for *every month* after the said feast, that they lack or want the said Bible—one half to the King, and the other half to him or them that first inform the King's Council. That the *sellers* shall not take for the Bible unbound above ten shillings, or if bound and clasped above twelve shillings, on pain of *four* shillings, (£3,) one half to the King, and the other to the informer."

This must have so far brightened the prospect of our patriotic proprietor, as we shall find another edition of the Great Bible soon ready for publication, proceeding from the same quarter, nay, and another still, before the year is done ! But in the meanwhile it is now evident, that so far from Henry VIII. being at any *expense* for the Bibles already printed by Grafton and Whitchurch, as some have unwarrantably affirmed, the King was now rather in the way of *making* a little money, by publications in which he had no pecuniary concern ! At least every *fine* would bring him £1. for a book which would have cost no more than 10s. ; or in other words, the value of £15, for an article at £7, 10s. But if the purchase had been neglected *two* months, then his Majesty would have £30 ; if *three*, £45 ! While, on the other hand, for every overcharge he was to receive two shillings, or equal to thirty.

But besides this proclamation, in five days more, or Wednesday, 11th May, came a letter from no other than *Edmund Bonner*, Bishop of London, (still obsequiously so far playing the hypocrite,) for the execution of the King's orders, addressed to his Archdeacon ; and so eager must he appear to secure the royal favor, that in September he also put forth an "Admonition to all readers of this Bible in the English tongue"—"Evermore foreseeing that no exposition be made thereupon, otherwise than it is declared in the book itself—that no reading be used in the time of divine service—or, finally, that no man justly may reckon himself to be offended thereby, or take occasion to grudge or malign thereat."

The reading of the Sacred Scriptures, however, it must ever be borne in mind, had now been a practice, not in London merely, but throughout England, and for *fifteen* years ; to what extent, indeed, it is impossible to say. But as we have long seen, many of Henry's subjects had truly not waited for his poor permission, whether to read or to hear ; and in many a corner, far and near, there were those who knew far more of Christianity, and to better purpose, than did any of the members of Government. Even five years ago, the late Edward Fox, of Hereford, a *rara avis* among the Bishops, had boldly told his brethren as much, and it was certainly no more than the truth. On the return of Bonner from Paris, where he had pretended great zeal for the Scriptures, to please Crumwell ; and immediately after the King's brief in 1549, to please both, this consummate hypocrite had set up six Bibles in St. Paul's for public reading. The result at once proved, how far the people were ahead of these official men. *They came instantly and generally to hear the Scriptures read. Such as could read with a clear voice often had great numbers round them. Many set their children to school, and carried them to St. Paul's to hear.* It was, however, not long before the language of our Saviour himself—"Drink ye *all* of it," struck them, and very naturally led to discussion. The complaints of some, in lack of argument, of which the adverse party took care to avail themselves, were dexterously conveyed to the King. In *their* eyes, this reading of the Scriptures by the people, and hearing them read in



public, was a sore evil; and an opportunity must be sought and seized for putting it down. Crumwell, the terror of the Bishops, was gone; and Gardiner is out of the country; but Bonner, though always false at heart, must still dissemble: nay, moreover, here actually come Tunstal and Heath once more, and with another edition of the great Bible, in November!

“*The Byble in Englyshe of the largest and greatest volume, auctorysed and apoynted by the commandemente of our moost redoubted Prynce and soneraygne Lorde, Kyng Henrye the VIII., supreme heade of this his Church and realme of Englande: to be frequented and used in every Church in this his sayd realme, accordyng to the tenour of his former Injunctions giuen in that behalfe.*” ¶ *Oversene and perused at the commaundmēt of the Kynges Highnes, by the ryghte reverende fathers in God, Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme, and Nicolas bysshop of Rochester. Printed by Rycharde Grafton, 1511.*” The colophon is—“The ende of the newe Testament and of the whole Byble. Fynyshed in November, Anno MCCCCXLJ.”

Nor would even this suffice. Anthony Marler, the only paymaster as yet named, or to be named, is still ready to proceed; and a final edition was completed before this year was done. It had been going on at press *with* other editions; and, it is curious enough, *from* last year, but it was not finished till the close of the present; at the same time, it may have been only *nine* months in the press, as their year extended to the 25th of March. Cranmer was not to be outdone by these two Bishops, and, therefore, as in May last, so he now follows them up immediately with his usual title, and an emphatic *colophon*, as if he had been in wonder at the compliance of Tunstal and Heath.

“*The Byble in Englishe, that is to saye, the content of all the holy scripture both of the olde and newe testament, with a prologe thereinto, made by the reverende Father in God, Thomas archebissshop of Cantorbury.*” ¶ *This is the Byble appoynted to the use of the Churches.* ¶ Printed by Rycharde Grafton. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. An. do. MDXL.” The colophon, is—“The ende of the Newe Testament, and of the whole Bible, Fynysshed in December MCCCCXLI. *A domino factum est istud. This is the Lordes doynge.*”

And thus ended the year; so that we have four of these large folios dated in 1511. It was certainly a strange movement on the part of Henry VIII., and one which must have taken many by surprise, for him first to send Gardiner off to Germany, and then, as soon as he was gone, command his friends, Tunstal and Heath, to give in their adhesion to the Bible, to which Cranmer had bowed; and then also to place their names in the title-page, in token of their full approbation—a translation almost verbally the same in the New Testament, which the King himself, and Wolsey had first denounced, and Tunstal after them, consigned again and again to the flames! Such, however, was the fact. The undertaking was *not* to be denounced, even though Crumwell, now

rated as a heretic and a traitor, had imported the types, and pushed forward the printing, not only of these, but of other editions.

But lo ! here is Stephen Gardiner, returned in October, and gone direct to the King from Charles V. With what surprise must he have beheld the progress made ! On going abroad, his party reigned triumphant ; it was now in disgrace, and the Queen, whose marriage he had fostered, is about to ascend the scaffold, having been charged with infidelity to the King. But, especially, if he had not been informed, with what feelings must he have gazed on the names of Tunstal and Heath in the very title-page of these Bibles !

Tunstal was now in his sixty-eighth year, and appears to have been in some degree softened with his years ; Gardiner never was ; and now, though of these volumes there were eight editions in regular series, to say nothing of others, which had received Henry's approval, and two of these carried the obsequious, but well-known attestation of Tunstal and Heath ; still this Bishop of Winchester stood resolved to put forth all his strength, in the way of cunning sophistry, against the translation thus acknowledged, and now reading in public, in so many places. Certainly he had owned to the King before, that there were "no heresies in it." But another Parliament is summoned, and another *Convocation*, where Gardiner anticipated that he might even yet work wondrously. Let him try ; that he himself, and his brethren may come to their greatest humiliation, and to their final discomfiture as a Convocation.

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## SECTION V.

THE ENEMY ON THE RACK—PARLIAMENT OPENED—THE FIFTH QUEEN EXECUTED—CONVOCATION MET—THE BIBLE INTRODUCED THERE FOR DISCUSSION AT LAST—SINGULAR DISPLAY—GARDINER'S GRAND EFFORT IN OPPOSITION—CRANMER INFORMS THE KING—PROGRESS OF THE TRUTH IN ENGLAND.

By this year, such had been the progress made in the cause of Divine Truth, that the imaginations of its enemies were literally put to the rack. Oppose they must ; but how to proceed, was a problem not of easy solution. Upon his second return from the Continent, in October last, Gardiner had found far greater occasion for regret, than he had done even before, in September 1538. Then, he could step into his fiery chariot, and bring Lambert to the stake ; he and Norfolk had been worming themselves into royal favor ever after ; and upon setting off for the imperial Court, in November 1540, whether he should there fully succeed or not, everything at home seemed to promise other, and, as he thought, better days ; now that Crumwell was gone, and his Majesty so delighted with

the Queen which had been furnished to him by the old learning party. She was their first and *only* choice, on whose sway depended anticipations not a few. But now, that mainstay had fallen; Gardiner's friend, the Duke of Norfolk, had been trembling for his personal honors, if not his life; while, to crown all, that pillar of strength, Cuthbert Tunstal, had not merely given way, but his name had been employed, by royal authority, as though he had personally gone over to the other side. Still the party must rally once more. By this time, it might have been supposed that their arrows would have been expended and their quiver empty; but, subtle and ingenious in the extreme, their sophistry prevailed once more. If the peculiar situation of the King be taken into account, it must appear surprising that they should have been successful in swaying his mind now; though, in the end, we shall leave it to the judgment of the reader, whether the whole proceeding, on the part of Henry, does not carry very much of the appearance of a *snare*, in which, when caught, the Bishop of Winchester, from being the most conspicuous character, became the most ridiculous. Be this as it may, these men will not stop till they have exposed themselves to the derision of posterity; and as soon as we have briefly disposed of the civil events of the year, the entire scene will come before us.

Parliament having assembled on Monday the 16th of January, proceeded immediately to the loathsome and revolting affairs connected with the royal household. Among the members present, was to be seen the son of Crumwell, and sitting as a Baron; so strange were the movements of our capricious Monarch. Commissioners having been appointed to examine the Queen once more; on the 28th she repeated her confessions, though to what extent is not recorded. Both Houses declared her guilty: and in the Act passed, they petitioned the King, that once, "not to be troubled, lest it might shorten his life!" and that the Queen and all the others attainted, "might be punished with death!" The bill was passed by the 8th of February; on Saturday the 11th, Henry gave his assent; and on Monday the 13th, without any regard to his express promise of *mercy*, blood was shed. That infamous woman, Lady Rochford, had been an accomplice; and thus, she who had acted so dreadful a part towards her own husband, and his sister Anne Boleyn, now righteously perished on the same scaffold with the Queen, to whose ruin she had also contributed. The property of the other branches of the Howard family being once secured in his Majesty's Palace at Westminster and elsewhere, the public censure of such severity led Henry to pardon those, whom Parliament in the perfection of its servility had condemned to death, though some of the parties were left to linger long in prison.

Parliament having assembled, the Convocation also met, January 20th; and as it sat till the 29th of March, of course it proved, as usual, though only *apparently*, a critical period for the Sacred Scriptures. After so many storms, as all along there had been no *real* danger, so there will not be any now. At the opening Rich-

ard Cox, Archdeacon of Ely, had preached to the House, of course in Latin, and if he had intended his text to be satirical, he could not have been more severe. It was "*Vos estis sal terræ*,"—"ye are the salt of the earth!!"—and no doubt a very different sermon from that of Latimer six years ago.

After being detained for some time by the King's personal unhappy affairs in Parliament, these men proceeded to business in the Convocation; and at their third session, on Friday the 17th of February, the Translation of the Scriptures, so often discussed there without any result, must once more come before them. The reader cannot have forgotten their former abortive attempts, and may be the more curious to observe what happened now. They appear ever to have been afraid to look any farther than the *New Testament*, and it was of this they felt most apprehension. Upon this day, however, Cramer required the bishops and clergy to revise the translation of the New Testament, and so successful had been the votaries of the "old learning," that this was done in the *King's* name. It must have been no welcome proposal to the Archbishop, after he had so fully committed himself. However, as usual, he must obey; and therefore, having divided the volume into fourteen parts, he allotted them to fifteen Bishops, as follow:—

Matthew . . . . .	to <i>himself</i> , Cramer of Canterbury.
Mark . . . . .	to <i>Longland</i> of Lincoln.
Luke . . . . .	to <i>Gardiner</i> of Winchester.
John . . . . .	to <i>Goodrich</i> of Ely.
The Acts . . . . .	to <i>Heath</i> of Rochester.
Romans . . . . .	to <i>Simpson</i> of Chichester.
Corinthians, 1 and 2 .	to <i>Capon</i> of Salisbury.
Galatians to Ephesians	to <i>Barlow</i> of St. David's.
Thessalonians 1 and 2	to <i>Bell</i> of Worcester.
Timothy to Philemon .	to <i>Parfear</i> of St. Asaph.
Peter, 1 and 2 . . . .	to <i>Holgate</i> of Llandaff.
Hebrews . . . . .	to <i>Skip</i> of Hereford.
James to Jude . . . .	to <i>Thirlby</i> of Westminster.
Revelation . . . . .	to <i>Wakeman</i> of Gloster and <i>Chamber</i> of Peterboro.

Here, let it be observed, were two notable and curious omissions. What had become of *Tunstal* and *Bonner*—the former once so outrageously zealous *against* the Scriptures in London; the latter as much so *for* them while in Paris? Tunstal having but recently committed himself to *two* editions of the Bible, by express *commandment* from the King, must have either declined, or, with his characteristic "stillness," perhaps expected to "oversee" once more the wished-for revision. Bonner, though a canonist and wily politician, was very probably no scholar; or, like his predecessor, John Stokesly, would have no connection with the affair.

At their sixth meeting *Gardiner* came forward, therefore, with the fruit of his own counsel, and made a proposal perfectly characteristic, which he was sure to carry triumphantly within the Convocation. It was at best a puerile design, and to us now, a most contemptible one, with a view to keep the people of England in their ancient ignorance. He then read a list of not fewer than

one hundred and two *Latin* words, that "for their genuine and native meaning, and for the *majesty* of the matter in them contained," might be retained in the English translation, or be fitly *Englished* with the least alteration. For the sake of illustration, only a slight specimen will be sufficient.

"*Ecclesia, pœnitentia, pontifer, olacausta* (so in the record) *idiota, baptizare, sacramentum, simulacrum, confiteor tibi Pater, panis, præpositionis, benedictio, satisfactio, peccator, episcopus, ciserà, zizania, confessio, pascha, hostia.*"

The bearing of the entire list is very apparent. Gardiner, indeed, had talked of "majesty" in the words, but there was something else than *majesty* in view. "Witness," says old Fuller, "the word 'penance,' which, according to the vulgar sound, contrary to the original sense thereof, was a magazine of will worship, and brought in much gain to the priests, who were desirous to keep *that* word, because *that* word kept them."

Cranmer, however, being now at his post, and retaining influence with his Majesty, although he had once more dealt out the books of the New Testament among his fellows, soon observed, from their discussions, what would be the result; and therefore determined to wait upon Henry, and inform him how matters went. The Bishops, therefore, were now relieved from their several tasks, and they were, moreover, *no more* to be consulted on the subject! They must be overruled, to a man, though in Convocation assembled. After entering the House, on Friday the 10th of March, Cranmer informed his brethren "that it was the King's will and pleasure, that the translation both of the old and the New Testament, should be examined by both *Universities!*" In vain did the House oppose, and in vain protest; for *all* the Bishops present did so, with only two exceptions, viz., Goodrich of Ely, and Barlow of St. David's. Cranmer, who saw that his brethren only desired to get rid of the translation altogether, then finally told them that he "would stick close to the will and pleasure of the King his Master, and that the Universities should examine the translation." This, however, after all turned out as though it had been simply an expedient adopted for putting an end to the foolish proposal of submitting the Word of God to the revision of any such men; for even the Universities were never consulted!!

To have ruined *Murter*, the worthy member of the Haberdasher's Company, in the eyes of the Convocation, would have been quite an achievement; but Anthony's precious property was now safe, and it seems that something more must instantly be said respecting it. It is singular that *forty-eight hours* were not allowed to pass away! Cranmer must have immediately informed the King of his final reply; and now, so far from looking to any University, out came the following authoritative communication, dated on (*Sunday*) the 12th of March 1542; thus verifying the old proverb—"the better day, the better deed."

"Henry the Eighth, &c.—To all Printers of books within this realm, to all our Officers, Ministers, and Subjects, these our Let-

ters, hearing or seeing, greeting. We let you wit, that we, for certain causes convenient, of our Grace special, have given and granted to our well-beloved subject, *Anthony Marler*, citizen and Haberdasher of our city of London, only to print *the Bible in our English tongue*, authorised by us, himself or assigns. And we command that no manner of persons within these our dominions shall print the said Bible, or any part thereof, within the space of *four years next ensuing the printing of the said book by our said subject* or his assigns. And further, we will and command our true subjects and all strangers, that none presume to print the said work, or break this our commandment and privilege as they intend eschewe our punishment and high displeasure. Witness ourself at Westminster the xii day of March. *Per breve de privato sigillo.* 1512."

As there were no more folio Bibles printed in Henry's reign, it has often been supposed that this was owing to the strength of the opposing party; but the fact has now been accounted for in a manner more satisfactory. Let it only be observed that by the end of last year, or only four years and four months from August 1537, of Tyndale's translation, and based on Tyndale's, there had issued from the press not fewer than *twelve* editions of the entire Bible, ten in folio, and two in quarto. And it was well they had; they were laid up in store, like Joseph's *corn* in Egypt, for the next four years. The impression of each of those Bibles has been calculated as ranging from 1500 to 2500 copies; but say that there were 2000 copies on an average, here were more than *twenty thousand* Bibles, a most memorable fact, under all the circumstances. Many of the copies which had been printed since 1539 may have been yet for sale; and Marler, it is evident was so overstocked, that he was afraid of ruin by his outlay. The King's letters in his favor now extended his privilege to December 1545. immediately after which we shall find that Grafton was at work again, with an edition of the New Testament. But independently of this ample supply in folio and quarto, it must ever be remembered that there were many thousands of the New Testament long circulated, and reading far and wide throughout the country. We shall take the proof from one of the best of witnesses, and as it came from the press in London this very year. An admirer of Latimer's, who, in 1526, when only sixteen years of age, used to hear him preach, and George Stafford read lectures, at Cambridge, had then received certain impressions which were never to be erased from his mind.

This youth was Thomas Becon. Born about 1510, he was now 32, and proved, throughout life, one of the most laborious and useful men of his time. Last year, as well as this, he had been busy at the press, even in London, and had published three small pieces, two of which had, next year, already reached a second edition. In one of these he says,—

"I think there is no realm throughout Christendom, that hath so many urgent and necessary causes to give thanks to God, as

we Englishmen have at this present. What ignorance and blindness was in this realm concerning the true and Christian knowledge! How many (speaking ironically) savoured Christ aright? How many walked in the straight pathway of God's ordinances? How many believed Christ to be the alone Saviour? How many trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's death, and the effusion of his most precious blood? How many ran to God alone, either in their prosperity or adversity? How many amplexed Christ for their sufficient Mediator and Advocate unto God the Father? How many felt the efficacy and power of the true and Christian faith? *But now*—Christ's death is believed to be a sufficient sacrifice for them that are sanctified. **THE MOST SACRED BIBLE IS FREELY PERMITTED TO BE READ OF EVERY MAN IN THE ENGLISH TONGUE."**

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## SECTION VI.

PARLIAMENT OPENED—THE CONVOCATION, BAFFLED, ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR INABILITY TO STAY THE PROGRESS OF DIVINE TRUTH BY APPLYING NOW TO PARLIAMENT—PARLIAMENT DISGRACES ITSELF BY MALIGNANT BUT VAIN OPPOSITION—BONNER WITHDRAWN OR SENT ABROAD—EXTRAORDINARY ARRANGEMENT OF ALL THE EUROPEAN POWERS—HENRY'S SIXTH MARRIAGE.

PARLIAMENT was assembled this year on the 22d of January, and sat till the 12th of May. The long-suffering of Heaven with such a Government, was, by this time, eminently conspicuous; but as the King on the Throne had been overruled, and the cause of Divine Truth had hitherto not only baffled the Convocation, but laid it prostrate; so if there were any remaining branch of authority about to prove so infatuated as to interfere, it was fit that it should be left to expose both its folly and weakness to posterity by so doing. Its interference, however, may be traced to the infatuation and enmity of the Convocation; for these being once infused into Parliament, there was nothing so foolish and contemptible, which they might not entertain and even enact. The Convocation as such, could not of course, cross the threshold of the Senate: but its *leading* members the Bishops might, being members also of the Upper House, or Lords of Parliament. Hence the consequences.

In opposing the Sacred Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, the Convocation having so repeatedly discovered itself to be a powerless body, and more especially since the scene, or unceremonious treatment of last year; it had now seemed to the Bishops that only one mode of attack remained. It was their forlorn hope. They must admit, and now, in effect, acknowledged their own inefficiency, as a body, by introducing the subject into Parliament; & they will try what could be accomplished there. Providen-

tially, however, by this time *Tyndale's* translation had been printed under *other* names, such as Matthew, Taverner, Cranmer, *Tunstal*, and *Heath*; for this translation having been retained in *all* the English Bibles, with very little variation, it was now *impossible to reach it*. It so happened, too, that there were, by this time, various editions of the Bible printed *without note and comment*. Marler's editions, as well as others, were of this character, and, backed by the stern authority of the King, there was no possibility of touching any of them. To show, however, to what a low pitch the miserable spite of the enemy was now reduced, as well as to display the servility of Parliament, now become proverbial, an Act was introduced which was actually entitled—"An Act for the *advancement of true Religion*!"—and what were its provisions, nearly ten years after Henry had declared himself Head of the Church of England, and seventeen years after the New Testament had been introduced into our native land?

The name of *Tyndale* was the rallying point, and, in effect, the English Parliament must now furnish their tribute to his memory and talents. Upon setting off, by this Act *his* translation was branded and condemned as "*crafty, false, and untrue*;" although the translation actually reading in the churches! though the translation which Tunstal had been constrained to sanction! though the translation which had been read with avidity since 1526, and that to which the people had discovered such attachment as to perish at the stake, sooner than abandon it! Parliament durst not condemn the Bibles to which the names of Taverner or Cranmer or Tunstal had been affixed, nor even that of *Matthew* by name; because this last had been so pointedly sanctioned by his Majesty, and *it* had prepared the way for all that followed! But, once more roused by the name of Tyndale, it was then enacted,—

"That all manner of books of the Old and New Testament in English, of *this* translation, should, by authority of this Act, clearly and utterly be abolished and extinguished, and forbidden to be kept and used in this realm, or elsewhere, in any of the King's dominions." But it was provided, "that the Bibles and New Testaments in English, *not* being of Tyndale's translations, should stand in force, and not be comprised in this abolition or act. Nevertheless, if there should be found in any such Bibles or New Testaments, any *annotations or preambles*, that then the owners of them should *cut or blot* the same in such wise as they cannot be perceived or read, on pain of losing or forfeiting for every Bible or Testament forty shillings; (or equal to £30,) provided that this article should not extend to the blotting any quotations or summaries of chapters in any Bible."

It was farther enacted,—“That no manner of persons, after the 1st of October, should take upon them to read openly to others, in any church or open assembly, within any of the King's dominions, the Bible or any part of Scripture in English, unless he was so



appointed thereunto by the King, or by any ordinary, on pain of suffering one month's imprisonment!"

But then "the Chancellor of England! Captains of the Wars! the King's Justices! the Recorders of any city, borough, or town! and the Speaker of Parliament! *may use* any part of the holy Scripture as they have been wont!" And "every nobleman or gentlewoman, being a householder, *may* read or cause to be read, by *any* of his *family servants* in his house, orchard, or garden, to his own family, any text of the Bible; and also every merchantman, being a householder, and any other persons, *other than* women, apprentices, &c., *might* read to themselves *privately* the Bible. But *no* women, except *noble* women and *gentlewomen*, might read to themselves alone; and no *artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men* of the degrees of *yeomen*, (officers in the King's family between sergeants and grooms,) *husbandmen or labourers*, were to read the Bible or New Testament *to themselves or to any other, privately or openly*, on pain of one month's imprisonment."

The burning of the Alexandrian Library, and heating its baths with the books, has been often reprobated as barbarous, but the aim of Parliament was impious in the extreme. As far as they durst venture, they intended to take the bread of life out of the mouths of the common people. The Act has been described as "a net *contrived*, to catch or let go, whomsoever they pleased;" but still it may well be inquired, where was "the wisdom of their wise men, or the understanding of the prudent," when they *contrived* it; as the folly displayed was in equal proportion to the malignity. It might have been compared to an act framed to bind the wind, or intercept the light of day; and whatever may have been its vexatious consequences, it was by far too late in being framed.

Observe its contents. It denounced the translation of Tyndale, and enforced it almost in the same breath; for not only was it his translation, under another name, which was to stand in force, but many of his New Testaments had no such name attached to them. As to the second provision, whether any copies of the Bible were so *blotted* or *cut*, is nowhere recorded. If they were, they must have been consumed afterwards, for it is certain that scarcely any copies of all that survive, bear the positive proof of having been so treated. But the folly of the statute is still more glaring, when both the *manner* and the *degree* of reading comes to be regulated by an act of Parliament. While reading in the parish *church* seems to be in part abridged, the reading at *home* in thousands of instances is legalized if not enforced; and reading in the house, as being more deliberate and more retired, was better than reading in the church. Every one knows with what avidity men read, and will read, an interdicted book; but this was only half interdicted! *half* in numerous families, and *half* as it regarded the community at large. This was better still. Thus, in the former case, as *any family servant* was authorized to read

the Scriptures to Master or Mistress, of course he might not only repeat what he read, but could the other servants be effectually prevented from snatching a perusal in the morning or evening, or at midnight? And if every nobleman and gentlewoman, every merchant, or any other, being a householder, were fully authorized to possess, and read the Bible, how were the *women* of the household, how were the *apprentices*, and journeymen, or other domestics, to be guarded and prevented from looking between the Sacred leaves?

Beside these absurdities, there were certain clauses introduced, in mitigation of severity, not unworthy of notice. Offenders, if ecclesiastics, were not to suffer death till the *third* offence; and the punishment of any others was never to extend beyond the forfeiture of goods, and imprisonment for life. The party accused also might bring witnesses, and the accused must be tried within a year after the indictment, while the Parliament, as usual, had to leave the act in the King's power, to annul or alter it at his pleasure! The bloody statute of six articles was in fact thus invaded and softened.

Such a mixture of folly and contradiction demands some explanation. Had Gardiner and his party obtained *all* their wishes, the Scriptures had been suppressed, and wholly interdicted: but it is curious enough that it was *Cranmer* who had introduced *this* act, with the view no doubt of legalizing what he had enforced in his prologue to the Bible—the perusal of the Sacred volume *at home*, and hence the mystery of its *title* is explained. But once introduced into Parliament, and thwarted in his endeavors, it had, in passing through the house, assumed such a grotesque appearance, as to carry in its various clauses, the evidence of two hostile parties fighting with each other. To Cranmer, therefore, may be ascribed the credit of obtaining as much as might be, and of then stultifying the act, to disappoint the devices of the crafty, or carry the counsel of the froward headlong. In short, the passing of this act has been represented by Rapin, as a “mortification” to the adverse party, which “checked their hopes.” That its vexatious operation was at least impeded, there can be but little doubt, from what was taking place at the very moment, as well as what soon followed.

With regard to the time when Parliament was thus acting; it cannot have escaped recollection that we have been called again and again to observe, at certain critical periods, either formerly, when the Scriptures were to be imported from abroad, or since then, when those who prized them were in danger of being molested, that one or more of the bitterest persecutors were either put in check, or sent *out* of the kingdom, in the character of ambassadors to foreign parts. So it happened with Tunstal and Gardiner, and so it happened now. The focus of persecution had ever been in London, just as it was in Jerusalem of old; and of all men living, Bonner at this moment was most blood-thirsty. He had been very busy for more than a year in his favorite employment of per-

secution, and would have been so now. But no sooner had they begun to wrangle in Parliament, than he was sent off the ground by the Supreme Ruler.

Parliament had risen on the 12th of May, and Henry having secured an enormous subsidy, as well as settled his foreign affairs on the 20th, the month of June arrived when the fact was announced; but then at the same time all was preparation for his sixth marriage; and on the 10th of July, to Gardiner was assigned the unwelcome task of espousing the King to *Catharine Parr*. The Queen, as already mentioned, favored the *new* learning; and though she proceeded with caution so as not to offend Henry, and therefore could not prevent the burning of three worthy men at Windsor, by Gardiner's instigation, only eighteen days after her marriage; yet happily, through one of the Queen's servants, the plot which had already involved these men in ruin, and would have swept away others of higher rank, was detected. The King was so offended as to degrade and punish the agents employed.

## SECTION VII.

PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED—HENRY'S STYLE AND TITLE—LONGS TO BE KING OF FRANCE!—WAR WITH SCOTLAND—HENRY IN FRANCE—GARDINER—CRANMER—HENRY'S CONFESSION OF IMPOTENCE IN ALL HIS INJUNCTIONS TO HIS BISHOPS—HIS INCONSISTENCY—NEW TESTAMENT OF TYNDALE'S, A FOREIGN PRINT.

It was upon Tuesday the 14th of January, that Parliament had again met, and it continued sitting till Saturday the 29th of March, when the proceedings, as usual, assumed the shape of *whatsoever* had occurred to the fancy of the Sovereign. As the first Act introduced to the House regarded the Crown, in which the possibility of Princess Mary's ultimate succession was pointed at, the gentlemen of the old learning were not a little pleased, to say nothing of the compliment thus paid to the Emperor, who had long expressed his desire on the subject. About the same time, Henry was resolved not to forget his much-prized *style* or title as King. An act was therefore passed, declaring that this should now be—"King of England, *France*, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and on earth the Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland." Few moments certainly could have proved more awkward for the assumption of such a style.

Henry immediately took steps to make good his title, by invading Scotland and France. Accordingly, troops were landed at Leith, on the 4th of May, and Edinburgh was attacked on the 5th. The Castle defied all their efforts; but after employing four days in the plunder and conflagration of the city, the army, in returning, consigned Haddington and Dunbar to the flames. The fleet was employed against Leith, where, having burnt the town,

demolished the pier, and swept both sides of the Forth as far as Stirling, Lisle returned with his ships to Newcastle.

But the expedition to the Continent, in union with the Emperor, was to form Henry's grand exploit for this year. In June the first division of the English army had landed at Calais; and having appointed the Queen as Regent during his absence, Henry set off, sailing, on the 14th of July, for France, in a ship rigged with cloth of gold! Henry was now within the French frontier at the head of 45,000 men, of whom 30,000 were English troops, and the rest Imperial. The Emperor having been much the earliest in the field, had commenced with sieges while waiting for his ally, and three fortresses had already fallen before him. Henry must not be beaten, and therefore resolved to commence after the same fashion. Sitting down himself before Boulogne, he gave Montreuil in charge to Norfolk.

Charles had reached within two days' march of Paris, which had taken alarm, and even Francis had begun to tremble. The season was advancing, great arrears were due to the Imperial army, and the Emperor could not winter in France. A treaty was soon signed. The Emperor found it perfectly convenient to make peace with Francis, leaving our English Monarch to settle his own affairs, and return home as he best could! It was only the day before that Henry had been riding in great triumph into Bonlogne, and with this he must now be satisfied, instead of the capital and crown of France.

The first bill in Parliament, involving as it did, the prospect of Princess Mary's possible succession to the throne, seems to have inspired the gentlemen of "the old learning;" for although Cranmer had triumphed over his accusers last year, it was during this Parliament that the minion of Norfolk and Gardiner, Sir John Gostwyck, of whom we have already heard enough, as the accuser of Crumwell, ventured to accuse the Archbishop of *heresy*, openly in the House of Commons; but the knight, whom his Majesty instantly denounced as a *varlet*, had to repair forthwith to Lambeth, to humble himself there, and crave forgiveness. On the other hand, Gardiner was about this time placed in very awkward, if not critical circumstances, by his kinsman, some have said nephew, and secretary, Germain Gardiner. Once the feeble opponent of John Fryth, having been apprehended for denying the King's supremacy, he suffered the penalty of death as a traitor on the 7th of March. However, the Bishop contrived, as usual, to make his peace with the King, and happily he was soon to be despatched upon foreign affairs; though still, if Gardiner failed in any way, he sunk; while Cranmer remained or rather advanced in royal favor.

To the latter, therefore, the present moment appeared to be a favorable one for the further mitigation of the bloody statute, which had been already somewhat softened last year; and Cranmer succeeded in carrying a new Act this session. By this, in future, no individual was to be brought to trial under that statute, till after he had been legally presented, on the oaths of *twelve*

men, before such commissioners as are mentioned in this Act, and referred to in another; nor was he, *till then*, to be imprisoned. No reputed offence of an older date than *one* year was to be actionable; nor was any preacher to be indicted, if *forty days* had elapsed after any sentiment he had uttered in the pulpit. The accused might also challenge any jurymen. These provisions formed so many very important alleviations in the fury of persecution; though two years hence, as in the cases of Anne Askew and others, they were most scandalously disregarded.

By the time that Henry departed from France, also, it will be observed, that not only were Norfolk and Gardiner withdrawn from the country, but the Queen was Regent; and with Cranmer at the head of her Council, the chief man bent upon cruelty and mischief, or Bonner of London, must have been under certain restraint. Nor was this all. Just before his Majesty left, it deserves notice that prayers in the *English* tongue were directed to be generally used. This fact in itself was important; but in reference to past times, and royal influence, not so much so as another, which now comes out incidentally—

“We have sent unto you,” says the King to all the Bishops of his realm, “We have sent unto you these suffrages, not to be *for a month or two* observed, and after *slenderly* considered, as *other our injunctions*, to our no little marvel have been used, but to the intent that as well the same, as other our injunctions, may be earnestly set forth,” &c.

Thus it was officially acknowledged that the King’s former injunctions had carried no powerful or prolonged influence. Before this we have frequently had occasion to observe, that the cause of God and his truth had been so peculiarly conducted, as to have no leaning or dependence on him whatever. We have seen, by many striking proofs, that it went on in its course, first in defiance, and then independently of royal interference. But now, towards the close of his reign, lest posterity should mistake, or not observe it, as far as his own name and authority had been employed, here is an artless and very frank confession of *impotence*, on the part of his Majesty, if not also of Cranmer, who is supposed to have drawn up the injunction.

So far, indeed, from being a consistent friend to the progress of Divine Truth amongst his subjects, only last year Henry had lent his authority to the reprobation of the original translator, at whose death he had winked so hard; and frowned upon the *poor* for reading the *Sacred Volume*. His injunctions, like himself, staggering from side to side, must have confounded the public mind; and considering what had passed in Parliament last year, in reprobating the name and writings of Tyndale, it was not wonderful that the indignity should be resented. Tyndale’s very name had become precious to many, and his translations of Scripture were now carefully preserved or hoarded in many a corner throughout England, far beyond the ken of Bishop, or King, or any underling.

Meanwhile, there seems to be no account whatever upon record of the seizure or burning of the New Testament, though there might have been, had foreign politics and preparations for war not engrossed attention; but Lewis and some others have gone too far when they have stated that Day and Seres printed the Pentateuch this year. Day had not yet begun to print at all, and the volume must belong to a subsequent impression, or that of 1549. It is, however, curious, and more to the purpose, that a foreign press was at work even this year, and with an edition of Tyndale's New Testament. This must have been in the face of the recent anathema. A copy, once in the possession of the Earl of Oxford, is mentioned in the Harleian Catalogue, with this remark—"it seems to be a foreign print." Indeed it must have been so; and it may be put down in these troublous days, as a serenade from Antwerp or elsewhere, in answer to the contemptible brawl in Parliament last year.

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## SECTION VIII.

WAR WITH FRANCE—UNDERMINING CRANMER—HIS ENEMIES COVERED WITH SHAME—HENRY ADDRESSING HIS PRIVY COUNCIL—HIS OPINION OF IT—ADDRESSING HIS PARLIAMENT FOR THE LAST TIME.

WE are now within two years of the King's death, and the entire period was fraught with great misery to his subjects, though, generally speaking, not after the fashion in which they had been tormented in past times. His Majesty and the government with all the strength of the kingdom, were at present fully occupied in preparing for self-defence.

France had not been so exhausted by the double invasion of last year, as to be incapable of retaliation. Francis, having now only one enemy before him, resolved to attack Boulogne by land, to block it up by sea, and even invade England.

By the middle of July 136 sail had arrived within sight of Portsmouth, where the English fleet of only sixty sail lay to defend the kingdom. The sands, however, proving their grand defence, the French were unable to dislodge them; though the contrast between last year and the present must have been striking in the extreme, to him who witnessed both.

With the most savage barbarity, the war in Scotland had been pursued, under Seymour, Earl of Hertford. Throughout this busy year, and indeed ever since the death of Crumwell, there had been no man at his Majesty's right hand, fruitful in expedients to supply his exchequer; so that his finances were miserably embarrassed, and new exactions were made upon his oppressed and discontented subjects. His Majesty was at last obliged to summon Parliament and the Convocation. They met on the 23rd of No-

vember; and the last subsidy for three years being now far more than expended, both Lords and Commons, clergy and laity must come forward once more. The Convocation granted fifteen per cent. on their incomes for two years, and the Commons two tenths and fifteenths. The latter, indeed, added to this an additional subsidy from real and personal property, which they entreated his Majesty to accept, "as it pleased the great Alexander to receive thankfully a sup of water of a poor man by the highway-side." To ward off, however, the recurrence or necessity for another "sup of water," the House proceeded one step farther, to the alarm of many who were not present to oppose, nor had ever been consulted. To his Majesty's sovereign disposal they subjected all colleges, chantries, and hospitals in the kingdom, with their manors, lands, or hereditary estates. From a monarch who never repaid his "loans," and crushed his subjects to the ground if they declined a "benevolence," they were satisfied with a promise, that he would not now abuse the confidence of his subjects, but employ the whole "to the glory of God, and the common profit of the realm!" Cambridge and Oxford, however, immediately took the alarm, and approached the throne, craving mercy and forbearance. By this time it has been extremely difficult for historians to find the slightest occasion for offering incense to the memory of Henry, but several have seized the present moment for want of a better, and simply because he left these two Universities in full possession of their revenues!

Among the acts passed at this time, there was one for conveying *seventy* manors to the Crown belonging to the see of York; one for punishing those who took above *ten* per cent. interest for money; and a third for settling the *tithes* in LONDON in proportion to the RENTS of the houses. On the 24th of December Parliament rose, when Henry delivered the *last* oration he ever addressed to it; a strange production, which will be glanced at presently.

In the course of a year so pregnant with misery and confusion throughout the kingdom as this, it may appear difficult to imagine where one moment was left for the gentlemen of the "old learning" to display their hostility; but in the autumn, after the King's return from the mortifying scene at Portsmouth, such a moment was found.

Cranmer had not failed to improve the absence of Gardiner and Norfolk. In the afternoon of the 22d of August, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, died; perhaps the most powerful friend that Cranmer now had. The companion of the King from his earliest youth, and possessing throughout life considerable influence over him: Henry was sitting in Council when first informed of his decease, and could not suppress his feelings. He then declared that during the whole course of their friendship, the Duke had never made *one* attempt to injure an adversary, nor had ever whispered a word to the disadvantage of *any* person. "Is there any of *you*, my Lords, who can say as much?" When his Majesty had ut-

tered these words, he looked round in all their faces, and saw them confused with the consciousness of secret guilt.

Thus so emphatically checked, one might have supposed that they would have been careful not to verify the character which their Sovereign had seemed to insinuate; but no; it was but shortly after the Duke's remains were interred with splendor at Windsor, that certain Privy Counsellors had resolved to move. When the King gave his significant look round the Council, there can be little or no doubt that his Grace of Norfolk, Wriothesly the Lord Chancellor, and even Stephen Gardiner were present; for the latter had returned in spring, and been ever since actively engaged. The fears of the party must have led them to exaggerate; but from the expressions employed, the reader will at least learn what was *their* estimate of the progress now made, in a cause which they denounced as heretical, and so detested. Another mistake they made, not unwillingly, was their ascribing so much to *one* man, and that one man the Archbishop; but he was near to them, and a perpetual eye-sore; they hated him from the heart fervently, and must play their last game, under Henry, with a view to his ruin.

Being, as they imagined, now fully prepared to carry their purpose into effect, the Privy Counsellors waited on his Majesty, when they grievously accused Cranmer; saying, "that he, with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with their *unsavoury doctrines*, that THREE PARTS of the land were become abominable *heretics*; and that this might prove dangerous to the King, as likely to produce such commotions and uproars as had sprung up in Germany." They therefore "requested that the Archbishop might be committed to the Tower, till he might be examined." To their mode of procedure the King at once objected, when they told him, "that the Archbishop being one of the Privy Council, no man dared to object matter against him, unless he were first committed to durance; but that if this were done, men would be bold to tell the truth, and deliver their consciences!" Yet Henry still would proceed no further than this—that Cranmer should appear next day before the Council to be examined by themselves, and should they *then* judge it to be advisable, so commit him to the Tower.

His Majesty, however, knowing the men well, and reflecting on what he had done, about midnight ordered Sir Anthony Denny to cross the river to Lambeth, and command Cranmer's immediate attendance at Whitehall. The Archbishop was in bed, but, of course, instantly rose, and presented himself before his royal Master, whom he found in the gallery of the palace. Henry very frankly told him the whole, and what he had done in granting their request; but concluded by saying—"Whether I have done well or no, what say you, my Lord?" Cranmer, having first thanked his Majesty for the information, went on to say, that he was well content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, if he might be *fairly* heard, not doubting but that his



Majesty would see that he was so treated. Upon hearing these words, Henry, with a profane exclamation, immediately burst forth, after his own characteristic manner—

“What fond simplicity have you, so to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you! Do you not know, when *they have you once in prison*, three or four false knaves will *soon* be procured to witness against you, and condemn you; which else, you being now at liberty, dare not open their lips, or appear before your face? No, not so, my Lord: I have better regard unto you, than to permit your enemies so to overthrow you; and therefore, I will have you to-morrow come to the Council, which, no doubt, will send for you; and when they break this matter unto you, require of them, that being one of them, you may have so much favour as they would have themselves; that is, to have your accusers brought before you. And if they stand with you, without regard of your allegations, and will, on no condition, condescend to your request, but will needs commit you to the Tower—then appeal you from them to our person, and give to them this my ring, by the which they shall well understand that I have taken your cause from them into mine own hand. This ring, they *well* know, I use for no other purpose but to call matters from the Council into mine own hands, to be ordered and determined.” Cranmer having received the ring, humbly thanked his Majesty, and withdrew for the night.

Next morning, and by eight o'clock, a message arrived from the Privy Council requiring Cranmer's attendance. It was immediately obeyed, but when the Primate made his appearance in the anteroom he was not permitted to proceed any farther. There he was kept waiting, among servants and ushers, nearly an hour, while other members of the Council were, in the meantime, passing both in and out. Fortunately, Ralph Morrice, the Archbishop's secretary, was with him; and indignant at this treatment, he slipt off, and informed a warm friend of his master, Dr. William Butts, the King's physician. He first came, and once witness to the fact, proceeded to the royal presence. Having informed his Majesty what a strange thing he had seen. “What is that?” said Henry. “My Lord of Canterbury,” replied the physician, “if it please your Grace, is well promoted; for now he has become a lackey or a serving man; for yonder he hath stood this half hour at the Council Chamber door among them.”—“It is not so,” said Henry; “the Council hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitan of the realm after that sort! But let them alone; it is well enough—I shall talk with them by and bye.”

At length Cranmer was called in. Their Lordships then informed him that great complaints were made of him, both to the King and to them; that he, and others by his permission, had filled the land with heresy; and, therefore, it was the royal pleasure that he should stand committed to the Tower, there to await his trial and examination. As a Privy Counsellor, the Primate

first demanded that his accusers should be immediately called before him, using many arguments against their proceeding to such extremity; but all was in vain—he *must* go to the Tower. “Then,” said Cranmer, “I am sorry, my Lords, that you drive me to this exigent, to appeal from you to the King’s Majesty, who by this token (holding up the ring,) hath resumed this matter into his own hand, and dischargeth you thereof.” The royal signet once delivered, produced more than its usual effect; the Council were amazed, and the first man who broke silence was Lord John Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford:—“When you first began this matter, my Lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the King will suffer this man’s finger to ache? Much more, I warrant you, will he defend his life against brabbling varlets! You do but cumber yourselves to hear tales and fables against him. I know, right well, that the King would never permit my Lord of Canterbury to have such a blemish, as to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason.”

This, however, was no time for confabulation. The Counsellors, to a man, must rise instantly, and carry both the ring and the cause into the royal presence. Henry, of course, was now fully ready for them.

“Ah, my Lords, I thought that I had had a discreet and wise Council, but now I perceive that I am deceived. How have you handled here my Lord of Canterbury? What make ye of him? A slave?—shutting him out of the Council Chamber among serving men! Would ye be so handled yourselves? I would ye should well understand, that I account my Lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me, as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I owe unto God, (laying his hand upon his breast,) and, therefore, whosoever loveth me, will upon that account regard him.”

Something must be said in reply, when Norfolk answered for himself and his fellows:—“We meant no manner of hurt unto my Lord of Canterbury, in that we requested to have him in durance; which we only did, that he might, after his trial, be set at liberty to his greater glory.” Henry, however, was not to be befooled, and only added—“I pray you, use not my friends so: I perceive now well enough how the world goeth among you. There remaineth *malice* among you, one to another; let it be avoided out of hand, I would advise you.”

His Majesty immediately departed, when all the accusing gentlemen, so stern of late, are said to have shaken hands, hypocritically enough, with Cranmer, who was to be troubled no more, after this fashion, for above seven years to come.

It has been thought difficult to say whether Henry, over-persuaded by this junto, was at first in earnest, and afterwards changed his resolution; or whether he took this method to check the forwardness of the Archbishop’s enemies; but let this have been as it may, who does not see, and in the King’s own language, a hideous picture of the past! Here was the base manner in which

many precious lives had been sacrificed. The Council, stript of its disguise, by its own Sovereign, exhibits a shocking spectacle; but above all, what can be said as to the character of the Monarch himself, who, in amazement at Cranmer's simplicity, was perfectly familiar with the unprincipled cruelty of his own Ministers? "Do you not know," said Henry, "that *when THEY have you once in prison*, three or four false knaves will *soon be procured* to witness against you?" Such, no doubt, on many a melancholy occasion, had been the tender mercies of both King and Council.

Having thus schooled his *Privy Council*, by the close of the year his Majesty felt no less disposed to lecture his *Parliament*. We have seen what was the miserable state of Henry's finances; we have seen Parliament strain every nerve, and even exceed their powers, in trying to improve them; and as there was no subject which made its way so directly to the royal heart, as that of pecuniary supplies, the King professed to be uncommonly pleased with his most compliant House. He had, indeed, no idea of blotting out from his style, the monosyllable "France;" but by this time, there is not only no more lofty pretensions to that crown, but he very frankly characterizes the adverse turn which the war had taken—"not for our pleasure, but your *defence*; not for our gain, but to our great *cost*." Still the whole House had done its utmost, and since they had laid at his feet all the Universities, as Henry had no intention of levelling to the dust either Cambridge or Oxford; after taking full credit to himself for being a "trusty friend," a "charitable man," a "lover of the public wealth," and "one that feared God," he proceeds—

"Now, since I find such kindness on your part towards me, I cannot choose but love and favour you, affirming that no prince in the world more favoureth his subjects than I do you, nor any subjects or commons more love and obey their Sovereign Lord, than I perceive you do me, for whose defence my treasure shall not be hidden, nor, if necessity require, shall my person be unadventured!"

The way being thus smoothed, his Majesty proceeds to reprimand the whole House, and nothing will satisfy him short of exposing to the public eye what he thought of them all, as a body. If any benefit was to accrue to posterity, from Henry's own opinion before quitting the stage, he now gives it; and the pith of his address must not be withheld.

He commences with quoting Scripture, and his *text* is "Charity is *gentle*, charity is *not envious*, charity is *not proud*, and so forth in that chapter." But he had seen malice in his Privy Council, and now saw it in Parliament, whether Lords or Commons, Clergy or Laity.

"Behold, then, what love and charity there is amongst you—I see and hear daily that you of the CLERGY preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another, without charity or discretion—Alas! how can the poor souls live in concord when you preachers sow among them, in your sermons, strife and discord? They look for light, and you bring them into

darkness. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set forth God's Word, both by true preaching and good example giving; or else I, *whom God hath appointed his Vicar and high minister here*, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty!

"Yet you of the TEMPORALITY be not clean and unspotted of malice and envy—And although you be permitted to read Holy Scripture, and to have the Word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own consciences, and to instruct your children and family. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that most precious jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled, in every ale-house and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same."

Old John Foxe cannot permit his Majesty to escape with such credit as he would here arrogate to himself. "Charity and concord in Commonwealth, be things most necessary; but in matters of religion, charity and concord be not enough, without verity and true worship of God. And wherein consisteth all this variance, but only because *God's word hath not its free course*, but that those who set it forth are condemned, and therefore burned?" "How are they permitted to hear God's word, when no one is permitted to read it (as far as Parliament had enjoined,) under the degree of a *gentleman*?" Truth and error he regarded "as two mighty flints smiting together, whereupon cometh out the sparkle of this division," and "there is no neutrality, nor meditation of peace, nor exhortation to agreement, that will serve between these two."

Parliament, of course, durst not reply—"Physician heal thyself;" but such language from *such* lips, has seldom if ever been equalled. Some may conjecture that Cranmer must have helped his Majesty to several of his expressions; but if this was indeed Henry's own unaided production, as he himself distinctly intimates, could we obliterate from our minds all the cruelty and wrong, all the reckless and unprincipled despotism of the past, then might we suppose that this was merely the last exchange of civilities on the part of a benignant monarch, concluding the whole with his final and faithful counsel. But as the past cannot be forgotten, and the speaker has yet another year to live, then does the language afford a display of the superlative deceitfulness of the human heart, equal to any in English history. There was evidently as much need as ever for the dying prayer of Tyndale—"Lord! open the eyes of the King of England;" for this exhorter of other men to "gentle charity," was himself not yet done with the shedding of blood! not yet done with breathing after the blood of the living, nor with expressing his enmity towards the original translator of what he now had styled "that most precious jewel the word of God!" Such blindness in any man as to himself, is deeply instructive, and forcibly reminds one of the language of another King—"His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden

with the cords of his sins. He shall die without instruction, and in the greatness of his folly he shall go astray." To all this, the last year of Henry's life will lend but too ample illustration.

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## SECTION IX.

PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND—PERSECUTION REVIVED—ANNE ASKEW—HER MARTYRDOM, ALONG WITH THREE OTHER INDIVIDUALS—ENMITY TO ENGLISH BOOKS—THE SUPPLICATION OF THE POOR COMMONS—THE QUEEN IN DANGER—GARDINER IN TROUBLE—NORFOLK AND HIS SON, SURREY, ARRAIGNED—EXECUTION OF SURREY—NORFOLK DOOMED TO DIE, AND ONLY ESCAPES BY THE DEATH OF THE KING HIMSELF—HENRY AND HIS COURTIER—HENRY, FRANCIS, CHARLES.

DOWN to the month of June, England was embroiled with France and Scotland, until, worn out with this double and expensive war into which he had plunged his country, Henry had begun to long for peace. Negotiations had commenced, indeed, in April, when, after "long debating, and divers breaches," peace was concluded with France. The Emperor was comprehended by both Princes, and Scotland also was included, *if* no new occasion were given—the latter being in fact, a hollow and crafty clause to serve for the future; but, to France, peace was as welcome as to England.

No sooner had the kingdom rest from wars with enemies abroad, than the flames of persecution were kindled again. The martyrdom of Anne Askew is familiar to the reader, and it need not be here repeated. Her constancy in the midst of torture was only equalled by the brutality of the Lord Chancellor, Wriothesly, and Rich, one of the Privy Council, who racked her with their own hands! She refused to renounce her faith in the simple doctrines of the Gospel, and was condemned to the flames. Her execution was ordered to take place in the darkness of night, instead of being as usual in the morning. To behold this horrid scene, and to feast their eyes on the agonies of a dying female martyr, there sat upon a bench, apart and elevated, Wriothesly; his Grace of Norfolk; John, Lord Russell; Bowes, the Lord Mayor, and others, as if they had come to see a pageant. To the spot, Anne, her bones being dislocated, required to be carried in a chair, and there, in the gloom of night, she was joined by three companions; Mr. Lascelles, one of the King's household, John Adams from Colchester, and a priest named Belenian of Otterden, who were all to suffer. Before the fire was kindled, it having been whispered that gunpowder was to be employed in some manner, several of these cowards sitting on high, began to be afraid, lest the faggots on fire should come whizzing about their ears; but upon Lord Russell informing them that the gunpowder was not deposited

under the faggots, but attached to the bodies of the martyrs, the murderers sat still.

That wretched being, strangely named Bishop Shaxton, who, after seven years' confinement, had abjured, stood in a pulpit on the scaffold, fronting this young woman, to preach. In full possession of her mental powers, Anne listened, and whenever he uttered any sentiment inconsistent with the Scriptures, she dissented. "There," said she, "he misseth, and speaketh without the book." Once finished, Wriotheshly's last act followed, that of presenting, and to her first, the King's pardon, if she would recant. "I came not hither," said Anne, "to deny my Lord and Master." Her fellow-sufferers, greatly encouraged by her fortitude and firmness, would not look on the instrument presented for their acceptance. Bowes, the ignorant and brutal Mayor, then called out with a loud voice—"Fiat Justitia!" and the flames were kindled.

A scene more disgraceful to the persecutors of the human mind, had never before occurred, nor one in which the power of Divine Truth was more conspicuous. A weak and unprotected female, abandoned to all the fury of the enemy, stood, like a pillar of brass, while men were proving traitors to the cause, and falling around her. On the day before her trial, Crome was reading his recantation in public, and White, tried on the same day with herself, had also failed and followed his example. As for Shaxton, so refuted by her, only a few moments before she went to the immediate presence of God, he lived for ten years longer, but proved a miserable character ever after. Lascelles, who suffered with her, having before, that night, expressed some anxiety respecting her constancy—"O friend," she replied in writing, "most dearly beloved in God—I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord, I desire you not to believe in me such wickedness."

Before the flames of persecution for the Truth's sake, were kindled for the last time, under this reign, the only thing now to be desired was the testimony of some noble martyr to the *all-sufficiency of the Sacred Volume*. And here it is from the pen of Anne Askew, before she suffered.

"Finally, I believe all those SCRIPTURES to be true, which He hath confirmed with his most precious blood. Yea, and as St. Paul saith, those Scriptures are *sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us*; so that I believe we need NO UNWRITTEN VERITIES to rule his Church with. Therefore, look, what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his Holy Gospel, that have I, with God's grace, closed up in my heart; and my full trust is, as David saith, that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps."

As far as fire and faggot were employed, so ended that war of opinion under Henry the Eighth, which, from the arrival of Tyn-dale's New Testament in England, had now lasted for twenty

years. Latimer was still in prison, and remained there till the death of the King. He was not released till Sunday the 20th of February 1547, or the day on which Edward was crowned, when a general pardon was granted to all prisoners, except Norfolk, Pole, and Courtney, the eldest son of the Marquis of Exeter, at home; and Throgmorton and Pate abroad. It was then that Latimer, released from his honorable imprisonment of more than six years, went to Lambeth, to live for some time privately, under Cranmer's roof.

In the very midst of all this fixed enmity to moral worth, there was still time found for Henry to vent his final malice to the dead, as well as the living; and among them all, special reference must be made to by far the greatest benefactor of his reign—William Tyndale. It seems to have been for the express purpose of lending additional terror to the night in which Anne Askew and her companions were to illuminate Smithfield, by being consumed in the flames, that a proclamation had been devised and issued against *books*. Authorized by the King's name, it was dated the 5th of July, just eight days before the martyrs were burnt.

"From henceforth no man, *woman*, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree, he or they be, (to reach the highest ladies or gentlemen about the Court,) shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament of *Tyndale's* or *Coverdale's*, nor any other than is permitted by the Act of Parliament made in the session of the Parliament holden at Westminster in the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth year of his Majesty's most noble reign. Nor, after the said day, shall receive, have, take, or keep, in his or their possession, any manner of books printed or written in the English tongue, which be, or shall be set forth in the names of *Fryth*, *Tyndale*, *Wicliffe*, *Joye*, *Roye*, *Basil* (*i. e.* Becon) *Bale*, *Barnes*, *Coverdale*, *Turner*, *Tracy*, or by any of them;—but shall, before the last day in August next coming, deliver the same English book or books to his master, if he be a servant, or dwell under any other; and the master or ruler of the house, and such others as dwell at large, shall deliver all such books to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable of the town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly to the sheriff, bishop's chancellor, or commissary, —to the intent that they may cause them incontinently to be *openly burned*; which thing the King's Majesty's pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most effectual sort, and thereof make certificate to the King's Majesty's Most Honourable Council, before the *first day of October* next coming."

"And to the intent that no man shall mistrust any danger of such penal statutes as be passed in this behalf, for the keeping of the said books, the King's Majesty is most graciously *contented*, by this proclamation, to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by this proclamation, for the delivery of the said books; and commandeth that *no* bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable shall be *curious to mark* who bringeth forth

such books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered."

With this proclamation, or immediately after it, there was published a long list of the books interdicted. Already sinking under the weight of mortal disease, such was the last public manifestation of the monarch's malicious folly. Not that the proclamation could have much effect, if indeed any, beyond the precincts of London. The only reported notice of books having been consumed at this period is confined to that city, and this was probably to give some eclat to the vain and expiring effort. A copy of the different publications having been obtained, "soon after this proclamation," says Collier, "the books of the authors mentioned were burnt at Paul's Cross, by the order of (Bonner) the Bishop of London."

Thus Henry, at the very close of life, and his Council, as such, were drawing afresh the line of demarcation between themselves and all the good that had been effected. As much as to say, "let no future historian confound *our* names with it; or above all, ascribe to *us* the commencement and progress of a cause against which we fought to our dying day!" The Bible of Tyndale had, indeed, been sanctioned; "but in this," might his Majesty have added, "I was little else than a passive instrument—I was superintended—I was, to all intents and purposes, only a man overruled."

The enmity now shown was not, however, suffered to pass without notice, and that in a style and manner confirmatory of that marked distinction which we have seen to prevail throughout.

The reader cannot have forgotten what a commotion was excited in 1526, just at the moment when the New Testament of Tyndale had been introduced into England, by a very small publication, entitled *the Supplication of Beggars*, which Sir Thomas More labored to answer. But it is curious enough that, as the commotion at first was thus distinguished, so its close was marked by a second supplication, entitled, "*The Supplication of the poor Commons to the King.*" The author of this last has never been ascertained, but *both* supplications were now published in one book, being alike distinguished for the same boldness of style.

A single extract from this production will exhibit the relation in which the King was regarded as standing to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures. The writer says:

"The remnant of the sturdy beggars not yet weeded out—tell us, that vice, uncharitableness, lack of mercy, diversity of opinions, and other like enormities, have reigned *ever since men had the SCRIPTURES IN ENGLISH.* And what is this other, than to cause men's consciences to abhor the same, as the only cause and original of all this? They say, it sufficeth a layman to believe, *as they teach*; and not to meddle with the interpretation of Scripture. And what meaneth that, but that they would have us as blind again, as we were?"—"They have procured a law, that none shall be so hardy as to have the Scripture in his house.



unless he may spend £10 by the year," (*i. e.* equal to £150 now.) "And what meaneth this, but that they would famish the souls of the residue, withholding their food from them?—Hath God put immortal souls in none other but such as be possessioners in this world? Did not Christ send word to John the Baptist, that *the poor received the gospel*? Why do these men disable them from reading the Scriptures, that are not endued with the possessions of this world? Undoubtedly, most gracious Sovereign, because they are the very same that shut the kingdom of heaven before men. They enter not in themselves; nor suffer they them to enter that would.

"But some will probably say, they were not *all* sturdy beggars, that were in the Parliament, when this law was established: for many of them, and the most part, were *secular* men; and *not of such ability*, that this law would permit them to have the Scriptures in their houses. Wherefore this law is indifferent (impartial) and taketh not the Word of God from us; but we, with our full consent, have committed it to them, in that said law limited. Whereunto we answer, that if we have given it over from us to the possessioners of this world, we may be well likened to the *Gadarenes*, (Mark v.) which desired Christ to depart from their country; and the lurking birds, which cannot abide the brightness of the sun. If we have rejected this merciful proffer of our most merciful Father, to have the Scriptures, the declaration of God's will, *when HE used your Highness, as HIS instrument* to publish and set forth his most lively word—let us fall down prostrate with repentance of this contempt of his merciful gift: most humbly beseeching him to behold the dolours of our heart, and to forget our obstinacy therein—giving your Highness such desire of our salvation; and that you will as favourably restore unto us the Scripture in our English tongue, as you did *at the first* set it abroad. Let not the adversary take occasion to say, the Bible was of a traitor's setting forth, and not of your Highness' own doing; for so they report that Thomas Cromwell, late Earl of Essex, was the chief doer, and *not* your Highness, but as *led* by him.

"When your Highness gave commandment that the Bishops and Clergy should see that there were in every parish *one Bible* at the least, set at liberty; *so that every man might freely come to it and read therein*—many of this wicked generation, as well priests as others, their faithful adherents, would pluck it, either into the choir, or into some pew, where poor men durst not presume to come; yea, there is no small number of churches, that hath no Bible at all. And yet not sufficed with the withholding it from the poor of their own parishes, they never rested till they had a commandment from your Highness, that no man, of what degree soever, should read the Bible in the time of God's service, *as they call it*. As though the hearing of their *Latin* lies, and conjuring of water and salt, were rather the service of God, than the study of his most holy Word. This was their diligence in setting forth the Bible. But when your Highness had devised a proc-

lamation for the burning of certain translations of the New Testament, they were so bold as to burn the whole Bible, because they were of those men's, Tyndale's or Coverdale's translation; and not the New Testament only.

"We heard say that they proffered your Highness, that if you would please to call in the Bible again, forasmuch as it was not faithfully translated in all parts, *they would oversee it, and within seven years* set it forth again! Your Bishops, most victorious Prince, if they might have gotten in the Bible for seven years, would have trusted, that, by *that* time, either your Highness should have been dead, or the Bible forgotten: or they themselves out of your Highness' reach; so that you should not have like power over them, as you have now.

"When your Majesty appointed two of them, TUNSTAL AND HEATH, to overlook the translation of the Bible, they said they had done your *Highness'* commandment therein; yea, they *set their names thereunto*: but when they saw the world somewhat like to wring on the other side, they *denied* it; and said, *they never meddled therewith*. Causing the printer to take out their names, which were erst set before the Bible, to certify to all men that they *had* diligently perused it, according as your Highness had commanded!!"

The outrageous advisers of Henry the Eighth, taking every advantage of his failing strength, having run riot with the body and blood of his subjects, were now hastening to that righteous retribution, which, even in this life, so often falls on the head of the wicked. Too long had they walked after the lusts and devices of their own hearts. Neither Wriothesly nor Gardiner, nor their ducal leader, his Grace of Norfolk, must be permitted to escape. The long-suffering of God was now very nearly exhausted. These men had walked in pride, and they must be abased. As the enemies of light and of all moral excellence, but especially of the *Sacred Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and of all who prized them*, having now vented their malice, it was time that there should be some *reaction*; and what must have rendered it peculiarly galling, was the quarter from whence that reaction came. Instead of committing other people to the flames, they must now look after their own personal safety; and, instead of hunting after books to burn them, the question will be, what is to be the term of their own official, or even actual existence.

Perhaps the last occasion on which the King appeared in gorgeous array was on the 24th of August, when he met the French ambassador, d'Annebaut, and the recent treaty of peace was ratified; as from that period he gradually sunk into a state of complicated misery. For some time, however, this was a subject of such delicacy that no man near the throne dared to commit himself in writing; so that the first recorded hint of failing health is from the pen of a foreigner, in writing to Paget, as late as the 17th of September. The most partial historians have allowed that Henry had been distinguished for sensuality, and that, as a

natural consequence, he became a mass of disease, so unwieldy as to be removed from room to room only by the aid of machinery. His temper, always headstrong, now displayed itself by sudden paroxysms of resentment or fury. From the state of his body, to approach and wait upon him soon became a loathsome task, to which, however, the Queen herself submitted, and with most commendable perseverance. Katharine's influence, in these circumstances, was considerable. She used to converse freely with the dying man, and had ventured occasionally to express her own opinion in distinction from his. One day, however, having, as his Majesty thought, gone too far, he became irritated; and Gardiner, coming in the way afterwards, of course chimed in with the King's humor; nay, at last, even pressed the propriety of some investigation into the opinions of her Majesty. The fractious patient, unmindful of his obligations to his assiduous nurse, who had not unfrequently soothed his anguish, actually complied; and Wriothesly, as well as Gardiner, were busy once more in their favorite sphere of action. But the tide was now in the very act of turning against them, so that, so far from succeeding, their ready acquiescence in their master's frenzy only proved the precursor of another storm against themselves. Most unaccountably, the paper on which at least the imprisonment of the Queen hung, had dropped from the pocket of *Wriothesly*, and having been conveyed to Katharine by one of her friends, she was overwhelmed; and well she might, as his Majesty's signature is said to have been affixed! The King, we are told, heard her cries; and, being carried to her apartment, by her manner of reply he was so soothed, that all danger was now past. Next day, however, the Lord Chancellor must keep his appointment, and, with forty guards, had arrived to convey Katharine to the Tower. The tempest, averted from its former object, had changed in its current the night before, and now burst in fury on the head of Wriothesly. All that the King said was not audible; but the following terms in reply—"Arrant knave! beast and fool!" uttered with a louder voice, were heard distinctly, and even by the Queen. Henry then commanded him out of his sight.

Gardiner came next in order. After Monday night the 11th of October, when he wrote his letter, his name is never once mentioned till the beginning of December. For some time he had sunk so low that he durst not approach the royal presence; but on Thursday the 2nd of that month, he presumed so far as to address one last letter to his royal master, with another to Paget, begging him to deliver it. The former is distinguished for its cringing and hypocritical style; and so eager was he with Paget about his restoration to favor, as to whine to him in servile Latin. But the attempt was vain; at least there is no reply in existence, even from the Secretary. By the end of the month his name was known to have been excluded from the number of his Majesty's executors; a step on which, it has been said, Henry had resolved before going to France in 1544. But, be this as it may, the ex-

clusion now was a loss, at once of honor and emolument. Sir Anthony Browne after this had ventured to mention Gardiner's name to the King, when his Majesty replied, that if he repeated it again, his own name would also be excluded.

This man never recovered Henry's favor, and during the reign of Edward, of course, he bore no sway. On the contrary, he was deprived of his See on the 14th of February 1551, as well as confined to the Tower. Whatever of severity there might be in this, the measure seems to have been adopted from fear of the public tranquillity; and it formed a degree of retribution by no means corresponding to the fearful and bloody years of his domination. Immediately upon the accession of Queen Mary, he was not only restored to all that he had lost, but became Lord Chancellor of England, when he will cross our path for the last time.

The Duke of Norfolk, and his son the Earl of Surrey, were arrested on the 12th of December, "upon certain *surmises* of treason," and conveyed to the Tower, the one by water, the other by land, and neither aware of the apprehension of the other.

With the character of the Duke, the first peer of the realm, and now about seventy-three years of age, the reader is already but too familiarly acquainted. He has seen him personally engaged, or presiding, on the most cruel and melancholy occasions of past years; from the death of Anne Boleyn on the scaffold, down to that of Anne Askew in the gloom of night, at the stake. He had sanctioned also the deaths of Fisher, and More, and Crumwell; and now his own day of degradation and terror has come. A material distinction, indeed, is to be drawn between the father and the son, although that son, it cannot be forgotten, then a youth of twenty, if not still younger, presided with his father, at the decided *commencement* of Henry's worst career of cruelty and legalized murder; of which he himself was now about to become the very *last* victim. Both sat by, and the father not tamely, at the mock trial of Anne Boleyn, the niece of the one, and cousin of the other.

Now in turning our eye to this family, notwithstanding all its pride of ancestry, we see a picture of human nature, such as no family in humble life perhaps ever exhibited; and it is only in consequence of the conspicuous figure made by this Duke of Norfolk all along, that we are placed under the necessity of looking into it. For these twenty years we have seen a PARTY standing out in determined hostility to the Word of God in the vernacular tongue; and this man, from year to year, has been the ducal *head* of it.

This was the man, who, in his public and official character, had engaged with such ardor in the war of *opinion*. The man who, to gain his own ends, and, if possible, beguile Crumwell, could so basely play the hypocrite in 1539; and who yet now, when under the fear of death, and referring to Crumwell and himself in comparison, could say to the Privy Council,—“he was a *false* man, and surely I am a *true* poor gentleman.” Above all,

this is the same individual who, for twenty years, had been so bitterly opposed to the ENGLISH BIBLE, as well as to its being *read* by the people, and who persecuted all who *prized its contents*; but it is no mystery now, why he pursued such a course. No wonder now, that he carried about with him certain *personal* objections to the sacred volume. It was the Earl of Rochester, at a far later period, and after he came to a sense of his own depravity, of whom it has been testified that, laying his hand on the *Bible*, he would say—"There is true philosophy. This is the wisdom that speaks to the heart. *A bad life is the only objection to this book.*"

The Earl was brought to trial, and, other charges having failed of proof, it was alleged that he had assumed the armorial bearing of Edward the Confessor, which, they said, (falsely,) had been hitherto *exclusively* used by his Majesty and his predecessors. The fact was admitted, and the authority of the heralds adduced, but plead in vain; and as the legal ground was the sweeping section of more than one statute, which made it high treason "to do anything by word, writing, or deed, to the scandal or peril of the established succession to the crown," the Earl was convicted by a jury of twelve notable men of Norfolk, eight knights and four squires, one of whom, by the way, was named *Boleyn*. Surrey defended himself with great boldness and ability: but what could any defence, however able, now avail. It was on Friday the 21st of January that this young man was put to death, and by the authority of a monarch now himself "lying in the agonies of death."

As for the Duke himself, what with the gradual progress of that "learning," which he hated, and contempt for the new nobility, as well as family dissension, the spirit of the old man was greatly broken down. Still his desire for life was extreme, and he plead for it, in language as abject as that of Wolsey or Crumwell who had preceded him. Men who have sported with the lives of their fellow-creatures, have often displayed great cowardice as to their own. So it happened with Wolsey, Crumwell, and the Duke of Norfolk in succession.

Throughout life, Henry had been always very punctilious respecting forms of his own devising; and Norfolk, a peer, could not be despatched after the same fashion with his son. Parliament had met for one day on the 4th of November, and before the close of that month, the various parts of this bloody tragedy were nearly cast. At all events, the House had been prorogued, and was now to meet, very opportunely, on the 14th of January; or the day after Wriothlesly had pronounced sentence on Surrey. On the following Tuesday, the 18th, a bill of attainder against the Duke was brought in, and, next day, it was read a second time. It was on this day, or within two days after, that the fallen Minister was writing his letter to the King; a most earnestly imploring one for mercy. This had been preceded by one to the Privy Council, begging for alleviations in his imprisonment, and

presenting four separate confessions with an eye to mercy. As another precaution against his vast possessions being scattered among his rivals, he conveyed them entire to Prince Edward, and this perhaps with a view to mollify the King. But all was in vain; it was blood that was wanted, and that once shed, every shilling *must* come to the Crown. On the 20th, the bill passed the Lords. The Commons were no less expeditious: a Sabbath interrupted them, but on Monday the 24th, they returned the bill to the Upper House. Thus the very man who had made himself so busy in hurrying through Parliament the proceedings against *Cromwell*, was served by the House, as he had served others. Not a moment was now to be lost; but the custom hitherto had been to *reserve* all such bills to the close of the session, and so it had been done with the Lord Privy Seal. Yet if the King is to have his last dying wishes, and if the Seymours are to gain their end, wonted forms must be disregarded. Accordingly so they were. The royal assent was given on Thursday the 27th; Norfolk was ordered for execution *next* morning, and left to count the hours till break of day. Such was the *last* act of power on the part of Henry the Eighth!

But "there is no man," subject or sovereign, "that hath power over the spirit, to retain the spirit; neither hath he power in the day of death, and there is no discharge in that war." By that God, who had borne with him so long, Henry's own hour of call was already fixed, and "about two of the clock in the morning of Friday," the 28th of January 1547, he had been summoned to a higher tribunal, there to answer for his long and weighty catalogue of cruelty and crime.

To die, as it were, in the very act of embruing his hands in blood, was the close of the King's existence on earth; while no subject had been so unwelcome to himself, as that of his *own* dissolution. No man dared even to hint such a prospect, till within a few hours of his ceasing to breathe. Even then, some degree of courage was required, and it was Sir Anthony Denny who told the dying man, in so many words, "*that the hope of human help was vain.*" These were terms which betrayed an eager clinging to life still. Henry, "visibly disquieted," had to be informed that the intimation was founded upon the judgment of the physicians. He was then asked whether he wished to confer with any one. "With no other," said he, "but the Archbishop Crammer, and not with him *as yet*; I will first repose myself a little, and as I then find myself, will determine accordingly." Determine, however, he did not for nearly two hours, when it was of little or no moment who should come. Crammer was sent for in all haste, but he arrived only in time to receive one fixed look, when Henry grasped his hand and expired! He was in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and within three months of completing the thirty-eighth of his reign.

Thus narrowly, or by a space of about six hours, did the Duke of Norfolk escape with his life, though he must no more preside

at the public and disgraceful execution of his fellow-men. On the contrary, he, as well as Gardiner afterwards, must remain in durance for years.

To the close of this monarch's existence, we have toiled through the record of human depravity, certainly not on its *own* account; but because of the moral lesson it affords, as well as its bearing on the main object of these pages. If it be one of those laws by which God appears to govern the world, that "*men engaged in an evil cause, however harmonious they may be in the outset, shall, sooner or later, be at variance*;" here we have an illustration of that law, well worthy of remembrance. Gardiner and Tunstal, Norfolk and Wriothesly had been the leading and uniform opponents of the progress of Divine truth among the people, and often had they played into each other's hands; while the King, to say nothing of his habitual depravity, having but one fixed principle, or the love of power, had died as he had lived. Before that event, however, he scowls on these men, by whose advice he had been so often swayed. They were, to a man, his oldest counsellors, the ablest men around him, and the very pith of "the old learning" party. These recent events, therefore, cannot loosely, or with propriety, be consigned to the gulf of human passion alone, and there left. This was the breaking up of an old confederacy, by its own leader, or, at least, the man on whom it depended, and then he himself died. It was Providence, by degradation, and imprisonment, and death, "putting down the mighty from their seats, scattering the proud in the imagination of their hearts," and preparing the way for a very different scene in the reign of Edward, especially so far as the printing and *free perusal* of the Sacred Volume was concerned.

Upon the intelligence of Henry's death being communicated to his alternate ally and enemy, the King of France, he became more pensive; and being already in bad health, he drooped and died, at Rambouillet, in two months after, or the 21st of March. The aged Pontiff, who had so thundered against the King of England, lived only two summers longer; and thus Charles was left sole survivor on the field in which they had all fought so long.

In these circumstances, and so far as these men were concerned, it is certainly not a little singular, that the tumultuous scene may be said to have closed with an act which astonished all Europe at the moment. It was the abdication of his throne, by the Emperor, three years before his death; and it deserves notice here, on account of one of its consequences. Of these Sovereigns, he was the only one who is reported to have at last seen the folly and futility of all such dictatorial interference by civil rulers with the human mind, as they had all practised. The Emperor "was particularly curious with regard to the construction of clocks and watches; and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any *two* of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, it is said, with a mixture of surprise, as well as regret, on his own *folly*, in having bestowed so much time and labor on the more vain attempt of

bringing mankind to a precise uniformity of sentiment concerning the profound and mysterious doctrines of religion."

Thus terminated by far the most important period through which Old England had ever passed. Important, as far as Divine and eternal truth, introduced to the people, in their own tongue, through the medium of the press, was superior to all the passing events of the day. That period has proved, it is true, one continued ferment, one incessant turmoil of human passion and depravity. But whatever of Christianity has prevailed in England, from that time to the present, its origin is to be found here, perfectly distinct from all the councils and edicts, or the proclamations, whether for or against, of Henry the Eighth. These, after more than ten years of positive hostility had passed away, when they once or twice happened to be in favor of the vernacular Scriptures—these tokens of defeat, after the tug of war had slackened, and after Henry, and all around him, had been obliged to give way, had some influence. But even these, if we are to believe the King, instead of all that party writers have chosen to affirm, were confessed by himself, as we have heard, and towards the end of his days, to have been comparatively *impotent*. A month or two was the measure of their power, while still the cause went on, under the hand of that God who had been with it from the beginning, and is with it still.

With reference, therefore, to the history of the English Bible, as far as we have come, and after such a detail as the past, with all its imperfections, what, for example, can any reader think when he finds one writer, in summing up the reign of Henry the Eighth, express himself in such terms as the following? "*His* largest claim to our gratitude is, that he at last *permitted* the great fountain of religious truth and of intellectual piety to be opened to the people, by sanctioning the translation and circulation of the Scriptures in the national language; thus making *free to every one* what millions have blessed *him* for!" This is even exceeded by another modern historian. "*He resolutely* maintained to the end of his life the exclusive right of God's undoubted Word to be the religious instructor of the rational creation. The assertion of this fundamental principle is the brightest distinction of *Henry's* reign!"

All this, and much more to the same effect, has been actually reported of a man who, above ten years after the Scriptures of the New Testament had been introduced into this kingdom, in spite of all his power, and the hostility of his associates—a man who, after he had been signally overruled to sanction the very translation he had condemned, to say nothing of his share in the guilt of leaving the translator to the flames, did indeed at last inform his subjects that "it had pleased *him* to permit and command the Bible, being translated into their mother tongue, to be openly laid forth in every parish church." But then this is the same man who, in less than six years after, enjoined that "*no* women but noble women, *no* artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen,



husbandmen, nor labourers, were to read the Bible or New Testament in English, to themselves or to any other, privately or openly !” And who, in three years after this, told all England, “it ought to be deemed *certain* that the reading of the Old and New Testament is *not necessary* for all those folks that of duty ought to be bound to read it, BUT as the *Prince and the policy* of the realm shall think *convenient to be tolerated* or TAKEN FROM IT ! Consonant whereto, the politic law of our realm hath now restrained it from *a great many* !” This daring profanity was crowned by Henry’s last public act, within six months of his dissolution—his endeavor, by proclamation, to consign to the flames above thirty editions of the New Testament by Tyndale—denouncing the translation as “crafty, false, and untrue,” though it was the very *same* with that which was included in the Bible he had sanctioned in 1537 !

## BOOK III.—ENGLAND.

FROM EDWARD THE SIXTH TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

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### SECTION I.

#### REIGN OF EDWARD.

A REIGN, HOWEVER BRIEF, DISTINGUISHED AS HAVING NO PARALLEL IN BRITISH HISTORY, WITH REGARD TO THE PRINTING AND PUBLICATION OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE PEOPLE.

THE reign of Henry the Eighth, whatever had been his personal character, was, in many respects, not only *initial* but *germinant*. Every day since, has so testified; and the broad surface of the kingdom still bears witness to the weight and pressure of his sceptre. He left behind him certain marks, which are still acknowledged as memorials of his power.

Henry VIII. being interred at Windsor on Wednesday 16th of February, four days after, or upon Sunday the 20th, his son, then only in his tenth year, was crowned. An incident occurred, indicative of the change which had taken place, so far as the crown was concerned. Upon that day, when three swords were brought before Edward, as tokens of his being king of three kingdoms, he said there was one yet wanting. The noblemen around him, not exactly catching his meaning, inquired which that was? He answered—*the Bible*. “That book,” said the young Prince, “is the sword of the Spirit, and to be preferred before these swords. That ought, in all right, to govern us, who use them for the people’s safety, by God’s appointment. Without that sword, we are nothing, we can do nothing, we have no power: from that we are, what we are, this day: from that alone we obtain all power and virtue, grace and salvation, and whatsoever we have of Divine strength.” After some other similar expressions, Edward commanded the Sacred Volume to be brought with reverence, and so carried before him.

The last act of the father was to brand the name and memory of Tyndale: in the first Parliament held by his son, that act was repealed, and declared to be “utterly void and of none effect;” nay, the portrait of Edward will soon be seen and sold, in immediate conjunction with the name and translation of Tyndale.

Twenty-one years after the New Testament of Tyndale had

been sent into England, an opportunity had at last presented itself, for the people as such to speak out, and say what they wanted. The printers were ready to print, and the stationers, as they were called, to sell; but, of course, *they* would not press any one translation except that which they knew beforehand was most likely to remunerate them. As all the editions were *individual* undertakings by men engaged in business, they, it must be evident, would print chiefly that book which was most frequently and eagerly sought after.

That zeal for the art of printing which burst forth instantaneously after Henry's death, will prepare us for the numerous editions of the Scriptures which immediately followed. This noble art had been introduced into England under Edward IV., when there were three or four printers; under Henry VII. there were five; and four of these survived to print under his son: but during his long reign of nearly thirty-eight years, not fewer than forty-one printers had commenced business in London, or forty-five in all. Now, the first importation of Tyndale's New Testament into England had taken place, not till more than eighty years after the invention of printing, and about fifty-eight after the art had been introduced into the country; but it is worthy of notice, that from *that* period, of these forty-five printers not fewer than thirty-three had started in business, and that eight of them were ultimately connected with printing the Sacred Volume.

Let us then now observe what ensued, as soon as Henry had "ceased from troubling," and Gardiner, Bonner, and Tunstall, were bereft of the power. Of the forty-five printers under Henry, fourteen survived when Edward came to the throne. While his father, the subject of loathsome disease, was sinking into the grave, and in less than twelve months after his death, as many as eight new men had started in business as printers. Next year, however, there were not fewer than eleven more, and in the next two, eighteen, besides six others in 1551 and 1552, or forty-three in all; raising the number of printers under this youthful monarch to not fewer than fifty-seven, in the brief space of six years! Now if it be inquired, what connection had all this with the diffusion of the Divine Record? it was no less than this—that out of these fifty-seven printers, *more than the half, or not fewer than thirty-one, and these the most respectable, were engaged either in printing or publishing the Sacred Scriptures.*

But the editions of the Scriptures themselves will now furnish us with another view of this memorable period. For Bibles in *folio*, there may have been not so much need as yet, considering the number which had been printed in 1540 and 1541; for although Henry had licensed Anthony Marler to print for five years longer, he was then over-stocked, and the sale must have flagged, as the wayward monarch only frowned on the undertaking ever after. New Testaments, however, were in great request, and the people will now discover which translation they preferred.

Looking at the entire period of six years and a half, there ap-

pear to have been about fifty distinct publications, whether of the Sacred Volume entire, or the New Testament separately; that is, fifteen of the former, and thirty-five of the latter; though it is not improbable that one or two more may yet be discovered.

Of Coverdale's version there was one edition, though in two issues, first in 1550 by Andro Hester, and in 1553 by R. Jugge. Of Taverner's version there was one, in five volumes, in 1549, and another, though this has been questioned, in 1551. Of Cranmer's Bible there seem to have been seven editions. Of Matthew's there were at least five; but then one of these, about to be mentioned, was so large an impression that it has been mistaken frequently for a number of distinct editions. Allowing to each separate individual embarked, his own Bibles, there were not fewer than eight distinct issues of this one edition. This would make twelve in all, of Matthew's.

With respect to the New Testament, besides the English translation inserted in the paraphrase of Erasmus in 1548, of which there was a second edition, at least of the first volume, in 1551, and one edition generally ascribed to Sir John Cheke; of Cranmer's Testament there appear to have been eight editions, but then of Tyndale's, whether under his own name or that of Matthew, there were not fewer than twenty-four, besides one of Coverdale corrected by Tyndale's version.

On the whole, therefore, if the public demand had called for Cranmer's correction of Tyndale, fifteen times, it had done so for Tyndale's version, as it stood, fully double that number; and if six men were concerned in the former, eighteen, at least, were in the latter.

The edition of Tyndale's or Matthew's translation in May 1551, is worthy of special notice, as indicative of the zeal now abroad, so unfettered by interference. In this Bible not fewer than nine different respectable men, printers and booksellers in London, were concerned, and the impression, therefore, must have been a very large one. It may be regarded as an ornament of its kind, pointing to the reign of England's youngest monarch. With the exception of one, to be noted, under Elizabeth, London ever since has never furnished a parallel. The following is its title, with a colophon partly corroborative of the fact as now stated:—

"The Bible, that is to saye, all the holy Scripture: In whiche are containyd the Olde and newe Testament, truly and purely translated into Englishe, now lately with great industry and diligence recognised," &c. Small folio. *Colophon*—"Here endeth the whole Bible after the translation of Thomas Mathew.—*Imprynted at London by Nycolas Hyll, dwelling in Saynet John's Streete, at the cost and charges of certayne honest menne of the occupacyon, whose names be upon their bokes.*"

Separate titles were printed for each of these "honest menne," who were at least eight in number, viz., John Wyghte, Willyam Bonham, Thomas Petyt, Thomas Raynolde, Richard Kele, John Walley, Abraham Veale, Robert Toye. The first and last three

books are in the Bristol Museum ; and most of the others, if not the whole, have been seen by the writer in other collections. The copies with the names of Wyghte and Bonham are said to be printed *by* them, indicative of their being partners in the expense with Hyll, the actual printer. The others have Hyll's name as printer *for* each of them, or generally, as in the above colophon for Robert Toye ; but the book is the same throughout, though it may have been often mistaken for three, if not eight or nine, different editions.

Tyndale's Bibles were published under the name of Matthew ; but as for the New Testament separately, the name of William Tyndale was now inserted in the front titles of fifteen editions, if not more. At the same time it may be observed, in farther proof of the freedom of the press, and of the absence of all jealousy or interference on the part of Cranmer, that the impressions of Matthew's Bible took precedence of his own in point of time. That of the former, by Day and Seres, was finished in August 1549, and that by Reynolde and Hill in October ; but Cranmer's, by Grafton and Whitchurch, not till December of that year.

Thus, if a version ever received distinguished marks of public approbation, it was that of our first translator. There had been certain verbal alterations in the text, whether by Cranmer, Coverdale, or Taverner—some of which were no improvements ; and so it now appears the people at large had thought throughout the days of Edward the Sixth. They had said, in a manner not to be mistaken, "We decidedly prefer the version of our original Translator, as he gave it to his country."

Under Henry VIII., the history of the Sacred Scriptures in English, has appeared to be a separate or distinct undertaking, carried forward by a succession of private individuals, at their own proper cost and risk : but so far from this being observed to continue under Edward VI., perhaps many, if not all, have been accustomed to regard the course pursued as quite the reverse. The substantial procedure, however, even now, was neither suggested, undertaken, or pursued at the instigation of either the King or Privy Council, the Convocation or the Parliament. It is true, that before even the first Parliament was assembled, the Privy Council, seizing time by the forelock, and grounding their proceedings upon that outrageous Act of Henry's, by which the King's letters were to carry equal authority with an Act of Parliament, did issue certain injunctions ; and by them, one chapter of the Old, and another of the New Testament, was to form a part of public service ; the parish church, too, was to be provided with a copy of the Scriptures, of which many of them were still destitute, and to this was added the paraphrase of Erasmus on the Gospels. But still, as in the year 1537, the Bible was introduced into England, independently of the Privy Council, the Convocation, or the Parliament ; even so now the Scriptures must be plentifully printed and circulated. No injunctions were issued on this subject. There was no royal proclamation. Nor must the

Senate be permitted to have a voice with regard to the *reading* of the Scriptures. On the contrary, in the very first year of Edward's reign, or 1547, when a certain bill, bearing on the subject, was introduced into Parliament, it failed. And when the capricious, nay profane treatment of the Sacred Volume by that Assembly, as well as by the Convocation, is remembered, every one must see the propriety of their not being allowed now to interfere, in the way of hollow, though professed favor. No, the cause had stood the battle and the breeze, without their hypocritical friendship, before Edward was born; and it will do so again, when these men are either gone to the grave, or have basely changed sides, as many of them did in a few years. This Parliament may frown upon the sanguinary Acts of the late King, and especially on that which so absurdly and cruelly restrained the *useful* classes from reading the Scriptures; but they must proceed no farther. They might brand the deeds of the preceding Senate, by repealing the statutes they had dared to pass; but as for the positive perusal of the Scriptures, they must not falsely enjoy any credit for enforcing it. They must not legislate. The subject was mooted, it is true, but it seems as if this had been intended only to show more visibly to posterity the independence which we have observed all along. Upon Tuesday the 15th of November, in the House of Lords a bill was introduced, by whom is not stated, though Cranmer was present. "*for the reading of the Scriptures;*" but it actually never reached a second reading, nor was any such measure even hinted throughout the reign. Legislation was once proposed, but it must be abandoned; and although there was *no* Act of Parliament—*no* Act of Convocation—*no* imperative injunctions—*no* new translation—*no* new false title pages, similar to the profane mockery of Henry's days, there was, so far as one individual youth was concerned, something of far different and better effect, and more congenial with God's own glorious purpose and design—*Edward's own visible and marked veneration for the Sacred Record itself.*

The cause continues to stand out as the spontaneous act of individual enterprise, in reply to the voluntary and urgent calls of the people themselves, and especially for the New Testament Scriptures. They were anxious to proceed according to the good old French maxim, "*Laissez nous faire*"—*Leave us to act*: and the Government was, providentially, strong enough to comply. For many years, it is true, the votes or voice of Parliament could have formed no index whatever to the consent or non-consent of the people at large. From the way in which members were summoned, or both Houses constituted, this was impossible; but then, at the same time, both Houses were most obsequious, and had wavered with the Crown. Now, in these circumstances, it is only the more observable that the Parliament of Edward should become conspicuous for *non-interference*, when the King himself was a sincere and ardent admirer of the Scriptures. Thus, though *unconsciously*, the House was witnessing to posterity the

benefits wick ensue from not touching with this subject. Of these benefits we have already given substantial evidence; and the reader will be still more struck when he turns to the particular statement of all these precious volumes, in our list at the close of this work. Meanwhile, no one could desire more evident proofs, in long succession, of a "separated cause," a sacred undertaking; and these, too, present themselves at a period when the unprincipled changes perpetually occurring, whether in the Privy Council or the Parliament, were loudly saying of every other department—"it is but the cause of men, of fallible and changing men."

Here, then, was the distinguishing feature of this brief, but memorable reign. In contrast with Edward's immediate predecessor, far from anything to repel in the young Prince, there is much to invite our love and admiration. Whatever was objectionable during his sway—of which there were more steps than one or two—an enlightened judgment will ever ascribe to his Ministers; for, in the age in which he flourished and faded so soon, he stood like an apple tree among the trees of the wood, if not as a lily among thorns. To say nothing of the precocity of his talents, which, no doubt has been exaggerated, though he must have been more than usually intelligent, there was his strong aversion to the shedding of blood, which so painfully places Goodrich, and Crammer, and even Ridley, before us; but above all, his profound and often expressed veneration for the Sacred Volume itself. It was this that brought him so near to the character of Josiah of old, though even yet so much younger than the Jewish monarch, when the Book of the Law was found and read before him.

But lo! the clouds are gathering; the young King, to the grief of many, and these certainly the best in the land, is seen to be slowly descending to the grave: and all the enemies of Divine Truth in the vulgar tongue, begin to rally and look up. A lurid gloom begins to settle on the realm. A time of trouble and vexation, of banishment and blood, is at hand. But there was no wisdom, nor understanding, nor counsel, against Him by whom all things were foreseen. We must enter the storm, and there, even there, delight to trace once more, the peculiar care of the Most High, over his own Word.

It was upon the evening of Thursday, the 6th of July 1553, that Edward died of consumption. His favorite and inseparable friend, Sir Henry Sidney, had him in his arms, when he suddenly exclaimed—"I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit!" He instantly expired, at the early age of fifteen years, eight months, and twenty-two days. Few kings have fallen so soon; far fewer still, as safe; and perhaps none in English history more sincerely lamented, by discerning survivors. Under such counsellors he might have been corrupted. He was taken away from the evil to come.

Before King Edward was interred at Westminster, on the 8th of August, there had already occurred great changes; and that

storm had commenced, which was to end only with the reign then begun. Had the short rule of the deceased Prince, been one of only *unmixed* good, the judgment which now fell upon England for about five years, would have been inscrutable. The reign of Mary having been so awfully tempestuous, has always been designated as tyrannical and bloody; but since it did occur, the judgment, as a national one, must have been righteous. God doth not afflict willingly, not grieve the children of men. Before leaving the present reign, therefore, the reason, or procuring cause, must be sought for in the six years and a half which had now passed away. By how much the following years were severe, the preceding only demand the more attention.

The *Privy Council* of the deceased King, therefore, on whom the executive power had rested, and the *nation*, as such, equally require notice. With regard to the first party, they had rendered themselves notorious, as a set of men fighting for their own individual interests. But whatever might be reprehensible at other times—and there was not a little—it is curious enough, that if we fix our eye only upon fifteen days, or even only three, at the commencement, and twelve or only two, at the close of their sway, we have sufficient evidence that all was not right, in the sight of either God or man. Over the first three days, there has long hung a degree of mystery which has puzzled all our previous historians. Sir James Mackintosh has remarked that the delay of three days in officially announcing the death of Henry VIII., would be regarded, in our time as a piece of daring presumption; but what these men, the Earl of Hertford and his associates, were doing, in the course of these days has been the question, and no one could inform us till very recently. The validity of Henry's will has been often canvassed, but whatever was its character, it turns out that this State document was in the Earl's private keeping, and that no Privy Counsellor could even see it, until he sent the key from Hertford, where he was, twenty miles distant from London, and twenty-five hours after Henry had breathed his last. The truth is, that as soon as the King died, early on Friday the 28th of January 1547, Hertford had proceeded to this place, as Edward was there; and his letter to the other executors is dated from thence "between three and four in the (next) morning." Forty-four hours more pass away, and Hertford, at eleven o'clock on Sunday night, is only at Enfield, still ten miles distant from town. Both Edward and Elizabeth, (not Mary) were under his care, and here he first informed these children, of their father's death. Elizabeth was left in the country, and it was not till three o'clock on Monday that Edward had arrived at the Tower; the decease of the monarch not having been communicated to Parliament till they assembled that day. On Tuesday, or the first of February, the greater part of the nobility arrived at the Tower, to bow the knee before their young Sovereign; and to hear from Wriothesly, as Chancellor, the purport of his father's will and testament. The deed, *as far as declared*, of course exactly served the design of



Hertford and his party ; for what had they actually done ? They had *opened the will*, before either the King or the Parliament were informed of Henry's death, and had held consultation what *portions* were to be communicated ! Thus while Parliament and the nation believed, or were left to suppose, that their Sovereign was still alive, all the intended measures were already fixed, and by a faction to whom no resistance could be made. In short, the Earl of Hertford was already regarded as Protector by his fellows, three days before the accession of Edward was announced.

There is no occasion here, however, for going on in detail. The proceedings of Hertford, who was soon created Duke of Somerset ; of the Lord-Admiral Baron Seymour, his brother ; and of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, are well known. The two former had perished, and the last is now about to die, on the scaffold. But if the *first* steps taken under Edward were wrong, the *last* were much worse. If Henry's last will was valid, and it had been read as their guide, great freedoms had been used with it, by these Counsellors, at the beginning ; but they finished, by putting it aside altogether ! The duplicity practised in both cases, serves to show the ambition with which they were filled. To their crooked and short-sighted policy was then ultimately sacrificed one of the loveliest, the best educated, and most refined young women in all England—Lady Jane Grey, the illustrious daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, the Queen of ten days. She had been married only in May to Lord Guilford Dudley, fourth son of the Duke of Northumberland. When poor Jane, like a devoted victim, was carried in state procession, on Monday the 10th of July, it was intended that Law and Government, the Lord Mayor and Alderman, the Nobility and Clergy, should all appear to be in her favor ; but though the concourse was great, it was merely to see the pageant ; there was only faint praise from the people, and but few acclamations ; nor had the feeling of the better orders been at all consulted. At that moment, indeed, Mary, little else than a lonely fugitive, and fled to Flamingham Castle, might seem unlikely ever to be Queen of England ; but a few days only passed away, when the enchantment of those who had sought to disinherit her was dissolved. In one week Henry's eldest daughter found herself supported by forty thousand men, foot and horse, at their own expense, without costing her a crown piece ! The enthusiasm was excessive, and characteristic ; so that when Mary was proclaimed at Paul's Cross, the very next week, or Wednesday the 19th, it was amidst acclamations from the multitude, which drowned the voice of the heralds ! If Cranmer, therefore, and Riley too, as well as some others, would sit in council with such men, and would "go in with dissemblers," they must now abide the consequences ; but the manner in which the event was hailed, forcibly points us to the people at large, or the state of the *nation* as such.

We have witnessed, it is true, a very remarkable progress in the diffusion of Divine Truth ; but we have also seen that this was

effected, not by the encouragement or sanction of Parliament, nor, of course, with the consent of the *nation* as such in any form;—no: the cause itself, though *in* the kingdom, was not *of* the kingdom; since no rulers in Europe had discovered greater hostility to Divine Revelation. The present convulsion, therefore, though only the commencement of a storm, served at once to clear the moral atmosphere, and forcibly distinguish between the passions of men, and the cause of God. It enables us, even now, to see, with far greater precision, the actual state of things.

As there had been a *separate undertaking*, which we have described all along, so it now appeared, as the consequence, that there had existed a *separate people*, not to be identified or mingled up with any intrigue of the times. So far as the human mind was concerned, the changes which had ensued, from the first step taken by Henry VIII. until now, were not national changes. The nation, *as such*, though so long and singularly visited by Divine Truth, cared not for it; and still clinging to its old ceremonies and habits, leaped at the prospect of falling back into its long repose under the shade of Rome. As a warning to the age, therefore, and especially to posterity, *to distinguish things that differ*, some fearful lesson of instruction was demanded, and this must no longer be withheld.

Meanwhile, what the Almighty had so mercifully done for England was analogous to that which, to use the words of Scripture itself, was done by Him, “at the first,” when He did “*visit the nations, to take out of them, a people for his name.*” Such a people, however despised and trampled on, we have beheld in England, in the days of John Fryth, and before them. Some of the best among them we have seen by the light of those fires, which the enemy had kindled; and they had been increasing in numbers all along. Under Henry VIII. the war had commenced against the Sacred *Volume* itself, without even knowing the translator; and it went on against all who imported, received, or retained it. Under the reign of his son, it had been plentifully printed, purchased, and read; and it will now become a decided proof of *progress*, however heartrending in detail, that the persecution about to commence was to be against all who had *believed* its contents, and held its sacred truths to be more precious than life itself. This, however, in the end, will materially further the cause of Divine Truth, not retard it.

## SECTION II.

## REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

A REIGN, DISCOVERING THE ACTUAL STATE OF THE NATION, AS SUCH; BUT ONE, HOWEVER PAINFUL IN ITS DETAILS, WHICH SO FAR FROM RETARDING THE PROGRESS OF DIVINE TRUTH, ONLY DEEPENED THE IMPRESSION OF ITS VALUE; AND AS IT BECAME THE OCCASION, SO IT AFFORDED THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE SACRED SCRIPTURES BEING GIVEN AFRESH TO ENGLAND, MORE CAREFULLY REVISED—THE EXILES FROM THE KINGDOM PROVING, ONCE MORE, ITS GREATEST BENEFACTORS.

UPON the 6th of July 1553, at the age of thirty-six, Mary, the eldest daughter of Henry VIII., succeeded to the throne, and reigned as Sovereign alone for one year. Afterwards, allied by marriage to Philip of Spain, the Queen died in less than four years and four months, on the 17th of November 1558. This reign throughout, has been all along, and generally, regarded as a portion of English history distinguished by little else than the shedding of blood. Few, however, have sufficiently observed, that this bloodshedding for opinions held, did not commence till February 1555, or more than a year and a half after Mary held the sceptre. And if this fact has been but slightly regarded, fewer still have ever noticed its bearing on the Sacred Volume, and those who prized it.

The Privy Council of Edward had concluded his reign, as they began it, by a course of dissimulation. But they were not now to succeed as they had done before. They had placed double guards to maintain greater secrecy, and then tried to conceal the King's death for two days. But, what was much worse, they had sent a false letter to Mary, the heir, at least by her father's will, which they formerly professed to follow, saying that "her brother was very ill, and earnestly desired the comfort of her presence." This foolish expedient to inveigle the Princess, and get her in their power, only served as a sure token to confirm her suspicion of a plot. Under the impression of fair dealing, she had at first actually set out from Hunsden in Hertfordshire; but by the time she was only eight miles on her way, or seventeen from London, she was met at Hoddesdon by her goldsmith, sent direct from town. He informed her distinctly of the hour of her brother's death. Somewhat suspicious of the quarter from whence the information came, the Princess ruminated for a little while; but the snare was broken, and, with constitutional firmness of mind, she immediately bent her way towards Sawston, near Cambridge. Early next morning, and seated behind the servant of the proprietor, Sir John Huddleston, Mary had left: but they were not out of sight of Sawstonhall, before it was in flames. Passing through Bury St. Edmonds, she got to Kenninghall, which had been assigned to her as a residence. From thence, next day, or the 9th, she addressed the Lords of Council, claiming the Crown.

Very foolishly for themselves, and as full of infatuation as ever, they replied on the evening of the same day. Although Mary was now to ascend the throne, in terms of a will, *parts* of which they could read aloud, as law, when these answered their own ambitious views; they now, in no measured terms, addressed their correspondent, as an illegitimate daughter, by the everlasting laws of God; though Lady Jane Grey was certainly not even proclaimed till next day. To this reply were affixed the names of twenty-three members of Council, at the head of which stood Crammer's, for to all these proceedings he had been a party. If they thus yet dreamt of intimidating the future Queen, never had men so reckoned without their host. Destitute of money, without an army, or even advisers, on the morning of the 11th, Mary, on horseback, with her female attendants, set off for Framlingham Castle, twenty miles farther distant from London, to be still nearer the coast, in case of any disaster; but the moment she entered it, she appears to have acted at least, as if the undisputed Sovereign of England. A courage and self-possession were displayed, on which the deluded Counsellors had never calculated. They proclaimed Lady Jane to be Queen, in London, on the 10th; it was but the second day after, when Mary ordered her own proclamation on the 12th at Norwich; and remaining where she was, immediately formed a Council out of the gentlemen who had already resorted to her presence. Finding herself before the end of July surrounded by an army, which had cost her nothing, so eager were the people to support her claims, she moved forward from the old Castle on the 31st., towards London. Her progress was but one continued triumph, for she had been proclaimed even in London, so early as the 19th. Her grand opponent, Northumberland, had joined the people in doing the same thing at Cambridge; and he, as well as the Lady Jane, with her husband, were now in the Tower. On her way, Queen Mary had been met at Ipswich by Cecil, the future Lord Burleigh, whose character has recently suffered so much, as a time-server. As one of the Counsellors whose names were affixed to the preceding letter, he was the first to approach. He secured his own personal safety, and afterwards bowed to the magic of "the old learning," but could never obtain office under the present Queen. On the 3rd of August Mary entered her capital, and going direct to the Tower, at once a palace and a prison, she immediately released the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Tunstal, or three men with whom the reader has been long familiar. Gardiner was sworn into the Privy Council the second day after, and the Queen remained in the Tower till after her brother's funeral.

Upon leaving the Tower for her palace at Richmond, but a few days had elapsed before Mary issued her "Inhibition" against preaching, *reading* or teaching *any Scriptures* in the churches, and *printing* any books! The Word of God in the vulgar tongue and the printing-press, being the objects of special dread. But even two days before this, there were certain men at large, who

must be so no longer. On the 16th of August, Bradford, Vernon and Becon, were committed to the Tower; while no other than *John Rogers*, alias *Matthew*, the editor of the Bible received by Henry in 1537, was commanded to keep himself within his own house, and to have no communication with any persons except those of his own family. They had already taken certain steps, if not commenced proceedings against many persons, and by the 15th of September, *Latimer*, and *Hooper*, as well as *Cranmer*, were safe in the Tower. As for *Ridley*, having preached at Paul's Cross in favor of Queen Jane, he had chosen, however strangely, to proceed to Framlingham to salute Mary, where he was instantly despoiled of his dignities, and sent back to the Tower, by the 26th of July, or only ten days after he had preached his sermon. But still there were as yet no tortures, no murder, nor any threatened martyrdom. All *foreigners* were allowed to depart without hinderance. There were not only Germans and Frenchmen, but Italians and Spaniards, Poles and Scotsmen, harboring not in London alone, but elsewhere, and enjoying a degree of freedom from molestation, unknown at the moment in *any* other part of the world! They must now seek safety by flight. Orders were sent down to Rye and Dover, that no impediments should be placed in their way; and to these *orders*, not a few of the English, the salt of the land, were indebted for their escape. Many went under the character of servants, and others, by what means they could, till at last it has been computed that there were from eight hundred to a thousand learned Englishmen, beside those in other conditions, who were now to sustain the honorable character of exiles from their native land, on account of their attachment to Divine Truth. There can be no question that, as far as they could, they took their most valued treasure, their *books*, with them, but, above all, their copies of the *Scriptures*; and thus it was that the volume which had been originally translated for England, upon the European continent, was now to be read by more than a thousand of her sons and daughters, and all over these countries, from Emden to Geneva!

These exiles, of whom their native land at the moment was not worthy, found refuge at *Emden* in Friesland; at *Wesel* on the Rhine in Prussia; at *Duisburg*, a town of Guelderland in Holland; at *Strasburg* in France; at *Zurich* and *Berne*, *Basle*, *Geneva*, and *Aran* in Switzerland; at *Frankfort* in Germany, and a few fled to *Worms*, the spot where the first English New Testaments had been completed at press. Many of these people had, in the end, no great occasion to regret the storm that had driven them from home, so far as they themselves were personally concerned. The improvement and enlargement of their minds was the result, in many instances; while their being all alike sufferers from one common calamity, gave occasion to a far finer display of Christian sympathy and bounty, both abroad and at home, than they ever could have experienced in other circumstances, or ever left for posterity to admire. There were at least

three Ladies of title, at least six Knights, besides other persons of property, among the number who had fled, and they regarded all the rest as brethren in adversity. Many pious individuals too, chiefly in London, contributed freely to their relief, by sending money, clothes and provisions. Strype gives a list of twenty-six as the most eminent. Abroad, the King of Denmark, Henry, Prince Palatine, the Duke of Wittenberg, and Wolfgang, Duke of Bipont, with all the states and free cities where the English sojourned, were very bountiful to them. So were foreign divines, especially those of Zurich, whose small stipends scarcely served to maintain themselves. Peter Martyr's house at Strasburg was filled, where the inmates, living at one common table, paid, if anything, easy charges for their diet. Several of the learned exiles subsisted partly by their own exertions. John Foxe had now leisure to compose and publish the first edition of his history in Latin, and Grafton the printer had time to write his chronicle, to say nothing of other works; but we shall hear of labors infinitely more valuable, for which this temporary banishment from their native land was to prove the *time appointed*.

These may be regarded as an army of *confessors*; but there were many who could not, while others would not, avail themselves of safety by flight, and these formed a distinguished portion of the noble army of *martyrs*. England, as we have witnessed, under Edward VI. had proved an asylum for the oppressed among other nations: it was ere long to become an *Acellama*, or field of blood. In the first Parliament under Mary at the close of 1553, the statutes of the preceding reign, as well as some of Henry VIII., had been repealed. The state machine was rolled back to its old position, and the kingdom in 1554 was once more placed under the protection of Rome. Her Majesty, though not at all times a quiescent votary of the Pontiff, was, both from principle and past circumstances, a persecutor; while she could not have found in all England two spirits more congenial with her intentions than those of Stephen Gardiner and Edmund Bonner. If they led, others on the bench, and many unprincipled underlings, were ready to follow. All statutes which stood in the way being entirely removed, as there was "a clear field," so there was to be "no favor." Men and women, of whatever character, office, or condition, even the lame and the blind, and from the child to the aged man, all who had any conscientious opinions not in harmony with the "old learning," all were appointed unto death.

From the 4th of February 1555, to within only seven days of the Queen's exit, on the 17th of November 1558, a period of only three years, nine months and six days, the number burnt to ashes, and who died by starvation, slow torture, and noisome confinement in prison, can never be given with accuracy by any human pen. In reading through the details, as the heart grows sick, so every one must come to the same conclusion—that there is but *one* list, and that one accurate and indelible—but it is one above. The highest point of human guilt, is to be found in persecution

for the *truth's* sake, or in violence done to *conscience*; and when at last *inquisition* is made for blood, the Judge of all will remember every drop that has been shed, for "the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ."

The different calculations, however, which have been made by Foxe and Burnet, by Strype and Speed, as well as an account by Cecil Lord Burghley, have been carefully collated; and we have thus made out a distinct list of three hundred and eighteen individuals. Of these, two hundred and eighty-eight were consumed in the flames, eight or ten were positively furnished, and twenty more pined and expired in their dungeons. Of almost all these we have the names, as well as the time and place of their last triumphs; but the number of deaths, without doubt, must have been greater, especially from imprisonment. In a treatise often ascribed to Lord Burghley himself, but certainly sanctioned by him, and coming from authority, in 1533, we have the following passage—

"In the time of Queen Mary, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, *almost the number of four hundred*—lamentably destroyed. And most of the *youth* that then suffered cruel death, both men, women, and children, (which is to be noted,) were such as had never, by the sacrament of baptism or by confirmation, *professed*, nor were ever taught or instructed, or ever had heard of any other kind of religion, but *only of that* which, by their blood and death in the fire, they did as true martyrs testify."

Now, whatever may be said as to the precise number of victims, the information conveyed by the closing paragraph, which we are requested to *note*, is of eminent value. This summary was given for a political purpose, and as for these people not having *heard* of any other kind of religion, this was merely a flourish of the pen, and a very absurd one; but the statement, after all, may be received as a memorable testimony to the *source* from whence these martyrs had derived their faith and principles; a testimony to the power of the Sacred Oracles as *read* by the youth of the kingdom; for as to *preaching* the truth, this had, with a few exceptions, ever been at the lowest ebb.

But the reader should not imagine that the English, as a nation, had all of a sudden become more distinguished for cruelty than the neighboring nations on the Continent. They had indeed, at first, asked for such a Queen as Mary, and obtained their desire; they had unwillingly submitted to such a King as Philip, and to such Ministers; and under their united sway that salutary horror was implanted in the nation, which was not to leave it for generations to come; but it was the leaders of this people who destroyed them, but more especially, as a body, the Bishops, who were now fighting with fury for "their kingdom of this world," as they so manifestly had done, ever since the Scriptures were introduced in 1526. For these five years past they had been powerfully backed, and occasionally goaded on, by both the King and

Queen; nor had the diocese of Canterbury under Cardinal POLE formed any exception to the raging cruelty.

In return for all this violence and bloodshed, the moment of re-action, of course, arrived at last. The day of retribution began to dawn. Persecution employed by any Government, without recoiling on its authors, is unknown to history. Prevailing disease, by fever and ague, was nothing more than the preface or introduction to other evils; but, by the summer of 1557, these diseases are said to have gone to such extent as to endanger the produce of the earth. "In some places corn had stood and shed on the ground, for want of reapers; and in others, they would have willingly given one acre of corn, to reap and carry another." Disease too had fallen especially upon "gentlemen and men of great wealth;" but all this was merely a preparation for the year 1558, or Mary's last.

In the spring of 1557, the Queen had been visited by her cold husband, Philip, and for the last time. He, without difficulty, drew her into war with France; and by the 7th of January, 1558, she had lost Calais in seven days. It had cost Edward III. eleven months of siege, the English flag having floated on its battlements for above two hundred years. The loss was more deeply lamented indeed than it deserved; still it was felt, not merely as a national degradation, but by the mercantile interests especially, as one which might prove of serious injury to commerce, an object to which thousands had become much alive.

The summer and autumn of 1558 turned out to be more unhealthy than those of the year preceding. Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, calculated that three parts out of four, throughout the country, were sick. Gentlemen, who kept twenty or thirty servants, had not above three or four to help the residue. Even the harvestmen had become so scarce that twelve pence were given for work, wont to be done for three. And if it be recollected that all this misery occurred at the close of five years of violence and injustice, of oppression and slaughter, no wonder if thousands were exclaiming with one of old—"What shall be the end of these things?" The end, however, was now near at hand.

Parliament assembled on the 5th of November. Financial embarrassments were disclosed, and pressed for consideration. A subsidy was proposed, and might perhaps have passed the Upper House, but what could this signify now? On the 14th, the Lord Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Lords in a body, *came down* to the Commons to reason with them, but they would not move, and came to no decision. The close of Mary's life might well serve as a lesson of terror to all persecutors. At the outset of her reign, she had paid no regard whatever to freedom of opinion, and then remitted a subsidy in order to fix herself on the throne. She then obstinately determined to espouse a Spanish husband, not having the sagacity to perceive, that Charles V. and his son Philip were only practising their ambition upon her. It was a step which the nation never forgave. Then came that outrageous course of



blood and torture, with which thousands were now so thoroughly disgusted. The rough physic of Providence had produced its destined effect. On the fifth day after this Parliament sat down, five martyrs had suffered at Canterbury. They prayed at the stake, that they might be the last, and they were the *last*. And now, in five days more, the Government is at an end; the supplies are stopped; pecuniary aid can be obtained no more, and the Queen, full of chagrin and disappointment, has little more than forty-eight hours to live. She had been attacked in summer by the *prevailing* fever, then so fatal; and early on the morning of Thursday the 17th of November, she breathed her last, at the very moment when her own husband and Henry the Second, the Spanish and French monarchs, were meditating the extension over all Europe, of such a tribunal as the *Inquisition* had already shown itself to be, by its exercise of authority in Spain.

The Queen herself, in conjunction with that body of men denominated ecclesiastical, had been the responsible agents in the kingdom, and one naturally turns to this quarter as to the moving spring of all that had been perpetrated. Adverting to this period, the close of 1558, Mr. Strype has told us that the mortality among the priests was such "that a great number of parish churches, in divers parts of the realm were unserved, and no curates could be gotten for money." But with the Bishops, and their immediate agents, lay the chief responsibility; and if we can arrive at certainty as to their mortality, as this has never been sufficiently observed, there may be enough to arrest attention even now, at the distance of more than two hundred and eighty years.

The Bench of Bishops under Mary consisted of twenty-seven individuals. Now, besides the hundreds of martyrs whom they had consigned to the flames, it is well known that they had put to death five of their own number, namely, Hooper and Ferrar, Latimer and Ridley in 1555, and Cranmer in 1556. How then had it fared with this order of men throughout the reign? By the month in which Mary herself was interred, twenty-four Bishops had expired, and in only thirteen months after, six more had followed; that is, *thirty* such men had died "by the visitation of God." These included two Lords Chancellor, Goodrich and Gardiner, and two Cardinals, Pole and Peyto. In the short space of four years, from the death of Gardiner (the next after Latimer and Ridley) in November, 1555, to that of Tunstal inclusive, in November, 1559, twenty-four had died; nay, *fourteen* of these had expired in less than *sixteen months*, before and after the Queen's own decease. Death has been sometimes denominated "a great teacher; but here was a lesson, which surely could not fail to be the subject of frequent remark at the time.

Fuller, the old historian, had been struck with this mortality; and, in his own quaint manner, he has said "There were nine Bishops now dead, who were the *death-guard* of Queen Mary—as expiring a little before her decease; namely, John Capon or Salcot, Bishop of Salisbury; Robert Parfew, Bishop of Hereford; Maurice

Griffith, (*Griffin*) Bishop of Rochester; William Glynn, Bishop of Bangor. These were Queen Mary's *ushers* to her grave. Or, as expiring a little after her departure, as Reginald Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, John Hopton, Bishop of Norwich; James Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester; John Holyman, Bishop of Bristol; Morgan, Bishop of St. David's; these were Queen Mary's *train-bearers* to the same."

To some persons, however, after such a review, the greatest mystery of all, may seem to be the comparative escape, and long survival, of by far the most active agent in cruelty and blood—the man who appeared almost to congratulate himself on the number of his victims. If his original name had been *Savage*, it ought never to have been changed. This was Edmund Bonner, who survived almost all his contemporaries, and his royal mistress nearly eleven years. Elizabeth on her accession was distinguished for caution in disclosing her intended course; but of all his brethren on the Bench, Bonner was the *only man* whom the Queen marked out, by withholding her hand, when she gave it to the rest, and not permitting him to touch it. Familiar with the Satanic work of persecution from the earliest days of his appointment under Henry the Eighth, eighteen years ago, he was now a veteran in crime; and well acquainted with the Marshalsea prison, he was finally sent back to it once more. Had he expired *soon*, with so many of his fellows, his example might soon have been forgotten; but Bishop *quondam* as he was called, shall live, in contempt, to excite most salutary recollections, and keep in remembrance the flames of Smithfield. "A jail," says Fuller, "was conceived the safest place to secure him from the people's fury." Had he thus died, by the hand of man, it must have been regarded as nothing more than an act of private revenge; but surviving in disgrace, as the most significant "memento" of past times, it was as if Providence had "set a mark upon him," that he might live as the standing object of universal execration. As a living monument of Divine displeasure, he died in prison, unchanged, on the 5th of September 1559, and was buried, under the cloud of night, among the condemned, in Southwark churchyard. Midnight was ordered by Edmund Grindal, as the safest time, to prevent any disturbance by the citizens.

A far different subject, or the history of the English Bible during this reign, now claims our attention. It is true that all the authorities, styled civil and ecclesiastical, were up in arms against it; and now, banded together as the soul of one man, they could officially alter or destroy everything else of human appointment or device: but they might as well have expected to succeed in rooting out the violet or the rose from the soil of England, as to banish the Word of Life from the country, or snatch it from all the people who had already received and prized it, as their only and all-sufficient guide to a better world.

No sooner, indeed, had January 1555 arrived, than it seemed as if something of this kind had been meditated, by their hasty at-

tempt to brand certain *persons* with odium. There were two individuals still remaining in England to whom the country had stood indebted for the Scriptures—*John Rogers* and *Miles Coverdale*; and these were among the earliest victims seized by Government.

When Queen Mary entered London, and had reached the Tower, on Thursday, the 3d of August, 1553, on the second day after, she released Gardiner, and Bonner, and Tunstal, from imprisonment, styling them “her own Bishops.” The first of these she immediately appointed to be Lord Chancellor. He had been distinguished as one of the most eminent enemies of the vernacular Scriptures, and we have seen him, many a time, vent his enmity. In the year 1537, when the Bible edited by John Rogers was introduced into England by Grafton, and with such success, Gardiner was in France; and that after his return in September 1538, he did all in his power to thwart the circulation of the Scriptures in the English tongue. Rogers, then on the Continent, had remained for twelve years longer, ministering to a German congregation. During the reign of Edward, either attracted by the state of the country, or personally invited, he had returned to England by the year 1550, and afforded occasion for one of those singular scenes, which had not unfrequently taken place under the roof of St. Paul’s. In September 1549, Bonner had been deprived of his office as Bishop of London, and who should be officiating in his room, for the following half year, but *Gabriel Dunne*, as residentiary prebend!—the man who, with Philips, had ensnared Tyndale at Antwerp, and at Brussels did his best to secure his death! Dunne’s official services, as bishop *pro tempore*, had ended by the appointment of Nicholas Ridley to the See of London in April 1550, and it is the very next month that we have certain evidence of Rogers being in London. He may have come earlier, but we are told that “when he returned to England he was admitted Rector of St. Margaret Moyses, and after that, Vicar of St. Sepulchres, London, on the 10th of May, 1550.” The Rectory, however, he resigned next year, on the 10th of September, having been appointed by Ridley, one of the *Prebendaries* of St. Paul, on the 24th of August preceding. Here then, we have *Dunne*, as prebend, sitting in the twelfth stall on the right side of the choir, and *Rogers*, as Pancrass prebend, in the sixth on the left; but this is rendered still more remarkable from its being the very stall which had been occupied by *Robert Ridley*, the uncle of Nicholas, once so furious in opposition to Tyndale and his translation!

Any person can now clearly perceive, with what good will both Gardiner and Bonner must have welcomed the day when they should be able to triumph over both the Bishop and his Prebend. Ridley and Rogers, and wreak their vengeance on them both. Ridley, it must be confessed, by the warmth of his zeal in favor of Lady Jane Gray, had hastened himself into the Tower before his fellows; having been sent there by Mary, even *before* her ar-

rival in the capital. It was the first specimen of her power, and significant of all that followed.

But JOHN ROGERS had done nothing to call for any interference. He had occasion, it is true, to preach in his turn, at Paul's Cross, and then he warned the people against idolatry and superstition. This was after the Queen's arrival in London. He was immediately charged with preaching erroneously, but he so defended himself before the Council, that he was freely dismissed. At this moment, had he felt disposed, he *might* have escaped abroad, and he had strong inducement so to do. He had a wife and *ten* children, and in Germany he must have been secure of a living; but he would not depart. By the 18th of August 1553, a proclamation was issued, forbidding *all* preaching; after which, Rogers was ordered to remain, as a prisoner in his own house, and communicate with no one, save his own family. He happened to live not far from Bonner himself, who, with the sanction of Gardiner, as Chancellor, at last got him sent to Newgate, the worst of all the prisons; where, among thieves and murderers, he remained throughout the whole of 1554, and there he is said to have been of use to the prisoners. "My Lord," said Rogers to the Chancellor, "ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put me in prison *without law*, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate, at great cost and charges, having a wife and ten children to find; and I had never a penny of my livings, which was against the law." They had, in short, left him to pine or perish in prison, and there having been no specific charge, the whole course was illegal.

At last, however, Rogers was called up for examination. The year 1555 was to be distinguished for persecution, and on the 1st of January they had commenced in good earnest, by the apprehension of thirty individuals. On the 22d, both Rogers and Hooper were before Gardiner, and other members of Council, as the Queen's Commissioners. The parties present were perfectly characteristic. Besides Gardiner, there was Tunstal, Heath, and Thirlby, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir John Bourne, Secretary of State, and others, evidently eager to sit in judgment on such a man as this; and as if it had been to point out to posterity the precise *animus* or spirit of the persecutors, as well as give still greater prominence to the history of the Sacred Volume, Rogers must die *first* of all. He must now lead the van in the army of martyrs, and obtain ever after the honorable appellation of *Proto-Martyr* in Queen Mary's reign.

Towards this good man, it is evident, that Lord Chancellor Gardiner had behaved with peculiar harshness and cruelty. He had, in fact, owed him a grudge for eighteen years, and now illegally had imprisoned him, for nearly eighteen months, though the martyr had frequently implored his release. Rogers had married when abroad, and presuming that a female, and a foreigner, and

she not far from the time of her confinement, might have some influence, he had sent her to Gardiner, with certain female companions, so long ago as Christmas 1553, and as far as Richmond, "humbly craving that he might be set at liberty," there being nothing laid to his charge. The only answer to this was his being committed by Bonner to Newgate! From Newgate, Mr. Rogers had not only sent two petitions to the Chancellor, but his wife many times, without any effect. A Mr. Gosnold, and other benevolent gentlemen, had also petitioned on his behalf, but all was in vain; and now that the prisoner is brought up for examination, it seemed as if, in the first instance, it had been only to gratify Gardiner's spleen and passion.

He was called up once more, before a far more formidable array of persecutors, on the 28th, and finally the next day, at nine o'clock, when Gardiner read his sentence condemnatory, giving him over to the tender mercies of Bonner and the Sheriff. Not one word had been said respecting his publication of the Sacred Scriptures, but the Chancellor, in condemning him, had thought this far too fine an opportunity not to cast a slur upon the *Bible*, and thus hold up Rogers to the terror of all its readers, at the very commencement of this fiery day. In his sentence, when naming Rogers, three times, he took special care not to omit, "otherwise called *Matthew*." We have no proof that this was the intention, but it served such a purpose for the moment. Gardiner having finished, gratuitously told him that he was now "in the great curse," and that no man was to speak to him. Rogers, who throughout had spoken with great boldness as well as ability, and, as we shall see presently, to Gardiner's utter confusion if not dismay, then replied—

"Well, my Lord, here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take Him to witness, that I never wittingly nor willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you; and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the *true* Catholic Church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false Church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these *twenty years*—the Lord be thanked therefore! But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me *one* thing?"

What is that? said Gardiner. "That my poor wife, being a stranger (a foreigner) may come and speak with me, so long as I live—for she hath ten children, that are her's and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, what *were best for her to do*." Will it be believed, that, at once discovering a mind of the vilest character, the solitary request, and so touchingly put, was with disgusting barbarity denied! And Rogers, though he had told the Chancellor that he had been married eighteen years, saw the man no more. The amount of such wickedness, it is not for us to describe.

Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, his honorable companion, had been also condemned the same day, and both were to be conveyed to Newgate. There was now, however, some cowardly fear of the people. The sentence had not only been pronounced with *closed doors*, but they waited till *night*, before their victims were sent off. Even then, they conducted them from the Clink Prison to Winchester's house, close by, and passing through it, along London bridge, officers had been sent before them, ordering the costermongers, who sat at stalls in the street, to put out their lights! Why all this caution, if there was no apprehension of a rescue? Their coming, however, had been anticipated, and pious householders appeared on both sides of the streets, with candles. On their part, as the prisoners passed along, there was nothing but salutations of affectionate sympathy, thanksgiving for their constancy, and earnest prayers for its continuance.

This was on Tuesday the 29th, and Rogers had only to live till Monday following. Early that morning, the 4th of February, not aware of what awaited him, like Peter of old, he was sound asleep. The jailer's wife went and had some difficulty in awaking him. She then warned him to make haste, and prepare himself for the fire! "If it be so," said the good man, "I need not tie my points." Bonner was already in waiting. Both Hooper and he were then, what they chose to call degraded, by being bereaved of their ecclesiastical trappings; a process, which necessarily occupied some time, as they had first to be arrayed, and then the several parts were torn from them piecemeal. Hooper was to be sent off next day to Gloucester; but the stake was already prepared for Rogers. Then once more, to Bonner he tendered the same solitary request he had done to Gardiner; but it was now reduced to this—"that before going to the stake, he might be permitted to speak a *few words* to his wife." But this, like his fellow, the inhuman monster denied! Foxe supposes that it was chiefly to inform her of his examinations and answers, in his own handwriting, which he had left behind him, concealed in the prison. But if it was, the Bishop's denial went for nothing, as they were afterwards found.

Upon being delivered up to the Sheriff, Woodroff, before they left the prison, urged Rogers to revoke his opinions. "That," replied the martyr, "which I have preached, I will seal with my blood."—"Then," said Woodroff, "thou art an heretic."—"That," replied Rogers, "will be seen at the day of judgment."—"Well, then," said the Sheriff, "I will never pray for thee."—"But," said Rogers, mildly, "I will pray for *thee*." Thus they proceeded to the stake.

Upon entering the street, they found an immense crowd awaiting them. In walking towards Smithfield, Rogers was repeating a portion of that blessed book he had given to his country—the 51st Psalm. The people were giving thanks for his constancy; but there among the crowd, there met him the wife, whom neither Gardiner nor Bonner would permit him to see. His wife, the foreigner, with *all* her children—one of these, a youth named Daniel,

if the eldest, now nearly seventeen years of age; the youngest, or the eleventh child, an unconscious babe, now hanging at the mother's breast! In the midst of this overwhelming scene, the husband and father stood firm, and having got through it, the bitterness of death was past!

At the stake they brought him a pardon, upon condition that he would recant. This, of course, he pointedly refused to do, and at last, washing his hands, as it were, in the flames, he cried with his final breath, "Lord, receive my spirit."

We have referred to his examinations and answers, as they were afterwards printed in full, from the copies left behind; and by John Foxe, who knew the martyr well. It so happened that Mrs. Rogers, with her son Daniel, had gained access to the prison, and after looking in vain for these manuscripts, they were about to depart, when the youth, looking round once more, spied his father's papers, deposited in a corner under the stair.

John Rogers appears to have been the son of a father of the same name, and born, not in Lancashire, as it has sometimes been stated, but in Warwickshire, at Deritend, in the immediate vicinity of Birmingham. Rogers had been married in 1537, or the same year in which he had completed the Bible, to Adriana Pratt, alias de Weyden. She now returned with her children to Germany, and the lad who had found his father's papers was afterwards better known as an Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to different countries.

With regard to MILES COVERDALE, without farther explanation it must appear almost incredible that, only fourteen days after the death of Rogers, or on the 18th of February, Queen Mary was writing a letter, of which he was to be the bearer, to the King of Denmark. He also had been in trouble, as well as Rogers, since 1553, though not confined to prison. This letter was written only on Monday week after the scene at Smithfield, and the same day on which a splendid embassy was leaving London for Rome; and yet the very next day Coverdale had his passport, "for himself and two servants," by which was most probably meant his *wife* and *one* servant; and so he left England for Denmark. Thus, if the one man connected with the Scriptures must lead the van of martyrdom, the other can easily be extricated from the grasp of Government by the overruling providence of God.

The deliverance has been ascribed *solely* to the repeated and very earnest interposition of his Danish Majesty; and but for this, humanly speaking, he might not have survived: but the truth is, that on the examination of Rogers, Gardiner let fall a hasty and unfortunate expression, "that the Queen went before him in this business, and it was all done at her motion." This revealed a state secret, and alarmed the Government, as the people were greatly excited when the remark was noised abroad. This excitement led to a pause in the work of persecution, and a sermon was preached before Philip, and by his order, on the next Sunday, against religious persecution.

Now, it was precisely at *this* moment that *Coverdale was released*, and sent out of the country. On Monday week after this sermon, it had been thought *advisable* for the Queen at last to write her letter. It might very conveniently seem almost to contradict what Gardiner had said in open court, that day three weeks before, and on Tuesday the passport was also ready.

Once released, on the 18th of February 1555, and his passport signed next day, with all despatch Coverdale repaired to Copenhagen, and after expressing his obligations to his Royal benefactor, he went to Wesel in Friesland, where, by this time, he met with at least one hundred refugees from England. After a short stay he proceeded to Bergzabern, at the request of Wolfgang, the Duke of Deux-ponts, where he had a pastoral charge assigned to him. In December 1558, we find him at Geneva, and next year he returned to England. Though urged repeatedly to return to his office as a Bishop, he could not now accept of it, nor assume the dress imposed. Grindal, however, in 1563, gave him the small living of St. Magnus, near London Bridge, remitting the first-fruits, as he had nothing to pay them, and with respect to dress, he was permitted to do as he pleased; but in about two years more he either resigned, or was obliged to do so. Still, however, he continued to preach; only he who so zealously preached against the *sectaries*, about seventeen years before, was now called, at the age of seventy-eight, to experience what was involved in being one. On a Saturday, his hearers used to send inquiring where he was to officiate next day, but even this he at last declined mentioning, lest it should give offence! Yet, as long as he was able he continued to preach, and died, most happily, in February 1569, in the eighty-first year of his age. His remains were honorably interred in Bartholomew's Church, behind the Exchange, on Saturday, the 19th of February, when a vast crowd attended. Thus, in the end, alas! was left to England no ground for congratulation, with regard to her treatment of *any* of the men concerned in her earliest editions of the Sacred Volume! Recently, after the Royal Exchange was burnt, Bartholomew's Church being to be taken down, the supposed bones of Coverdale were removed to the spot where he often ministered, St. Magnus, and a marble tablet has been erected to his memory, dated MDCCCXXVII.

Throughout the month of September, 1555, the health of GARDINER, Bishop of Winchester, had been declining rapidly. On Monday the 21st of October, Parliament was opened. That day he was present, and the next, for the last time; when he spoke and exerted himself beyond his strength. On Wednesday, or seven days after Latimer and Ridley's martyrdom at Oxford, he was confined to his chamber, and after lingering for three weeks, he expired at Westminster, early on the morning of Tuesday the 12th of November. His body was immediately removed to his house in Southwark, but not carried to Winchester for above three months, or the 24th of February 1556. His true character we need not now depict; as it is to be read in the various transactions already



recorded. In point of talent, he was certainly one of the most able men of his times; but this only increased an amount of guilt which the day of final reckoning will disclose. Before his death he is generally understood to have been in great trouble, if not agony of mind. At one time he is said to have requested the account of the Saviour's last sufferings to be read to him, and when they came to the denial of Peter, he desired the reader to stop. "I have denied," said he, "I have denied with Peter; I have gone out with Peter; but I have not as yet learned to weep bitterly, with Peter!"

As for Latimer and Ridley, they died, it is known and confessed by all, triumphantly at Oxford, twenty-seven days before this, on the 16th of October. Crammer followed on Saturday the 21st of March 1556, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and after the manner which has been so plentifully described elsewhere, by conflicting authorities. Whatever imperfections were to be found in his character, the virulence with which it has occasionally been attacked, only proves, that for the part he acted as a whole, he is never, by certain parties, to be forgiven. His enemies, even still, will scarcely, if at all allow, that before his death he had learnt, what Gardiner had never done—"to weep bitterly with Peter;" even though a spectator of the last scene, and he of *opposite* sentiments, has told us that he stood there with a heart bursting with grief—"his face bedewed with tears, sometime lifting his eyes to heaven in hope, sometime casting them down to the earth for shame; and to be brief, an *image of sorrow*." His recantations assuredly were the more to be lamented, after the firm and heroic testimony borne by his two precursors four months before; and whom, it is said, he saw from his cell when they were on the way to the stake. But still the burning of his right hand—"that unworthy hand"—"that hand hath offended," as he emphatically repeated, and as long as his tongue would suffer him, was a testimony to the deepness of his regret, as powerful and expressive, as it was then possible for him to give; and still more so, from its being the only one then left to him.

Upon the accession of Henry's eldest daughter, and with immediate reference to the Scriptures, it need scarcely be remarked, that the country at large was in a very different state from what it had been less than thirty years ago, when there was neither a printed Bible, nor even a New Testament in print, within its borders. Just before Mary assumed the Crown, England seemed to be fairly on the way for becoming a land as distinguished for the possession of the Sacred Volume, as God had appointed it should be, in the end. About sixty-five editions of the New Testament, and thirty of the entire Bible had passed through the press: but here now was an opposing party, not only in full power, but determined to exercise it. Resolved to carry everything before them, it might naturally have been supposed, that one of the very first movements must have been a systematic attempt to *destroy all these volumes*. Could the burning of the sacred *books*, have been a more obnox-

ious measure, than the burning of men and women, old and young? Was the seizing of the *Scriptures*, and at once burning them in open day, not as easy as the seizure and imprisonment of *men*? And yet, however much blood was shed ultimately, and however much cruelty inflicted, on the part of Government there was, on the whole, a most mysterious silence maintained, with regard to the English Bible, which has never been sufficiently observed.

But in the midst of all the efforts to destroy the Sacred Scriptures, they were wonderfully preserved. This was done chiefly in two ways: one was by their being carried abroad, beyond the reach of danger. The pause at the commencement of Mary's reign was not unimproved as to personal safety, and the exiles unquestionably availed themselves of the opportunity as to that which they valued above most fine gold. A single copy, if more could be carried away, would not satisfy any one among them; and it was far more easy for them to carry books away at the time they went, than it was afterwards for some of these exiles to import their own writings. This, however, they afterwards did, and to such extent, as to provoke the royal inhibition of June 1555, which, after all, could not stem the influx. The stern proclamation of death by martial law, three years after, was a proof of *failure*; and the Queen was thus, in effect, only declaring—what her father before his death had done—that royal edicts, in certain circumstances, if not nearly impotent, possess no sovereign power.

But the other mode of preservation was by *concealment*; and this was practised to no small extent, whether in the crowded city or the hamlets of England. Even in the cottages of the latter, there are supposed to have been methods of concealment so ingenious as to baffle all search—

“Fierce, whisker'd guards that Volume sought in vain,  
Enjoy'd by stealth, and hid with anxious pain;  
While all around was misery and gloom.  
This show'd the boundless bliss beyond the tomb;  
Freed from the venal priest—the feudal rod,  
It led the sufferer's weary steps to God;  
And when his painful course on earth was run,  
This, his chief wealth, descended to his son.”

This course, however, from its very nature, did not admit of its being put on record, and yet we are not without evidence of the fact. The highly-prized treasure, read often in the dead of the night, was concealed under the bed, in hay-lofts, or in out-houses; and we have one notable instance of another mode. Mary had not dismissed from her immediate service *all* who had any value for the Scriptures; on the contrary, Strype assures us, from manuscript, that the Gentlemen Ushers of the Queen were “almost all favourers of the Gospel.” These had been in the service of Edward, her brother, with the exception of others that she had appointed. Of one of them the same laborious author gives a long account in his “Memorials,”—Mr. Underhill, a gentleman, who,

though imprisoned and molested, after all continued to receive his pension, and outlived the present reign. At one period, "a diligent search being made for all suspicious books," he was then living in Wood Street, Cheapside. Underhill forthwith "sent for a bricklayer, and built up a wall in his chamber, against the place where all his books were, and so inclosed them in security from the danger of being taken, preserving them for himself against better times." Similar precautions were, no doubt, taken by others; and it is impossible to say how many precious volumes, if not also printing materials, were built up until Mary should draw her last breath.

It may now, however, be observed that, of all the *other* books printed up to this period in England, there are not a few of which not a vestige remains; while, in reference to the *Scriptures*, of which so many editions had been printed, nay, and innumerable editions since, it is a most singular fact, that there are very few, perhaps not above three or four, of which we have not a copy, and of the great majority several copies, either in England or Scotland.

The text of the translation of the New Testament now required to be *reviewed* with far more leisure and superior skill than it had ever yet been upon English ground, or since the first edition by Rogers; but this cannot be done, or rather as Providence had determined, *must not*, in any corner of our native land. The Government has fallen back into very much the same condition in which it was in 1523, when Tyndale found at the last, that there was "not only no room in my Lord of London's house to translate the New Testament, but that there was no place to do it in all England."

An *exile* from his native country first accomplished the translation, and some how or other got the book introduced into the kingdom, in spite of Henry VIII., and his Cardinal Wolsey. Then, an *exile* shall do the same thing once more; by correcting and printing the New Testament, and sending it into England in spite of either *Philip or Mary*, or their Cardinal Pole.

The translation, correctly speaking, is an improvement of Tyndale's, on comparing it with the Greek original, once more; but although it cannot even yet be very positively asserted who that individual was, we now offer some interesting particulars respecting one, which will probably leave no hesitation as to his being the person to whom his country stood indebted.

*William Whittingham*, the branch of a family not extinct, in the male line, till so recently as 1758, was born in the year 1521 at Holmeset afterwards called Holmeside Hall, six miles from Durham, in the parish of Lanchester. His father, William Whittingham, Esq. of Holmeset, had sent him to Oxford, where he became a commoner at Brazen-nose College, about 1540, and made such proficiency in learning, that in 1545 he was elected a fellow of All-Souls. Anthony Wood affirms that he was after this chosen one of the senior students in Christ Church, formerly Cardinal College; "Henry VIII. endeavoring to *replenish* it with the

*choicest* scholars in the University," precisely as the reader may remember, Wolsey had first attempted. This is curious enough, as Whittingham was thus following in the *same* path by which John Fryth had been led, twenty years ago. Whittingham, however, so far from being, like his predecessor, confined in the dungeon below, in May 1550 had leave granted him, by the dean and canons, to travel for three years. He embarked for France, intending to go into Italy; but being taken unwell at Lyon, he proceeded first to Paris, and then to Orleans University, spending at least a year and a half between these two cities. After having visited several parts of Germany, his travels terminated at Geneva, where he remained till about May 1553, when his three years had expired. But what a change awaited him on his return! Edward died on the 6th of July. Christ Church now, must soon have proved as dangerous to him, as Cardinal College, or the same spot had done to Fryth. Whittingham, with a mind now enlightened, had no idea of waiting till another Cardinal should bear sway, and his agents at Oxford burn Bibles, as Wolsey had treated the New Testament Scriptures. Instead, therefore, of "leave granted" a second time, just as if to make the parallel more complete, like Fryth or Tyndale before that, he must now fly to the Continent, where he arrived in safety, and at Frankfort, on the 27th of June 1554, with the first exiles who there took up their abode.

Whittingham had lived a single life, but after retiring to Geneva, where he had arrived in the autumn of 1553, he was married to Catharine, the sister of John Calvin. Whatever may have been the date of his marriage, this was the time in which he must have applied assiduously to the English New Testament, with "the most approved Greek examples" before him. To his recension of Tyndale's version, he prefixed two things. First, "an Epistle declaring that Christ is the end of the Law, by John Calvin," his brother-in-law; and then his own address, of three leaves, "To the reader." In this, he speaks throughout in the *singular* number, taking the entire responsibility upon himself; and after the broil in which he had previously been involved at Frankfort, his language becomes the more impressive. Adverting to three distinct classes of men, he says—

"Some are malicious despisers of the Word, and graces of God, who turn all things into poison, and a farther hardening of their hearts: others do not openly resist and condemn the Gospel, because they are stricken as it were in a trance with the majesty thereof; yet either they quarrel and cavil, or else deride, and mock at whatsoever thing is done, for the advancement of the same. The third sort are the simple lambs, which partly are already in the fold of Christ, and so hear willingly their Shepherd's voice, and partly wandering astray by ignorance, tarry the time till the Shepherd find them, and bring them unto his flock. To *this* kind of people, in this translation, *I chiefly had respect*, as moved with zeal, counselled by the godly, and drawn by occasion, both of the place

where God hath appointed us to dwell, and also of the store of heavenly learning and judgment, which so aboundeth in this city of Geneva. . . . To those, therefore, who are of the flock of Christ, which know their Father's will, and are affectioned to the truth, *I* render a reason of *my doing* in few lines, &c."

"Counselled," as he tells us, by others, it is evident that the writer had obtained the palm for scholarship among his brethren: now as Whittingham will come before us, presently, as the *chief* person engaged with the entire Scriptures, or the Geneva Bible of 1560, there can remain little or no doubt that he is the man now speaking in this preface. Afterwards he will appear to have availed himself of the learning of some other individuals, though by no means to the extent which has been all along so vaguely reported.

This New Testament, in duodecimo, neatly printed in roman and italic types, consists of 456 leaves, including the title—"The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ, conferred diligently with the Greke and best approued translations. With the arguments as wel before the chapters as for every Boke and Epistle; also diversities of readings and moste profitable annotations of all harde places; whereunto is added a copious table.—At Geneva, printed by Conrad Badius, M.D.LVII." And at the end, "Printed by Conrad Badius, M.D.LVII. this x day of June." The date is worth notice on one account, that Whittingham died only six miles from the spot where he was born, or at Durham, on the very *same day*, twenty-two years afterwards, the 10th of June 1579. A copy of this book, at public sale, has brought as much as £11, 5s.

Here, then, was one set-off for the reign of Queen Mary, which she and her husband would have gladly dispensed with. Literally, in the time of "blood and fire, and vapor of smoke," in a dark and cloudy day for England, *that* was accomplished which had never been overtaken all the time of King Edward. The New Testament did require revision, but it must be done by an *exile* upon foreign ground, and be printed much nearer to Rome than London, while the book, as we have seen, was already in the kingdom. More than this, the entire Bible, still more improved by a careful comparison of the original Hebrew and Greek, was *already* commenced; nay, during the last year of this Queen's reign, the revisers at Geneva were engaged with it literally *night and day*. Whatever, therefore, had been overturned or trodden down in England, this cause had sensibly advanced. The storm had only enlivened its progress, and actually brought it into a *far better* state than it was before. We have yet to see how it fared with "the Exiles'" Bible, and what a blessing it proved to the families of our native land, for a period equal to ten times the duration of Queen Mary's reign. The Queen expiring on the 17th of November 1558, she was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth.

## SECTION III.

## REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

A REIGN, EXTENDING TO MORE THAN FORTY-FOUR YEARS, BUT HOWEVER POWERFUL IN EVERY OTHER DEPARTMENT, HAVING NO ACTUAL CONTROL OVER THE CHOICE OR PREFERENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, WITH REGARD TO THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN THEIR NATIVE TONGUE, AND THUS PRESENTING THE ONLY EXCEPTION TO UNLIMITED SWAY.

THE second daughter and only surviving child of Henry VIII., or the last branch of the Tudor family, now ascended the throne at the age of twenty-five. Born with the finest natural capacity, the education of Elizabeth, followed by the discipline through which she had passed, enabled her to hold the sceptre with a firmer grasp than that of any of her family who had preceded her; and throughout the long period of above forty-four years, England had no occasion to complain for want of what certain persons have styled a strong government. The preservation of the Queen to the present hour was very remarkable, and it proves, in the most striking manner, that a nation can no more judge of what may contribute to its stability, than any single man can tell what is good for him all the days of his vain life, which he spendeth as a shadow. Thus, the English people, when Mary was proclaimed, had drowned with joy the voice of the heralds; but their hearts revolted at the very prospect of her marriage to a Spanish prince, and the step once taken was never forgiven. Yet that prince must come into the country, and enjoying as he did, entire sway over his English Queen, thus prove one instrument, and in no inferior degree, of preserving her sister from the block. The life of no heir to a throne was ever worth less than that of Elizabeth at one period; and had Mary only remained single, with Stephen Gardiner for her adviser, humanly speaking, her sister might have ended her days on the scaffold.

Whatever may have been her private sentiments as to the circulation of the Bible, she commenced her reign with great caution. On the 14th of January 1559, in a public procession in London when an elegant English Bible was presented to her majesty, at the Conduit, in Cheapside, she received it with a grace peculiar to herself, and kissing it, said, while pressing it to her bosom, that she would "oftimes read that holy book." The Queen had just passed the spot where the Scriptures had been often burnt; and the present gift had been adopted, no doubt, with the view of drawing forth some pointed declaration; but it went no farther, and then, the very next morning, or that of her coronation, it was *not* to be understood that she had already signified her approbation of either printing or circulating the Sacred Volume!

"Queen Elizabeth," says Lord Bacon, "the morrow of her

coronation, it being the custom to release prisoners at the inauguration of a prince, went to the chapel, and, in the great chamber, one of her courtiers, who was well known to her, either out of his own motion, or by the instigation of a wiser man, presented her with a petition, and, before a number of courtiers, besought her, with a loud voice,—‘That now this good time, there might be four or five principal prisoners more released.’ It was inquired who they were, when he replied,—‘These were the four Evangelists and the Apostle Paul, who had been long shut up, as it were, in prison, so as they could not converse with the common people, who were eager to see them abroad.’ The Queen, however, answered very gravely,—‘That it was best first to inquire of themselves, whether they would be released or no.’”

The last Queen had now been dead two months, but nothing definite had ever escaped from the lips of her successor. On the other hand, the steps actually taken conveyed no certainty of signification, so that the hopes and fears of two adverse parties were alike quivering in the beam. Thus, in reference to her Council, Elizabeth had retained a majority of professed disciples of “the old learning,” some of whom had been active in its defence, and all of them men distinguished either for capacity or influence; but to these she added eight others of opposite sentiments, not exempting some who had suffered imprisonment or exile for their opinions. Cecil, the Queen’s principal adviser and Secretary, as well as herself, had *conformed* under the late reign, and though it was understood that they had merely bowed to the storm, from a Council so constituted, it was impossible to augur anything. There was in fact a very different, or secret cabinet, of much smaller dimensions, with whom rested the power of control.

A number of steps had only prolonged the public uncertainty. Thus, on the 14th of December Elizabeth had buried her sister, with all the rites of the old learning, and on the 23rd ordered a solemn dirge for the *soul* of the Emperor Charles: but then two days after, the prisoners on account of religious opinion were released, while on the 27th all preaching by any party was imperatively suspended, till consultation was held by the Queen with the three estates. She had passed through London indeed with great eclat; but the very next morning, as we have seen, checked her too forward courtier. The Princess Regnant must be let alone, to think out, and resolve upon, her own course, and to consult farther with Cecil and Bacon; but this is not to be done now, in open Hall, and before the Crown has yet been set upon her head. Parliament itself must first assemble, as it did in ten days after, when her Majesty had no reason to be dissatisfied with the amount of power conferred upon her. Its very opening however must be distinguished by the characteristic ambiguity. It was on the 25th of January, when Elizabeth assisted, in state, at a solemn high mass; but after this followed a sermon, and by no other than Dr. Cox, the tutor of Edward, and one of the *exiles* just returned from banishment. Not a little business was done, while a cautious ex-

pediency is still very observable. Certain laws of Henry the Eighth were renewed, many of Edward's revived, and those of Mary repealed: but in Parliament there must not be a single movement as to *faith* of any kind. They were summoned to consult respecting an uniform "order" of religion. Analogous to Cranmer's proposal, twenty-three years ago, they must first decide upon the ceremonial or external order; only now no "Articles" in reference to doctrine or the fundamental *truths* of Christianity must be once propounded. In the Convocation indeed, also assembled, "and which, owing to the times," says Fuller, "was very small and silent," the adherents of "the old learning," with Bonner for their leader, were broaching, for the last time, certain articles, but though presented to Bacon, the Lord keeper, and they led to a discussion afterwards, such subjects are not to be admitted within the walls of Parliament.

The "Supremacy" however, must now be both discussed, and settled. But here again, her Majesty had objected decidedly to a title first assumed by her Father, and one in which he gloried,—“the *Head* of the Church.” The world, it has been said, is ruled by names; and so the *apparent* rejection of a cherished title on the one hand, and non-interference, as to faith, at present, on the other, must have had their respective objects. Abroad at least, the first movement might sound auspiciously for the moment, and the last, if it had no softening effect at home, at least left the way still open for indulging a pleasing dream, or the hope of amalgamating two hostile parties. Meanwhile the title by which Elizabeth chose to be distinguished was that of “*Governor* of the Church;” but according to Fuller, complaints were heard still, “that the simplicity of poor people was abused; because while the Queen declined the former title, and assumed the latter, though less *offensive*, it was more *expressive*; so that while their ears were favored, in her waiving the word, their souls were deceived with the sense under another expression.”

There was now to be no Parliament or Convocation for three years, but at last, and without therefore having consulted either the one or the other, about midsummer or the autumn of this year we hear something respecting the Scriptures; and by virtue of Elizabeth's authority, certain injunctions were issued. Among these were the following, left with every parish visited.

“To provide within three months after this visitation, at the charges of the parish, one book of *the whole Bible* of the largest volume in English, and within one twelve months the paraphrases of Erasmus also in English, and the same to be set up in some convenient place within the said Church, where the parishioners may most conveniently resort and read the same. All parsons under the degree of A. M., shall buy for their own use the New Testament in Latin and English with paraphrases, within three months. Enquiry was to be made whether any Parsons, Vicars, or Curates, did discourage any person from reading any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English.”



No intimation was given, here, or anywhere else, as to how or where such volumes were to be found, and hence it has been inferred by Lewis, that under the late reign they had *not* been destroyed or burnt to any very great extent. At the same time, it may be observed that this was nothing more than a royal injunction; buried too among not fewer than fifty others, some of which are strange enough; and if the effects resembled those which resulted from *Henry's* voice, then there would, in many instances, be a reluctant, in others, only a tardy compliance.

Before Elizabeth had done anything, nay, when, as Jewel informs Peter Martyr, she was "wonderfully afraid of any innovations," Richard Grafton appears again in sight, and quite in character, as if summoning afresh to their work, the friends of Divine Truth. But before he called, they were answering, for they had been busy "night and day." Only, let it be observed, that as it happened in the days of Henry, the answer or echo will once more come from *abroad*. It was in 1559 that Grafton began by a reprint, first published at the accession of Edward in 1547, after his father had, only with his breath, ceased to frown. The title is,—"*A godly invective in the defence of the gospel, against such as murmur and work what they can, that the Bible should not have free passage, very necessary to be read of every faithful Christian.*" By Philip Gerrard, yeoman of King Edward's chamber." We are thus reminded of the "Supplication" which preceded the New Testament, under the Queen's father, as well as of the fine opening of King Edward's reign: but the reigning Princess is resolved to be as cautious as she was vigilant and powerful. We shall see, therefore, whether these can prevent her from being overruled, and to the end of her long sovereignty.

While Elizabeth was yet in jeopardy of her life, and under the guardianship of Sir Thomas Pope, we have already seen that an edition of the New Testament had been printed at Geneva—that copies were finding their way into England, in despite of all opposition,—and that an edition of the entire Scriptures was already commenced, in the same city. The exiles themselves inform us *when* this was begun. It was when "the time was dangerous, and the persecution, in England, sharp and furious." The fact is, that no sooner had the New Testament left the press, than Whittingham, with one or two others, were preparing for their larger undertaking, and, at the latest, by January 1558 they had commenced. These men tell us that "they thought they could bestow their labours and study in nothing more acceptable to God, and comfortable to his Church;" and they add,—"*God knoweth with what fear and trembling we have been for the space of two years and more, day and night, occupied herein.*" The space referred to, therefore, was from January 1558 to the 10th of April 1560, when the last sheet was put to press.

Considering the high character of this version, and the number of editions through which it passed, it would have been gratifying could we have fixed, with more positive certainty, on the indi-

viduals to whom the nation stood indebted. They were most probably not more than *three* in number, or four at the most; but, whether it arose from modesty or motives of prudence, we are left to find out the real parties. The revision has been often, it is true, and very loosely, ascribed to *six*, and even *nine*, individuals, as though engaged in one body: viz., William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Miles Coverdale, Thomas Sampson, Christopher Goodman, Thomas Cole, John Knox, John Bodleigh and John Pullain. This, however, is doing nothing else than numbering up certain men possessed of learning, who happened to be then living at Geneva. It requires but a little investigation to reduce the number to one-third, and then, we presume, the great burden, if not the entire responsibility, will appear to have fallen upon three of these scholars. It is true that all these men, with many others, were intimately and affectionately connected with each other. They were members of the *same* Christian church, and a church, be it observed, who as a *body* felt deeply interested in this edition of the Sacred Volume. The entire expense not only of this Bible, but of an edition of the Psalms by itself was to be, and *was* defrayed by "such as were of most ability in that congregation." There was no application to their native country, no solicitation of one farthing from without. Amidst the storm that raged against the truth, they had been driven into a corner, and thus the Church was employed. In the fulness of their hearts, the sound *learning* of certain members, and the pecuniary *substance* of others, being devoted to the cause of their common Saviour, nothing could be a finer exhibition of Christian zeal for the highest interests of their native land. Thus, as the first translation of the Sacred Word, commenced in 1524, had sprung from the devoted zeal of a solitary Christian *exile*, whose heart had bled with pity for his country; so the next thorough revision of the entire Sacred text, must come from the bosom of a small Christian community, also in *exile*, "for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ."

The accession of Queen Elizabeth, however, in November 1558, naturally filled this entire circle with joy, and the men we have named, as well as others, were as naturally separated; but then this was with the *exception* of those who had devoted themselves to the revision and printing of the Bible. The good news had reached Geneva in December, and at that moment, we are informed that the *greater part* of the book was *not* finished; but "Whittingham, with *one* or *two* more, did tarry at Geneva an year and a half after Queen Elizabeth came to the Crown, *being resolved to go through with the work.*" Le Long has affirmed that "the chief and most learned" of the men already mentioned, were Coverdale, Whittingham, and Gilby; but Coverdale, now seventy years of age, cannot be traced as at Geneva sooner than December 1558, and it is certain that he returned in 1559; how early we cannot tell. He was preaching at Paul's Cross on the 12th of November. In short, *Knox* had left Geneva as early as January 1559; *Goodman* followed him to Scotland, where we

find him in September; while it is as certain that *Coverdale and Cole, Pullain and Bodleigh*, returned to England in the same year. The only three left, therefore, were Whittingham, Gilby, and Sampson, and with their names *only* the translation should have been associated; since the men who completed "the greater part," must have been those by whom it had been begun. Many of their brethren, indeed, they tell us, "*put* them on this work by their earnest desire and exhortation;" while others encouraged them "not to spare *any charge* for the furtherance of such a benefit and favour of God toward his Church."

Although we cannot now notice every edition here, but refer to our list, yet as the *only* English Bible distinctly pointed out in any patent, from Elizabeth downwards, and especially as the basis of so many editions for above eighty years to come, this demands some farther notice.

*Title*—"THE BIBLE AND HOLY SCRIPTURES conteyned in the Olde and Newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in divers languages. With moste profitable annotations upon all the harde places, and other thinges of great importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the reader." Beneath is a wood-cut, of the Israelites passing through the Red sea. "At Geneva. Printed by Rouland Hall, MDLX." *Collation*.—After a dedication to the Queen, and an Epistle to the Readers, about to be noticed, we have the text from Genesis to 2d Maccabees, fol. i., 474. "The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c., with the same wood-cut and imprint as before. "The Holy Gospel," &c., fol. ii., cxxii. A table of interpretation of proper names—of principal things—the years from Adam to Christ—and the years from Paul's conversion. There is no Colophon. The Sacred text is in roman, the contents of chapters in italic type. A full page contains 63 lines.

Not at all aware, perhaps, of the cautious expediency by which the Queen of England was now guided, they subjoined a dedication to her Majesty, remarkably free from that fulsome adulation which had been far too common, and expressing with great frankness their zeal for further progress in the cause of truth and righteousness. But there was a *second* address or "Epistle," still more worthy of notice. In what they had done, the translators now fixed an eye of sympathy and love, not upon *England* alone, but, taking a nobler flight, upon all those to whom the English language was *vernacular*. Such was the happy effect of *adversity and travel*; the one softening, the other enlarging their minds. Their epistle of explanation, therefore, as to this version, is addressed to no particular party; but—"TO OUR BELOVED IN THE LORD; THE BRETHREN OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND." A most judicious title, and if there must be any Epistle to the Christian Reader at all, it would have been well for the interests of the United Kingdom had the words been preserved *inviolata* from that day to this. Amidst all that has occurred since, it is the *only* one to which no objection, worth notice, could.

or can, be brought ; to say nothing of its being so akin to the simple majesty of the Divine Record, and to that only light in which God has regarded the entire number of his people, in this highly favored country, all along.

The last sheet of this Bible having been committed to the press on the 10th of April 1560, Whittingham, Gilby, and Sampson returned home immediately ; but of all the men already mentioned, there was one, who had not only fostered the translation when proceeding at Geneva, but was specially interested in its circulation throughout England, immediately afterwards, and he must not now be passed over.

John Bodley, Esq., was a native of Exeter, according to the statement of his own son. "In the time of Queen Mary," he says, "after being cruelly threatened and narrowly observed, by those that maliced his religion, for the safety of himself and my mother, (formerly Miss Joan Hoan, an heiress in the hundred of Ottery St. Mary,) who was wholly affected as my father, knew no way so secure as to fly into Germany ; where, after a while, he found means to call over my mother, with all his children and family, whom he settled for a while at Wesel in Cleveland, and from thence we removed to the town of Frankfort. Howbeit, we made no long tarriance in either of these towns, for that my father had resolved to fix his abode in the city of Geneva, where, as far as I remember, the English Church consisted of *some hundred* members." Here it was that the father first took that deep interest in the Geneva Bible, which comes before us presently, and here too it was that *this* son acquired that taste for literature and books, for which so many generations, ever since, have had such reason to revere his memory. For who was this son ? No other than Thomas, afterwards Sir Thomas Bodley, who, under his father's care, spent from his twelfth to his fifteenth year in Geneva, and then studying Greek and Hebrew, as well as other subjects, under the best teachers. On returning home, his father in 1559 or 1560 placed him in Magdalene College under Mr. Laurence Humphry, and in six years after, at the age of twenty-one, he was reading publicly a Greek lecture in Merton Hall, or the College of Wicliffe. The founder of the *Bodleian*, one of the most magnificent of all libraries, at home or abroad, is annually remembered by a solemn speech in the schools ; and certainly on the day when the visitation of the library is held, all petty prejudice aside, Geneva may well be glanced at, as the spot where the seeds of learning were first sown in the founder's mind, and his taste for literature was first implanted. At all events, whatever be done or said at Oxford, in the *present* day, let not the zeal of his worthy father be forgotten elsewhere, on behalf of the Sacred Volume itself, and that in a translation which was read in the *families* both of England and Scotland, for more than half a century to come.

The first distinct notice of the Geneva Bible having arrived in England is by no less than a patent from the Queen, granted in favor of John Bodeleigh already mentioned. Whether this patent

was of much advantage to the patentee is at present of secondary moment; but it forcibly reminds us of Henry VIII., in the year 1537. It presents Elizabeth before us, now *at the first call* from abroad, and without any hesitation, herself opening the way for the general circulation of this Bible throughout her dominions, for seven years to come.

As only *eleven* months had elapsed between Henry's winking at the martyrdom of Tyndale and the royal sanction of his translation, so only *eleven* months had now passed between the evasive or cautious reply of his daughter and her royal patent. Both volumes had been prepared upon foreign ground, and both in the face of clouds and darkness, or the frown of the reigning government; yet the second has come into England, as did the first, by the declared consent of the Sovereign. Henry had not read the Bible he sanctioned, nor had his daughter assuredly examined the present volume.

Under these circumstances, the patent granted to Mr. Bodley for the Geneva Bible, with annotations, must appear, in its true light, as not a little extraordinary. As Crumwell formerly at once obtained Henry's admission of Tyndale's Bible, without the King being aware of what he was doing, so some one now, perhaps Cecil, had gained the assent of Elizabeth. Such, however, was the fact. The Bible, completed by these exiles, being intended for English eyes, the habitual caution of the Queen must be laid aside, and her *first* official act in reference to the Scriptures, sanction its printing in England, and that without the slightest reference to any Bible *previously* admitted or sanctioned by her father or brother.

Such was the commencement of those numerous editions of the Geneva version which followed, not only during the long reign of Elizabeth, but down to nearly the middle of the next century. After that two editions had been executed abroad, besides two of the New Testament in a separate form, it was certainly time for the English printers to bestir themselves; and the man who had printed for Queen *Mary* all along, John Cawood, must be allowed to take the lead. He had changed with the times, and now came forward with an edition of Cranmer's Bible in quarto; while Richard Jugge, silent since the days of Edward, now gave two editions of the New Testament, one of Tyndale's, and, it has been affirmed, one of Coverdale's. Richard Harrison, too, though *not* printer to her Majesty, having obtained license, had printed an edition of Cranmer's Testament. Thus, and before the year 1561 had expired, it is curious enough, the people had Tyndale and Coverdale, Cranmer and the Geneva version all before them.

In the year 1562, an edition of Cranmer's Bible appeared, the first in *folio* under Elizabeth: and it is worthy of notice, that this came from *neither* of her Majesty's printers, but from the press of Richard Harrison, already mentioned.

About twenty-eight years ago, or in 1538, the reader cannot fail to remember an edition of Matthew's Bible being commenced

under Coverdale's inspection at Paris, which however had to be finished in London. But if the state of France was unpropitious to such an attempt then, it seemed to have been much more so now. There happened, however, to be a short pause in the civil wars which for forty years had desolated that fine country. The King of Navarre had been killed at a siege, the Duke of Guise assassinated, and fifty thousand Hugonots already slain. Elizabeth, for her own safety's sake, had aided this people; and in 1563 a peace was concluded which lasted till 1567. A gentleman, then living at Rouen in Normandy, belonging to the customs, and of good repute, resolved to seize the opportunity here presented him; and *at his own cost and charges*, committed to the press an edition of Cranmer's Bible in folio. This is a very fine book, on royal paper, printed "at Rouen by C. Hamillon, *cum privilegio*, 1566." This gentleman, Richard Carmarden, the frequent correspondent of Cecil, as in the Lansdowne manuscripts, was afterwards in the London Custom House, and living as late as the year 1599.

The other instance referred to, at home, was no other than the last edition printed by the same man, who in the midst of actual pestilence, and with but doubtful prospect of success, *first* brought the Bible of 1537 into England, Richard Grafton. He had weathered the storm in Mary's reign, and now saw his old virulent enemy, Bonner, still living, but under general contempt, and in prison. Though advanced in life, Grafton ventured on an edition of Cranmer's Bible, evidently intended for family use. It was the *first* edition of the English Bible in *one volume octavo*; and seems to have been a very large impression.

At last, in 1568, or the tenth year after Elizabeth had ascended the throne, the first edition of the Bible, superintended by Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, was published. Great care had been taken in this revision of the text, by more than fifteen learned men, Greek and Hebrew scholars, besides Parker himself, who superintended the several portions, as they came from the hands of those to whom he had committed them.

Parker had now at last accomplished that which Cranmer had attempted in vain, or a version of the English Bible, generally revised from the preceding, in conjunction with certain brethren on the Bench, and other scholars. It was a decided improvement on the whole. They had watched Cranmer's or Coverdale's leaning to the Vulgate; they expunged the three verses from the fourteenth Psalm, which the latter first inserted at Paris, and in Timothy, they altered Cranmer's rendering "by authority of the *priesthood*" to that of "the eldership," besides other amendments of the text. This Bible, as presented to the Queen, was by far the most splendid that had ever been printed, containing not fewer than 143 engravings in copper or wood, of maps, portraits, and coats of arms. The portraits include one of Elizabeth on the title; one of Dudley, Earl of Leicester, at the beginning of Joshua; and one of Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, at the Psalms.

It has been long erroneously supposed that this revision was

UNDERTAKEN *by Royal command*. There is not only no direct proof, but the evidence presented forbids any such idea.

As far as printing editions could carry it, all justice had now been done to the Bishops' Bible; and backed by the influence of so many men on the Bench, personally interested, it must have been presumed that this book would at last carry the *palm* of superiority, and put not only Cranmer's version out of sight and out of mind, but the Geneva Bible also. Such was the state of things in the year when Archbishop Parker expired. With regard to that version of the Bible frequently distinguished by his name, and that which had been accomplished by his expatriated countrymen, matters now stood very much in the same position as they had done in the days of Henry and Edward, when Tyndale's and Cranmer's versions were before the people of England.

We are now met by a course of events, the most signal features of Elizabeth's reign, which, after all that has been written, have been passed over by most historians, and never fully explained by any. An *extraordinary demand* for the Sacred Volume, and supplied by means not less extraordinary, can never be unimportant in the estimation of many; while at the same time the *cause of this demand* was of such a character as to form, in the history of the English Bible, one of its brightest pages. To each of these in turn, therefore, the attention of the reader is now solicited. This eager desire for the word of life, and decided preference for it, in the Geneva Version, were simultaneous, in the year 1575.

Had the government of Elizabeth not been distinguished for economy, and at the same time the advancement of several great national objects, it could never have been endured. Frugal in her own expenditure, she could carry measures in Parliament with a higher hand than her father. Instead of contracting debt, she discharged that of her deceased brother and sister, both principal and interest. She restored the debased coin to its former purity; and so far from receiving any pension from France, like her predecessors, or from any foreign power, she controlled foreign politics by the money of England. But then, on the other hand, this determination of Elizabeth's to economize, led to different modes of procuring supplies; and, among these, to one which it might have been supposed such a Queen could never have deigned to stoop—moneys received for granting *monopolies* to her subjects.

"The question itself," said the late Robert Hall one day, at Leicester, "whether the Sacred Volume was designed to be communicated to mankind at large without distinction, or to a particular class, with a discretionary power of communicating it at such times, and in such proportions as they may deem fit, can only be determined by itself. If it bear decisive indications of its being intended for private custody; if it be found to affirm, or even to insinuate, that it is not meant for universal circulation; we must submit to hold it at the discretion of its legitimate guardians, and to accept, with becoming gratitude, such portions as they are pleased to bestow. From the Word of God there can be no ap-

peal: it must decide its own character, and determine its own pretensions. Thus much we must be allowed to assume; that if it was originally given to mankind indiscriminately, no power upon earth is entitled to restrict it; because, on the supposition which we are now making, since every man's original right in it was equal, that right can be cancelled by no authority but that which bestowed it. If it was at first promulgated under the character of a universal standard of faith and practice, we are bound to recognize it in that character: and every attempt to alter it, to convert into private what was originally public property, or to make a *monopoly* of a *universal grant*, is an act of extreme presumption and impiety. It is to assume a superiority over revelation itself."

Whether the "patent of privilege" first granted by Queen Elizabeth, including as it did, the Holy Scriptures, did not come within the sweep of this pointed and solemn language, we shall leave the reader to determine, after he has read a few pages farther. But, in the meanwhile, her Majesty began and continued to abound in granting patents of various descriptions, to the close of her career.

In four years she increased the number so that in the Parliament of 1601, at the close of the session, a debate ensued, and such confusion as the Secretary of State had never before witnessed. A list, though imperfect, of such commodities, for the exclusive traffic in which patents had been granted, was read to the House by Sir Robert Wroth. These had been given away in certain cases, as rewards for service done, or to be done—not a very princely mode of payment; but, in general, they had been *sold* to the parties concerned. This list comprehended not only such important necessities of life as *salt and coal, leather and cloth, but steel and lead, tin and glass, Spanish wool and Irish yarn*; or, in short, above forty different articles, and certainly a sufficient proof of the extent to which the evil had gone. After the list was finished, a member of the House, and of considerable celebrity, Mr. Hakewil, of Lincoln's Inn, rose and inquired—Is not bread there? "*Bread*," said one,—"*BREAD*," said another, "this voice seems strange." "*Nay*," said he, "if no remedy be found for *these*, *BREAD* will be there, before the next Parliament." After four days of warm debate, the Queen and Council at last taking alarm, a gracious message from the throne was sent down to the House, which the Secretary of State, Robert Cecil, improved by an assurance that the existing patents should be repealed, and no more granted.

But still a list of these very monopolies granted by Elizabeth, indorsed by the Earl of Shrewsbury, is to be found *unrepealed* under the next reign. It is dated 25th May 1603, or two months after the Queen had ceased to live, and they were still about forty in number!

To all who have only glanced at the history of patents, it is well known that the noble art of printing did not escape. On the



contrary, it was about the earliest of the arts which came under their power, whether direct or indirect. Under the reign of Elizabeth there were two gentlemen, FRANCIS FLOWER, Esq., a Justice of the Peace, afterwards in the service of the Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton; and Thomas, afterwards SIR THOMAS WILKES, well known as Clerk to the Privy Council, as an Ambassador of Elizabeth's to France, Holland, and Germany, and who, but for Lord Burleigh's influence, would have succeeded Sir Francis Walsingham as Secretary of State. To the former was granted, in 1573, one of those "*Patents of Privilege*," as "her Majesty's printer of the Latin;" and to Sir Thomas, about 1575, *another as her printer of the English tongue*. The former, of inferior value, was forthwith *farmed out* to more assignees than one, Thomas Vautrollier, a Frenchman, being one, if not the chief.

WILKES, immediately after obtaining his patent, first bestowed the chief part of it on *John Jugge*, son of Richard the printer, with whose name we are already familiar. The evidence on which this fact is founded is no other than a formal complaint, addressed to the authorities, and subscribed by twenty-five stationers and printers, in the name of one hundred and seventy-five, all members of the Stationers' Company. To this are adhibited the names of *all* in London who lived by bookselling, being free of other Companies, but "also hindered by the said privileges." This document, subscribed by forty-five men, in name of not fewer than one hundred and eighty-five, being the first *formal* voice raised in England, upon record, against what they conceived to be the injurious operation of such privileges, is not only curious in itself, but entitled to special notice by any who wish to understand a subject hitherto involved in obscurity.

"*The privileges lately granted by her Majesty, under her Highness's Great Seal of England, to the persons underwritten, concerning the art of printing books, hath and will be the OVERTHROW of the printers and stationers within this city, being in number 175, besides their wives, children, apprentices, and families, and thereby the EXCESSIVE PRICES of books, prejudicial to the state of the whole realm, besides the FALSE PRINTING of the same.*

"1. JOHN JUGGE, besides the being her Majesty's printer, hath gotten the privilege for the printing of *Bibles and Testaments*, THE WHICH WAS COMMON TO ALL THE PRINTERS."

Thus, whatever may be said of this unanimous opinion, the language of the complaint establishes two historical facts. *First*, That for a period of about forty years, or from 1536, when the New Testament first began to be printed in *Loudon*, up to the present moment in 1576, the printing of the Sacred Scriptures in England had been *common to all printers*—that is, to any printer who applied and secured a license for the edition, or to any gentleman, such as Marler and Bodley, both of whom had obtained one. *Second*, That the printing of the Sacred Volume had never,

all along, been regarded, as in *any* sense or degree attached to the office or title of the King's or Queen's printer.

*John Jugge*, of whom all the stationers, including *Christopher Barker*, here complained, lived but a very short time, and, in fact, never *once* exercised the privilege held up as so injurious. He never printed either a Bible or even a New Testament. On the contrary, from what soon followed, or so early as September 1577, it is almost evident that he must have been dead before then. At all events, the consequences deprecated by the printers and book-sellers commenced *not* with him. It was on the 28th of September 1577, that an exclusive patent was purchased, *not from her Majesty* for this time, but from MR. WILKES, and of a far more extensive character than that of which complaint had been made, but very specially including *the Old and New Testament* in the *English* language; nay, and of *whatever* translation, *with* notes, or *without* them!!

By whom was the purchase of this unwonted patent from WILKES secured? By no other than one of the men who had complained so lately and so loud—*Christopher Barker*.

The extensive patent of *Christopher Barker* and *Robert Barker* his son, once secured, in regard to the Scriptures, it embraced "all Bibles and Testaments whatsoever, in the English language, of whatever translation, with notes, or without notes, printed before then, or afterwards to be printed by our command." The privileges are granted, professedly, in consideration of Mr. Barker's great improvement in the art of printing. But the most singular feature of the document at such a crisis, is this, that no notice whatever is taken of any *one* translation, as preferable to another, no, nor of any one as having been either ordered or sanctioned by the *Queen*. This too becomes more remarkable, when it is observed that the patent was granted under the sway of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, the strenuous promoter of *uniformity* in everything else, and whose decided preference of the Bishops' version, had only the year before been strongly marked and enforced. Barleigh, indeed, and Sir Francis Walsingham, may be presumed to have acquiesced in a license so broad; but at all events, here, under one of the most powerful Monarchs that had ever held the English sceptre, and as rigid a Primate as had occupied the See of Canterbury, since the invention of printing, if we look to what followed, it is not difficult to see there, an overruling hand once more. Whatever may be said of Queen Elizabeth, assuredly Archbishop Whitgift did not intend to promote the perusal throughout all England of any version of the Scriptures, save one, now sanctioned by "the Synod of Bishops;" but then here comes her Majesty, with open eyes, and by her sign manual, she has left the people free to choose, *in the highest sense*, when, so far as her power extended, she would on no account allow it, in *any* other.

No one will stand up now, to justify the course pursued by Barker from the beginning. It was a most mercenary affair from

first to last ; and yet even when a man is so influenced, the consequences, whether immediate or remote, by the hand of God may easily be overruled for good. One consequence, at all events, is here worthy of special observation. Even under an exclusive patent, granted by a Queen imperative even to trifles, since the supply was after all regulated solely by the *demand*, and only the sordid prospect of *remuneration*, we are able to see, and as clearly as we did under Edward the Sixth, what was the taste or choice of the great body of English readers.

In contemplating this long and powerful reign, with immediate reference to the Sacred Volume, there are three distinct points alike worthy of notice and recollection. The *first* is, the number of editions on the whole, so very far beyond that which has ever been observed. A *second* peculiarity is very manifest, or the number of impressions in what is usually styled the Geneva version, in comparison with others, or with Cranmer's and Parker's versions taken together. But the *third* point cannot escape notice—the large number of *Bibles*, as compared with the editions of the *New Testament* separately.

Apprehension, approaching nearly to horror, had been expressed in Parliament, at the very idea of a patent for *bread* ; but here was a commodity infinitely above it, in point of importance and value—the *bread of Life* ; and since it had been delivered into the hands of one man, to deal it out in conformity to privilege granted ; this being the first movement of the kind, every reader must be curious to observe the experiment in its first operation and consequences. Here, then, he may now do so, at the distance of two hundred and forty years, and for a space of time equal to that of the entire generation first so circumstanced.

From the year 1550 to that of 1603 inclusive, there had been certainly not fewer than *one hundred and thirty* distinct issues of Bibles and Testaments, or about eighty-five of the former and forty-five of the latter, which presents an average of three issues *annually* throughout the entire reign ; and notwithstanding all the caution exercised for the first sixteen years. With reference to the Geneva version, out of the gross issues now stated, the number approaches to ninety editions, thus leaving only forty for all others. Or if we speak of Bibles alone, while the number of Cranmer's and Parker's version put together we state as *twenty-five*, that of the Geneva Bible had amounted at least to *sixty* editions. The very remarkable disproportion, however, between the New Testaments issued as compared with the Bible entire, demands more particular observation, and it will come before us presently.

When the general character and proceedings, not to say the superior acquirements or talents of her Majesty are calmly reviewed ; since, officially, she never appears to have much, if at all, concerned herself with one translation more than another ; perhaps one of the most melancholy circumstances of the time was this, that Elizabeth never seems to have understood or felt, that the *circula-*

*tion of the Sacred Scriptures*, was by far the most important feature of her entire reign.

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## SECTION IV.

### JAMES THE FIRST TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

ACCESSION OF JAMES—CONFERENCE AT HAMPTON COURT EXPLAINED—REVISION OF THE SCRIPTURES—OUR PRESENT VERSION—THE REVISORS—INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN—PROGRESS MADE—REVISION OF THE WHOLE—MONEY PAID BY THE PATENTEE—THE PRESENT VERSION PUBLISHED—NO PROCLAMATION, NO ORDER OF PRIVY COUNCIL, OR ANY ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE UPON RECORD, ON THE SUBJECT—DID NOT BECOME THE VERSION GENERALEY RECEIVED THROUGHOUT ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, TILL ABOUT FORTY YEARS AFTERWARDS—THE LONDON POLYGLOT BIBLE PUBLISHED BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE.

UP to the present moment, the history of the English Bible had maintained a character peculiar to itself. Originating with no mere patron, whether royal or noble, the undertaking had never yet been promoted at the personal expense of any such party. But now in regard to that version of the Sacred Volume which for two hundred and thirty years has been read, with delight, from generation to generation, and proved the effectual means of knowledge, holiness, and joy to millions; it may be imagined by some, as there was now another and a final change, that our history must, at last, change, or in other words, *forfeit its character*. If, however, the accounts frequently given of our present version have been involved in as much inaccuracy of statement, as they have been with regard to all the preceding changes, there is the greater necessity for the public mind being disabused; and that, too, whether in Britain or America, or the British foreign dependencies. This is a subject which alike concerns them all, as they all read, and prize the same version.

If, because that a dedication to James the First of England has been prefixed to many copies, though not to many others; and if because not only historians at their desks, but lawyers at the bar, and even judges on the bench, have made most singular mistakes—it has therefore been imagined by any, or many, that the present version of our Bible was either suggested by this monarch; or that he was at any personal expense in the undertaking; or that he ever issued a single line of authority by way of proclamation with respect to it, it is more than time that the delusion should come to an end. The original and authentic documents of the time are so far explicit, that, just in proportion as they are sifted, and the actual circumstances placed in view, precisely the same independence of personal royal bounty, and, on the part of the people at large, the same superiority to all royal dictation, which we have beheld all along, will become apparent. James himself,

however vain, is certainly not so much to be blamed for any different impression, as some others who have misrepresented his Majesty. On the other hand, his character was such that to many writers it has occasioned some exercise of patience even to refer to it. But since his name occurs in connection with this final revision of the English Bible, it is of the more importance to ascertain the exact amount of this connection. From the moment in which he was invited to the throne, and to be King of Great Britain, his own favorite term, down to the year in which our present version was published, his "royal progress" is forced upon our notice.

Elizabeth had expired on the 24th of March 1603, when the King of Scotland succeeded as James the First, finally assuming the style of King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. Having left Edinburgh for England on Tuesday the 5th of April, James proceeded by way of Berwick and Newcastle, through York to London, where he did not arrive till the 7th of May. Throughout this journey he had already furnished a strong contrast, in point of character, to his predecessor. With regard to rewards, whether in point of honor or emolument, Elizabeth had been so sparing, that she has been charged with avarice. But James, having once procured from London such supplies as might enable him to advance in befitting style, actually hunted most of the way, scattering the honors of knighthood with such profusion along the road, that by the day he entered his capital, the number of his knights was about one hundred and fifty; and before one fortnight had passed, or by the 20th of May, they were "accounted at two hundred and thirty-seven, or better, since the time he entered Berwick," on the 6th of April. The Queen, with her children, having followed in June, the coronation took place in July; after which, his Majesty immediately returned, with great ardor, to his favorite sport of hunting. Though now entered into his thirty-ninth year, and having affairs to manage which had demanded all the talents of an Elizabeth, never was a boy let loose from school more bent upon his amusement.

Of the learning or talent to be found in England, where he had done little else than follow the hounds and the hares, James as yet could know next to nothing. Of Oxford and Cambridge he was equally ignorant. He had not called any circle of learned men around him, nor indeed ever did. Such also was the state of his finances, when necessity forced him to call a Parliament. "It was," says Sir James Mackintosh, "his last resource. He had exhausted his credit with the money-dealers, both in London and Holland, to supply his prodigalities, before he issued his proclamation for the meeting of Parliament on the 19th of March."

It was in the midst of his sport at Wilton, and his preparations for the arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, that James issued a proclamation, dated the 24th of October—"Touching a meeting for the hearing, and for the determining, things pretended to be amiss in the Church." This meeting, known ever since as "*the Conference at Hampton Court*," was held in the drawing-room

there, on Saturday, Monday, and Wednesday, the 14th, 16th, and 18th of January 1604. The conference, it will be understood, was not with *any official body* of men whatever; and it should also be remembered, that however exalted were the ideas of James himself as to his prerogative, or of his right and title to the throne; strictly speaking, or according to law, he was *not yet King of England*, nor could he be, till the assembling of Parliament. That was the point to which, as we have seen, Lord Cecil was looking forward. This was a conference, therefore, of the King by courtesy, for the time being, with only nine Bishops, eight Deans, an Archdeacon, two Professors of Divinity from Oxford, two from Cambridge, to which one native of Scotland, Mr. Patrick Galloway, formerly of Perth, was also admitted. Nor were even all these parties present on any one day.

The 16th of January was the time appointed for hearing of things "pretended to be amiss," as the proclamation had phrased it; and it was among them that the necessity for another revision or translation of the Bible was first mentioned.

Dr. JOHN RAINOLDS, a man of high and unblemished character, then in his 55th year, was at that time nearly, if not altogether, the most eminent individual for learning and erudition in the kingdom. He was now the President of Corpus Christi College, and the chief speaker on this occasion. Having alluded to other subjects—After that, continues Dr. Barlow—"He, Rainolds, moved his Majesty, that there might be a new translation of the Bible; because those which were allowed in the reign of King Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, were corrupt, and not answerable to the truth of the original. For example; first, Gal. 4. 25, the Greek word is not well translated as now it is, *bordereth*; neither expressing the force of the word, nor the Apostle's sense, nor the situation of the place. Secondly, Ps. 105. 28, 'They were not obedient;' the original being, 'They were not disobedient.' Thirdly, Ps. 106. 30, 'Then stood up Phinehas and prayed;' the Hebrew hath it, *executed judgment*.

"To which motion there was at the present no gainsaying: the objections being trivial and old, and already in print, often answered: Only my Lord of London (Bancroft) well added—'That if every man's humour should be followed, there would be *no end* of translating.'

"Whereupon his Highness wished that some special pains should be taken in that behalf for one uniform translation (professing that he could never yet see a Bible well translated into English; but the worst of all, his Majesty thought the Geneva to be;) and this to be done by the best learned in both Universities; after them to be reviewed by the Bishops and the chief learned of the Church; from them to be presented to the Privy Council; and lastly to be ratified by his royal authority; and so this whole Church [of England] to be bound unto it, and none other. Withal he gave this caveat (upon a word cast out by my Lord of London) that *no marginal notes* should be added—hav-

ing found in them which are annexed to the *Genera* translation (which he saw in a Bible *given* him by an *English* lady) some notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits. As for example, the first chapter of Exodus and the 19th verse, where the marginal note alloweth disobedience unto kings. And 2 Chron. 15. 16, the note taxeth Asa for deposing his mother only, and not killing her. And so he concluded this point, as all the rest, with a grave and judicious advice,—First, that errors in matters of faith might be rectified and amended; Second, that matters indifferent might rather be interpreted, and a gloss added."

It was at the close of this day's conference that Barlow, in the genuine spirit of sycophancy, repeats the expressions of certain parties, bordering on profanity, in praise of his Majesty; and he himself, not willing to be far behind, must conclude the whole, though not in very elegant terms, by saying, that "all who heard the King might justly think him to be 'a living library, and a walking study!'"

Barlow's account of the entire conference has justly been regarded not only as inaccurate, but chargeable with great omissions; but as his statement of what passed respecting the Bible is still referred to, we have allowed him to tell his own tale; and with what credit to those he labored to gratify and extol, let the reader judge. On the other hand, the account given by Galloway, was corrected by the King's *own* hand. In this, the second of the articles, comprehended in the note of such things as shall be reformed, and as *presented* by Rainolds, was the following:—

"That a translation be made of the whole Bible, *as consonant as can be to the original Hebrew and Greek*; and this to be set out and printed, *without any marginal notes*, and only to be used in all Churches of *England*, in time of divine service." Now, by this version of the story, the exclusion of all marginal *notes* ORIGINATED with Rainolds, as well as the proposal of a *new translation*.

The first Parliament held by the King assembled on the 19th of March 1604, and the Convocation on the following day. The Primate Whitgift having expired on the 29th of February, Bancroft, the Bishop of London, was appointed to preside. James had commenced these proceedings with a speech longer than many a sermon, but at last, not being in the best humor with his English Parliament, he dissolved it on the 7th of July, and the Convocation rose. Among all the business of either House, not one word was spoken there respecting the Scriptures; nor do we hear of any movement in consequence of what had passed in January at Hampton Court, till the end of June. Some time had been required for the selection of suitable scholars, and before the end of that month a list was presented to James for his acceptance. They had been selected *for* him, and he of course approved. To the intended translators, on the 30th of June, Ban-

croft notified his Majesty's acceptance of the names given him; and so to those at Cambridge he thus wrote—

"His Majesty being *made acquainted* with the *choice of all them* to be employed in the translating of the Bible, in such sort as Mr. Lively can inform you, doth greatly approve of the said choice. And for as much as his Highness is very desirous that the same so religious a work should admit no delay, he has commanded me to signify unto you in his name that his pleasure is, you should with all possible speed meet together in your University and begin the same." Concluding his letter in these terms—"I am persuaded his royal mind rejoiceth more in the good hope which he hath for the happy success of that work, *than of his peace concluded with Spain*." At Fulham the last of June 1604."

As the primacy of Canterbury was now vacant, on the 22nd of July the King addressed a letter to the Bishop of London, then acting for that See, and soon to be chosen to it, equally intended for all his brethren; and to the same purport, Cecil, on the same day, as Chancellor of Cambridge, addressed that University. By the 31st of that month, Bancroft was ready, and the following is a copy of the letter which must have been sent to *all* the Bishops, as in duty bound.—

"After my hearty commendations unto your Lordship, I have received letters from his most excellent Majesty, the tenor whereof followeth:—

"Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have appointed certain learned men, to the number of four and fifty, for the translating of the Bible, and that in this number *divers* of them have either no ecclesiastical preferment at all, or else so very small, as the same is far unmeet for men of their deserts, *and yet, We of OURSELF in any convenient time cannot well remedy it: therefore* We do hereby require you, that presently you write, in our name, as well to the Archbishop of *York*, as to the rest of the bishops of the province of *Canterbury*, signifying unto them, that We do will, and straitly charge, every one of them, as also the other bishops of the province of *York*, as they tender our good favour towards them, that (all excuses set apart) when any prebend or parsonage, being rated in our book of taxations, the prebend to twenty pounds at least, and the parsonage to the like sum and upwards, shall next upon any occasion happen to be void, and to be either of *their* patronage, or of the patronage and gift of *any person whatever*, they do make stay thereof, and admit none unto it, until certifying Us, of the avoidance of it, and of the name of the Patron, if it be not of their own gift, that We may commend for the same, some such of the learned men, as we shall think fit to be preferred unto it; not doubting of the bishop's readiness to satisfy us herein, or that any of the laity, when we shall in time move them to so good and religious an act, will be unwilling to give us the like due contentment and satisfaction; We ourselves having taken the same order for such prebends and benefices as shall be void in our gift.



“‘What we write to you of others, you must apply it to yourself; as also not forget to move the said Archbishop and *all* the Bishops, with their Deans and Chapters of both provinces, as *touching the other point*, to be imparted otherwise by you unto them. Furthermore, We require you to move all our Bishops to inform themselves of all such learned men within their several dioceses, as, having especial skill in the Hebrew and Greek tongues, have taken pains, in their private studies of the Scriptures, for the clearing of any obscurities either in the Hebrew or in the Greek, or touching any difficulties or mistakings in the former English translation, which we have now commanded to be thoroughly viewed and amended, and thereupon to write to them; earnestly charging them and signifying our pleasure therein, that they send such their observations either to Mr. Lively, our Hebrew reader in Cambridge; or to Dr. Harding, our Hebrew reader in Oxford; or to Dr. Andrews, dean of Westminster, to be imparted to the rest of their several companies, &c. Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster, the two and twentieth of July, in the second year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland xxxvii.’”

But, before proceeding with our narrative, it is necessary to give here the list of translators, with their respective tasks, to which a few particulars are subjoined, from the best authorities.

WESTMINSTER. *Genesis, to II. Kings inclusive.*

DR. LANCELOT ANDREWS, then Dean of Westminster, who is reported to have been such a linguist that he understood fifteen languages. Afterwards Bishop of Chichester, 1605; then of Ely in 1609; and finally of Winchester in 1619. Died 21 Sep., 1626, aged 71.

DR. JOHN OVERALL, then Dean of St. Paul's. Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1614. Of Norwich in 1618. Died 12 May, 1619, aged 60.

DR. ADRIAN A SARAVIA, then Canon of Westminster. Of Spanish extraction; the friend of Hooker, and tutor of Nicholas Fuller. Afterwards Prebend of Gloucester, and Canterbury, where he died 15 January 1613, aged 82.

DR. RICHARD CLARKE, then Fellow of Christ Coll., Cambridge; Vicar of Minster and Monkton in the isle of Thanet: died in 1634, and a folio volume of his sermons published in 1637.

DR. JOHN LAIFIELD, then Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, afterwards Rector of St. Clements Danes. A Fellow of Chelsea College, which, however, was never founded. Died in 1617.

DR. ROBERT TIGHE, or TEIGH, (*not* Leigh as often misnamed,) then Archdeacon of Middlesex, and Rector of All-Hallows, Barking. An excellent textuary and profound linguist. He died in 1616, leaving his son £1000 a-year.

DR. FRANCIS BURLEIGH, then Vicar of Bishop Stortford, if not of Thorley, Herts, and died in 1619?

DR. GEOFFREY or WILFRID KING, then Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. As Regius Professor of Hebrew in that University, he succeeded Robert Spalding, about to be mentioned.

RICHARD THOMPSON, M. A., of Clare Hall, Cambridge; born in Holland of English parents; an admirable philologist, but better known in Italy, France, and Germany, than at home.

WILLIAM BEDWELL, the best Arabic scholar of his time. The tutor of Erpenius and Pocock; (but not W. Bedell of Kilmore, as has been conjectured; he was then at Venice.) "The industrious and thrice-learned," said Lightfoot, "to whom I will rather be a scholar, than take on me to teach others."

#### CAMBRIDGE. 1 *Chronicles to Ecclesiastes inclusive.*

EDWARD LIVLIE, Regius Professor of Hebrew for thirty years in this University; an eminent linguist, in high esteem by Ussher and Pocock. His death, in May 1605, is supposed to have retarded the work in hand.

DR. JOHN RICHARDSON, then Fellow of Emmanuel College. Afterwards Master of Peter House, then of Trinity College. He is not to be confounded with Ussher's friend of the same name. Died in 1625.

DR. LAURENCE CHADERTON, distinguished for Hebrew and Rabbinical learning, then *first* Master of Emmanuel College. "If you will not be Master," said Sir Walter Mildmay, "I will not be *Founder*." He was tutor of Joseph Hall of Norwich and W. Bedell of Kilmore, who retained the highest veneration for him, and died the year after him. Chaderton, who never required the aid of spectacles, died, according to his epitaph, at the age of 103! Born in 1537, he lived to 13th November 1640. His life, in Latin, by W. Dillingham, was published in 1700.

FRANCIS DILLINGHAM, then Fellow of Christ's College, an eminent Grecian. He was Parson of Dean, and beneficed at Wilden, Beds. As an author, he, as well as Overall, *continued* to quote the *Geneva* version years after our present one had been published. He died a single and a wealthy man.

THOMAS HARRISON, Vice-Chancellor of Trinity College, was eminently skilled in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues, as his own University has borne witness. Dyer ascribes to him a *Lexicon Pente Glotton*.

DR. ROGER ANDREWS, brother of Lancelot, then Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and afterwards master of Jesus College, and Prebendary of Chichester. Died in 1618.

DR. ROBERT SPALDING, then Fellow of St. John's College, and afterwards the *successor* of Livlie as Regius Professor of Hebrew, a sufficient proof of his skill in that language.

DR. ANDREW BYNG, (*not* Burge, as in Burnet and Wilkins,) then Fellow of St. Peter's College. In 1606 subdean of York, and in 1618 Archdeacon of Norwich. As Regius Professor of Hebrew, he succeeded *King*, who had succeeded Spalding, already mentioned.

OXFORD. *Isaiah to Malachi inclusive.*

DR. JOHN HARDING, then Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, and afterwards President of Magdalen College, and also Rector of Halsey in Oxfordshire.

DR. JOHN RAINOLDS, President of Corpus Christi College; or the man who moved the King for this new translation. "The memory and reading of that man," said Bishop Hall, "were near to a miracle; and all Europe at the time could not have produced three men superior to Rainolds, Jewell, and Ussher, all of this same College." At the age of 58, he died 21st May, 1607. Even during his *sickness*, his coadjutors met at his lodgings once a-week, to compare and perfect their notes.

DR. THOMAS HOLLAND, then Fellow of Balliol College, afterwards Rector of Exeter, and Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford. "Another Apollos," says Wood, "and mighty in the Scriptures." Died 17th March 1613, aged 73.

DR. RICHARD KILBY, the Rector of Lincoln College, highly esteemed by Isaac Walton. He was afterwards prebendary of Lincoln, and Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford. He left commentaries on Exodus, drawn from the Rabbins and Hebrew interpreters. Died November 1620.

DR. MILES SMITH, then Canon of Hereford. A Hebrew and Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic scholar. He is understood to have been the writer of the preface. He and Bilson, we shall find to be the final examiners of the whole work. Bishop of Gloucester in 1612.

DR. RICHARD BRETT, then Fellow of Lincoln College. Eminent as a linguist in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, to which he added Chaldee, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Rector of Quainton, Bucks, where he died 15th April 1637.

RICHARD FAIRCLOUGH, of New College, Oxford? The Rector of Bucknell, Oxfordshire, who died there in 1638.

OXFORD. *Matthew to the Acts inclusive, and the Revelation.*

DR. THOMAS RAVIS, then Dean of Christ-Church. Afterwards on the 14th March 1605, Bishop of Gloucester, and in 1607, of London, where he died 14th December 1609.

DR. GEORGE ABBOT, then Dean of Winchester and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry in 1609; of London in 1610, and Bancroft dying 2d November, Abbot became primate in 1611. Died 4th August 1633, aged 71.

DR. JOHN AGLIONBY, then Principal of St. Edmund's Hall and Rector of Islip, and afterwards chaplain in ordinary to the King. "Accomplished in learning and an exact linguist." Dr. Richard Eedes was indeed the first appointed, but he died 19th November 1604; Aglionby died 6th February 1610.

DR. GILES TOMSON, then Dean of Windsor, afterwards in

March 1611 Bishop of Gloucester, but died 14th June next year. "He had taken a great deal of pains in translating."

SIR HENRY SAVILE, Greek tutor to Elizabeth and Provost of Eton. He was knighted by James this year, and losing his son about that period, he devoted his time and fortune to the encouragement of learning. He contributed several rare books and MSS. to the Bodleian, besides Greek type and matrices to the Oxford press. His fine edition of *Chrisostom's Works*, in Greek, with notes by John Bois after-mentioned, and of which 1000 copies, in 8 volumes folio were printed, is said to have cost him £8000. He died at Eton, 19th February 1622, aged 73.

DR. JOHN PERYN, Professor of Greek, and afterwards Canon of Christ-Church, died 9th May 1615.

DR. LEONARD HUTTEN, then Vicar of Flower, Northamptonshire; an excellent Greek scholar, and learned in other branches. He died at the age of 75, 17th May 1632. Dr. Ravens had been first appointed, but his place vacated.

DR. JOHN HARMAR, had been Professor of Greek, Warden of Winchester College. A noted Latin and Greek scholar. He published Latin translations from Chrysostom, and his translation of Beza's sermons into English, bespeaks him an excellent writer of English. He died 11th October 1613.

#### WESTMINSTER. *Romans to Jude inclusive.*

DR. WILLIAM BARLOW, made Dean of Chester in December 1604, Bishop of Rochester in 1605, of Lincoln, 1608. Died 7th September 1613.

DR. RALPH HUTCHENSON, then President of St. John's College, Oxford. Wood's *Athenæ*, by Bliss, ii. p. 92.

DR. JOHN SPENCER, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, and afterwards Chaplain to the King. On the death of Dr. Rainolds he succeeded him as President of Corpus Christi, and died 3d April 1614.

DR. ROGER FENTON, it has been supposed; if so, Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; and Minister of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London.

MICHAEL RABBETT, B.D., was Rector of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, London.

DR. THOMAS SANDERSON, of Balliol College, Oxford? Arch-deacon of Rochester in 1606.

WILLIAM DAKINS, B.D., then Greek Lecturer, Cambridge, and afterwards junior Dean in 1606. He had been chosen for his skill in the original languages, but died February 1607.

To these men the King is reported to have given the following Instructions or Rules:—1. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit. 2. The names of the Prophets and the holy writers, with the other names in the text, to be re-

tained as near as may be, according as they are vulgarly used. 3. *The old ecclesiastical words to be kept : as the word CHURCH not to be translated CONGREGATION, &c.* 4. When any word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most ancient Fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place, and the analogy of faith. 5. The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all, or as little as may be, if necessity so require. 6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text. 7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down, as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another. 8. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter, or chapters ; and, having translated or amended them severally by himself where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their part what shall stand. 9. As one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously : for his Majesty is careful in this point. 10. If any company upon the review of the book so sent, shall doubt or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof, note the places, and therewithal send their reasons : to which, if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work. 11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to send to any learned man in the land, for his judgment in such a place. 12. Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand ; and to move and charge as many as, being skilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford. 13. The Directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for that place ; and the King's Professors in the Hebrew and Greek in each University. 14. *These translations to be used, when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible : viz., 1. Tyn-dale's ; 2. Matthew's ; 3. Coverdale's ; 4. Whitchurche's (i. e. Cranmer's) ; 5. The Geneva.*

The authority, however, or the accuracy of these Rules is considerably shaken by the account delivered in to the Synod of Dort on the 20th of November 1618. They state that only seven rules were ultimately prescribed, and that after each individual had finished his task, *twelve* men (not six) assembling together revised the whole. Their first, second, and fourth rules coincide with the first, sixth, and seventh of the preceding list.

It has been questioned when these men sat down to their work ; whether immediately, or not till 1607 ; but to suppose that they did not commence till then, is out of the question ; and indeed Anthony Wood gives 1607 as the termination of their first revision. Livellie, a fine and ardent scholar answering to his *name*,

would certainly not delay ; and above all, the *original proposer* of the work, Dr. Rainolds, was busy, as we have seen, to his dying day, in 1607. The different parties might not all commence at the same moment, but, on the whole, it may be presumed that, with the Hebrew of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New before them all along, the first revision of the Sacred text, by the forty-seven, occupied about *four* years ; the second examination by twelve, or two selected out of each company, *nine months* more, and the sheets passing through the press, other two years, when the Bible of 1611 was finished and first issued.

Twelve men paid at the rate of thirty shillings each, was equal to £18 weekly, and for the thirty-nine weeks £702 must have been expended, which expense was probably borne by Barker, who had the *patent* for printing the Bible.

The honor of payment for the whole concern, so often ascribed to James the First, is by no means to be taken from him, if one shred of positive evidence can be produced ; but this, it is presumed, lies beyond the power of research. In this case, therefore, to speak correctly, we have come at last, *not* to an affair of government, *not* to a royal undertaking *at his Majesty's expense*, according to the popular and very erroneous historical fiction, but *simply to a transaction in the course of business*. If we inquire for any single royal grant, or look for any act of personal generosity, we search in vain.

There is one other inquiry to be made ; and this, to some minds, may be not the least important. It is this. By whose *influence or authority* was it, that our present version of the Sacred Volume came to be read, not in England alone, but in Scotland and Ireland ? This, too, is a question the more interesting to millions, as it is now the Bible of so many distant climes—read not only in the Americas and Canada, but in all the wide-spread and daily extending British colonies.

The reigning King had indeed signified his approbation of the undertaking, and when the Bible was published it bore on its title page, that the version had been “newly translated out of the original tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared and revised, by his Majesty's special commandment.” In a separate line below, and by itself, we have these words, “Appointed to be read in churches.” Now as the book never was submitted to Parliament, never to any Convocation, nor, as far as it is known, ever to the Privy Council, James, by this title-page, was simply following, or made to follow, in the train of certain previous editions. As for Elizabeth, his immediate predecessor, we have already seen, that under her long reign there was another version, beside the Bishops', and that the former enjoyed the decided preponderance in public favor : so, in the present instance, that there might be no mistake or misapprehension, in regard to the influence or *authority* by which our present Bible came to be universally received, a result somewhat similar took place.

Thus, for seven or eight years after the present version was pub-

lished, we find Barker, or Norton and Bill, still printing the Geneva Bible, at least in ten editions, besides four of the New Testaments separately. The fact is, that the royal patentee went on to print both versions to the year 1617 or 1618. After that the Geneva Bibles, so frequently printed in Holland, were imported and sold, without the shadow of inhibition during the entire reign of James the First, and longer still. As for Scotland, from whence the King had come, that Bible continued to be as much used there, as the present version, for more than twenty years after James was in his grave. The influence or authority of James, therefore, cannot once be mentioned, when accounting for the *final* result.

The Bible was indeed first published in 1611, and being still farther corrected in 1613; but did James, as a King, take one step to enforce its perusal? Not one; a fact so much the more notable, when the overweening conceit of that monarch, and the high terms in which he so frequently expressed himself as to his prerogative, are remembered. "We can assign," says one of the best living authorities in the kingdom, "we can assign no other *authority* for using the present version of the Bible, except that of the conference at Hampton Court." But that conference has been already described, and, in the circumstances, it actually amounted to no authority at all in point of law; James was not then King of England; though had it been otherwise, that conference certainly had not the slightest influence in recommending the version to which it gave rise. However, immediately after his Majesty had been recognized by Parliament, he had spoken *once*, as we have heard: and his solitary letter we have given at length. It was in part abortive, and after that, it seems, he must speak *no more*; a circumstance more worthy of notice, as James was notoriously so fond of speaking officially, and especially by proclamations. In the first nine months of his reign, he had issued at least a round dozen, but here there was nothing of the kind. "After this translation was published," says one writer, "the others all dropped off by *degrees*," that is, in about *forty* years, "and this took place of all, though I don't find that there was any *canon, proclamation, or act of parliament*, to enforce the use of it." "The present version," says Dr. Symonds, "appears to have *made its way*, without the interposition of *any authority whatsoever*; for it is not easy to discover any traces of a proclamation, canon, or statute published to enforce the use of it."

As for the "appointment," noted on the title-page merely, it is to be borne in mind that this extended no farther than to *public* assemblies of the people, here indefinitely enough styled "Churches;" and taking the translators themselves for our guide, they, in their dedication, looked no farther than *England*. Now, even there, while there had been a proclamation and canons with regard to Matthew's and Cranmer's, and the Bishops' Bible, in 1538, 1571, and 1603, it becomes very observable that neither the one nor the other was ever issued as to our *present* version. It is true that in various "Articles of Inquiry" on episcopal visitation, in succeeding

reigns, such a question as—"Have you a large Bible of the *last* translation?" had been put to church-wardens. Such occasional inquiries however proceeded, in all cases, simply in virtue of the King's personal authority over that Church of which he was recognized as Head; and they amount to nothing, as soon as we inquire for the cause of universal usage, whether in Scotland, or even in England throughout.

As royal authority, therefore, had no influence in accounting for the change, *one* circumstance, far more tangible, must be observed, and it is well worthy of special notice. Our present version, on the whole, was no doubt superior to its predecessors, but then besides, it had one mighty additional advantage in its favor. It was WITHOUT NOTE AND COMMENT. On the other hand the Geneva of 1560, though an excellent version, and, for the sake of comparison, well worthy of another fresh edition even now, had been almost always accompanied with these appendages. Whatever may be said of the notes, no intelligent person can speak lightly of the *version* itself; but these *notes* proved the dead weight which at last sunk the translation into an oblivion which, but for them, the version might have longer survived. Thus once more, or from Tyndale's down to our present version, was Divine providence marking out to this country the true and only path to *universal* usage of the Sacred Volume, whether in this or in every other land. It was *the Bible, but it must be without note and comment*.

To these Geneva notes Archbishop Laud inherited far more hatred than James had ever felt. The King after his one sally at the conference, seems to have let the matter alone; not so the Prelate, and under his sway the history of the English Bible had assumed a very singular aspect. He comes before us *in proof of the impotence of royal authority, and even of the royal patent, whether for correct printing, or supplying the public demand*. This was about the year 1632, when Laud, and very properly, was fining his Majesty's printer, Barker, for incorrect printing of the Bible at home. Robert Barker, and Martin Lucas, King's printers, having published a Bible this year, in which, among other errata, the word *not* was left out of the seventh commandment, the impression was called in, and the printers fined £300, not £3000 as sometimes stated. With this money a fount of fair Greek types was provided. Robert Barker, sen., did not die till 1645, and could not have sunk into prison under such a sum as this. Indeed, when Charles I. referred to the amount, thus he expressed himself,—“and our further will and pleasure is, that the said Robert Barker and Martin Lucas, our patentees for printing, or those which either now are, or shall hereafter succeed them, *being great gainers by their patent*, shall at their own proper cost and charges of ink, paper, and workmanship, print, or cause to be printed, in Greek, or Greek and Latin, one such volume in a year, be it bigger or less, as the Right Rev. Father aforesaid, (Augustine Lindsell, Bishop of Peterborough,) or our servant, Patrick



Young, (King's Librarian,) or any other of our learned subjects, shall make ready for the press."

But at the same time, and with the strangest inconsistency, he was laboring, with all his might, to prevent the importation of Bibles printed in Holland, chiefly on the acknowledged ground of their superior excellence in every point of view ! When put on his trial, some years after, and called to account for many other things, it was one of the charges against him, that "one of the first books most strictly prohibited to be printed, imported, or sold by this Archbishop, was the English Geneva Bible, with marginal notes and prefaces, though printed here in England, not only without the least restraint, but *cum privilegio regie Majestatis* during all Queen Elizabeth and King James, their reigns, by the Queen's and King's printers, and since our printers have neglected to print them, for fear of hindering the sale of the last translation, *without notes*, they have been sold without any contradiction till this Archbishop began to domineer."

It happened about eight years after the death of Laud, and four after that of Charles the First, that a Bill was introduced into the Long Parliament, on the 11th of January, 1653, for "a new English translation of the Bible out of the original tongues." Such a bill, it must be remembered, had never before been laid before any *previous* Parliament in England. Once upon a time indeed, under Edward VI., we have seen that a bill was brought before the Senate referring simply to the *reading* of the Bible, which was never mentioned a second time, or heard of more ; but respecting any version or revision of the Scriptures, as the consent of Convocation had *never* been deemed necessary, so that of Parliament had *never* been consulted. At a period, therefore, when there was no King upon the throne, no Primate in existence, nor any House of Lords, such a proposed Bill excites special notice ; while as an attempt on the part of official power to interfere, it becomes the more striking, as being of a new character. The Bill was once mentioned, and only once ; but the Parliament of the *Lord-Brethren* must no more invade the peculiar character of this cause, than the Parliament of royalty ; nor must the sovereignty of the people be flattered any more than the sovereignty of the Prince. This Parliament had already sat for more than twelve years, retaining the supreme authority in their hands, so that this Bill sunk into oblivion by the well-known dissolution of the House soon after. On the 20th of April, Cromwell, surrounded by some of his officers, and several hundred men, repaired to the Parliament, and after hearing them for a quarter of an hour discuss the question as to the form of their own dissolution, he rose and peremptorily settled it. In the way which has been so often described, he upbraided certain members, dissolved the House, ordering the members to disperse, the mace to be taken away, and, carrying the keys of the House with him, in the afternoon of the same day, he also dissolved the Council of State.

But though Parliament under any regime must not interfere,

there was nothing to prevent individuals, as such, from prosecuting any enterprise with reference to the Sacred Scriptures. On the contrary, the incident just mentioned becomes far more observable from the *time* of its occurrence. Only a few weeks before, certain individuals, moved by ardent desire for the promotion of sacred literature, with great zeal had already embarked in an undertaking of the noblest character, involving great expense. We refer to the London Polyglot Bible, by far the most important biblical work ever issued from the British press, which has rendered immense service to the interpretation of Scripture, as well as conferred imperishable honor on its projectors and its editor, Brian Walton.

Three works of the same nature had been previously published on the Continent. The Complutensian Polyglot of 1517, at the charge of Cardinal Ximenes—the Antwerp in 1572, by Arias Montanus, at the charges of the King of Spain—the Parisian in 1645, by Michael le Jay, by authority of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin. All these were by disciples of the *old* learning, under the authority of Royal or Cardinal patronage; but the London Polyglot, by disciples of the *new*, originated with the people themselves, and by them it was triumphantly carried through. In 1652, it was first started; and on the 11th of July the Council of State had indeed signified their approbation, and allowance of the work; but that Council, as we have seen, had been sent adrift by Cromwell, a circumstance in reference to the Polyglot of no moment whatever, as the event will prove.

A prospectus and proposals being printed, they had said—“Whereas the former editions, though less perfect than that proposed, and not so fit for use, have been printed at the public charge of *Princes and great persons*, and the charge of this work will exceed the ability of an ordinary person, whereupon divers persons of worth have expressed their readiness to *join* in the charge of the impression; and it is hoped that others, who wish well to learning and religion, will assist—and whatsoever monies shall be raised, shall be paid into the hands of William Humble, Esq., treasurer, for this purpose.” Here then was one of the finest tests for proving to what extent zeal for such learning existed in the country, or deep interest in the Original Scriptures. There was no parade, nor one sounding title to usher in the day, but with *Humble* for a treasurer, let us see how the design proceeded. “The work,” said they, “will not be begun till there be enough to finish the first volume containing the Pentateuch, viz. about £1500; nor the other volumes till a proportional sum for each be brought in, viz., about £1200.” As there were to be six volumes in all, it was then supposed that at the least £7500 would be required, and the whole to be thus published by subscription, if there was encouragement. Those that advanced ten pounds, were to have one copy, or six copies for £50, and so for any greater sum, to be paid by instalments—And what was the result? Why that just before the English Bible had been once hinted at in Parliament, where however it must not be touched; or by the end of

that year (1552) in which the subject was broached, nearly four thousand pounds had been subscribed, and in only four months after, or by the 4th of May 1653, the subscriptions to the work had not only risen to *nine thousand* pounds, but according to Walton's own words, much more was likely to be added! This noble undertaking then commenced at press in the autumn of this year, and the first volume was delivering to the subscribers in September following. The second volume was finished in July 1655, the third in July 1656, and the three last volumes by the end of 1657. Two presses were engaged from the beginning, and afterwards more, but the whole work was completed in only *four* years; while the Parisian Polyglot had been *seventeen* years in the press.

Thus the most complete collection of the Sacred Writings ever published, and far surpassing all former works of the kind, was prepared and published *by* the people *for* the people. The proposal was laid before them, and they answered in a style worthy of Araunah the Jebusite. Above fifty eminent individuals, though of different sentiments, have been mentioned by name, as, with one consent, deeply interested in the stupendous undertaking; and it is not a little remarkable, that, among the innumerable works since published by subscription in this kingdom, correctly speaking, this must ever stand at the *top* of the list. The London Polyglot Bible, for the use of the learned, superior to all its predecessors, and *thus* executed, is in perfect keeping with the entire history of the English Bible for the use of the people at large.

It was just at the time that the London press was occupied with the last volumes of Walton's Polyglot, that the final attempt to interfere with our present version occurred. Walton and a few others appear as though they were about to reconsider it; that is, they were deputed to do so, but as they come before us under the orders of a *parliamentary* sub-committee, they were not allowed to proceed. The existing parliament had been summoned by Cromwell, as the Lord-Protector, to represent *England, Scotland, and Ireland*. They had chosen what they were pleased to style "The grand committee for Religion," but whatever else they had done, or did after, they must not interfere in regard to the Scriptures. This Committee assembled at the house of Lord Commissioner Whitlock, who has himself recorded their fruitless attempt in the following words:—

"Jan. 16, 1656," (that is 1657) "ordered that it be referred to a sub-committee to send for and advise with Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Castell, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Poulk, Dr. Cudworth, and such others as they shall think fit; and to consider of the Translations and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions therein to this committee; and that it be specially commended to the Lord Commissioner Whitlock to take care of this business."

This Committee accordingly often met, from this date to November following, when they gave in a Report. They might say what they pleased, as to any existing impressions of the Bible, but, as an *official* body, they must not touch the Translation

itself. Accordingly they had occasion to reprobate the incorrectness of certain editions, but particularly one, printed by John Field for the Barkers, in 1653, or twenty years after their father had been fined under Charles, for the same crime. As for the Translation itself, they made several remarks upon some mistakes; while they agreed, that, as a whole, it was "*the best of any translation in the World.*" In this testimony Walton, Castell, Pocock, Sel-don, and others concurred; but with an eye on all the past, the reader may anticipate, that official authority, *of course*, could not be admitted to proceed any farther.

Parliament was soon dissolved, and from about this period *the general acquiescence of the nation in that version of the Bible, which has been read and revered ever since, may be considered as having taken place.* The reader cannot fail to remark the *season* of this very important national occurrence; but of this, we must refrain from taking any farther notice, till the History of the Bible in SCOTLAND be brought down to the same period.

## BOOK IV.—SCOTLAND.

FROM JAMES THE FIFTH TO THE COMMONWEALTH.

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### INTRODUCTION.

BRIEF NOTICE OF SCOTLAND DURING THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES  
—THE OPENING OF THE SIXTEENTH BEFORE THE SACRED SCRIPTURES IN PRINT  
WERE FIRST IMPORTED.

BEFORE the Sacred Volume in our vernacular tongue, and in a printed form, was brought into England itself, we had occasion to notice the two preceding centuries; and it would be doing injustice to the northern part of our island, were we not now to glance, however briefly, at the same period.

The early connection of Scotland with France, is distinguished by the institution of the Scots College, or "*Séminaire des Ecosais*," in Paris, founded in 1325, by the Bishop of Moray; and in the revival of literature during the fourteenth century, such as it was, individual natives of Scotland must have taken an interest, if one of her sons may be admitted in evidence. In furnishing a poetical historian, contemporary with Wickliffe and Chaucer, of whom an Englishman, even Wharton, has told us, that he "adorned the English language by a strain of versification, expression, and poetical imagery, far superior to the age;" Caledonia had so far already proved herself to be no unmeet "nurse for a poetic child." We refer, of course, to John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, the author of "*The Bruce*"—a *soothfast* history of the life and adventures of Robert the First; for, independently of its poetical merits, it is acknowledged to be a book of good authority. "Barbour," says Dr. Irving, "was evidently skilled in such branches of knowledge as were then cultivated; and his learning was so well regulated as to conduce to the improvement of his mind: the liberality of his views, and the humanity of his sentiments, appear occasionally to have been unconfined by the boundaries of his own age." His apostrophe to Freedom, like the earliest lark of the morning, though hailing a day which he could not anticipate, has been quoted with admiration in his own country, at the distance of more than four hundred and fifty years.

Ah! freedom is a noble thing!—  
Though he that aye has lived free  
May not know well the property.

This work, finished about the year 1375, was written while Wickliffe was yet busy with his translation of the Scriptures; and we notice them together, simply for the purpose of remarking, that as there was but little difference in the phraseology of the Scottish and English writers of this period, so the prose of Wickliffe must have been as intelligible in North Britain, as the poetry of Barbour in the south. "The obscure and capricious spelling," it has been said, may perhaps deter some readers from a perusal of "The Bruce," (a supposition equally applicable to Wickliffe;) "but it is very remarkable that Barbour, who was contemporary with Gower and Chaucer, is more intelligible to a modern reader, than either of these English writers." Nor was the language unfelt by those who first read it. On the contrary, so highly was the work appreciated, that, by Robert II., the author had a pension assigned to him, which was punctually paid until the day of his death in 1395.

Seventeen years, however, before that event, this man, along with the rest of his countrymen, had taken part in that great controversy, which agitated all Europe, when Scotland and England became divided in opinion, and on a point of such vital importance as the Pontificate itself. To\* this subject, reference has already been made, in our introduction to the first volume; but to understand it now, so far as Scotland was concerned, we know not of a shorter method, than that of exhibiting the two countries in the position which they respectively occupied for nearly half a century.

ENGLISH PONTIFF. CHOSEN. DEPOSED. RESIGNED. DIED. SCOTTISH PONTIFF. CHOSEN. DIED.

Urban VI.	1378.	....	....	1389.	Clement VII.	1378.	1394.
Boniface IX.	1389.	....	....	1404.	Benedict XIII.	1394.	1421.
Innocent VII.	1401.	....	....	1406.			
Gregory XII.	1406.	1409.	1415.	1417.			
Alexander V.	1409.	....	....	1410.			
John XXII.	1410.	....	1415.	1419.			
<i>The Chair now vacant two years and five months.</i>							
Martin V.	1417.	....	....	1431.	Clement VIII.	1424.	1429.

Thus strikingly had Providence shed confusion into the counsels of Rome; and throughout the whole period there must have been a degree of mental agitation, such as the entire island had not experienced for many a day, if, indeed, ever before. During all these years, England had been bowing to seven different Pontiffs in succession, but six of these Scotland would never acknowledge. On the contrary, she abode by Clement and Benedict, two different men; and yet it was at one of the most perplexing moments of this schism, or in 1411, that the first University in Scotland was founded at St. Andrews. Then, there were three rivals before the world; Gregory, Benedict, and John; and the grand question of the day was, *which* was the true Pontiff. Two years before this, the Council of Pisa, by way of allaying all strife, had increased the confusion, by deposing Benedict, the Scottish, and Gregory, the English Pontiff; leaving both England and Scotland to make their choice of Alexander V., a poor feeble character. England acquiesced, but Scotland had taken her ground, and was never to

be moved; though her monarch, James I., was then a captive in England, unrighteously detained. The consequence was, that when the University of St. Andrews came to be founded, Henry Wardlaw, the Bishop, who must have not fewer than six bulls to confirm the appointment, obtained them from Benedict, dated at Paniscola in Arragon, 25th August 1412. Thus the first school of learning in Scotland received its authority from Peter de Luna, then in his 80th year, but a *deposed* Pontiff; while two other men besides himself, Gregory and John, were fighting for the same chair.

Nor was this the only college established in Scotland under the fifteenth century. The breach as to Rome once more healed, the delusive idea, that the promotion of such literature would be able to secure the prolongation of spiritual and temporal power, had taken full possession of different Pontiffs, and especially of Nicholas V. By his authority, therefore, and while they were running riot at Rome, in keeping their noted Jubilee of 1450, the University of Glasgow was founded; a place then containing only about fifteen hundred inhabitants, or not the one hundred and seventieth part of its present population. A second college at St. Andrews, St. Salvator's, followed in 1455, and King's College, Aberdeen, in 1494-5. Thus, in Scotland, as well as in England, before the learning or philosophy of Greece had reached either country, what was called scholastic erudition was first permitted to put forth its powers, and prove to posterity its utter impotence for doing good. The human mind, however, in Scotland, as well as in other countries, was evidently waking up; though in all this it is not difficult to perceive only the first efforts of "the old learning," to prevent the slightest innovation, or the introduction of a better day. They were so many feeble attempts, akin to the grand exploit of Wolsey at Oxford, in the early part of the next century. Henry Wardlaw had been to Avignon, and lived in friendship with Benedict. As it was from him he had received his appointment to the See of St. Andrews, from him he returned as his Legate for Scotland, with full powers. This was in 1404, or the same year in which James the First, then on his way to France, was seized by Henry IV. of England; so that for twenty years Wardlaw was left free to pursue his own plans. The University was concocted in union with Benedict, and when first set on foot, it was through the efforts of learned men, who gratuitously afforded their services as professors, rather than from any stipendiary patronage either of a public or private character. For above sixty years the professors had no fixed salaries, and the students paid no fees, so that we have before us rather a nursery in favor of existing opinions, than a school of learning, intended for the ultimate benefit of the people at large. Thus, on the release of James in 1424, so far from any improvement in morals, to check the licentiousness of the ecclesiastics, the king had to labor in establishing schools, such as should be available to all ranks, as well as not hold the sword in vain. In short, it turned out, that the Legate of Benedict, though proverbially a

hospitable man, was a far greater enemy to what he deemed heresy, than to open immorality ; and the first blood shed in Scotland for opinions held, was shed not only under his sway, but in the city where he had founded his University. Two men are well known to have suffered by his authority ; and as neither of these were natives of Scotland, it only shows what a dread was felt, lest one ray of light from abroad should disturb the surrounding gloom, or existing authority. John Resby, an Englishman, was condemned in 1408 ; and in 1432, Paul Craw or Cwarar, a native of Germany or Bohemia, but certainly a disciple of Huss ; both being burnt to ashes, as the punishment then affixed to the operations of the human mind. The death of this Bohemian, who is described, by one annalist, as having "first displayed the bright beams of the Gospel in St. Andrews," must have been regarded at the moment as a great achievement, since it stands even now in strange association with the venerable remains of Melrose Abbey. Very soon after, that Monastery was given in reward to an abbot who had acted as the chief persecutor ! "This year," 1433, says Sir James Balfour, "the king, at the earnest solicitation of the clergy, but especially Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, bestowed the Abbey of Melrose upon a lubberly monk of the Cistercian order, named John Fogo, who had written a blasphemous pamphlet against Paul Craw's heresy."

The reign of superstition continued to maintain its supremacy ; but though the progress of knowledge was slow, the efforts of genius in certain directions, during the latter part of the fifteenth century, and the opening of the next, were not to be repressed. The names of William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas, of Kennedy and Henryson, of John Mair, Sir David Lindsay, and others, were quite sufficient to allow of Scotland taking no inferior place in the rising dawn of literature. Dunbar has been frequently styled the Scottish Chaucer ; and Douglas was the first translator of a Roman classic into the English language ; his own original poetry prefixed to the different books of the *Æneid*, having received the warmest praise of the present day.

Still, however, the highest, or the eternal interests of the people, were neglected, nay, untouched, except it were by fragments of Wickliffe's translation in manuscript. In England, we have seen that certain small circles, or groups, were in possession of these, and were reading them with the keenest interest ; but there is no reason to suppose, even as to Scotland, that Wickliffe had translated in vain, more especially as his language was equally intelligible with that of Barbour or Dunbar. Indeed, very soon after his death, Wickliffe's writings appear to have attracted the notice of Scotchmen. Resby, already mentioned, was not the only, or even the first Englishman who had travelled down to the north. As early as 1402, Walter Skirlaw, then Bishop of Durham, was writing to the monks of Kelso, by the Archdeacon of Northumberland, for the apprehension of three ecclesiastics, presumed to have fled into the north, who had been accused of "unsoundness in the



faith ;" and before the close of the century, or in 1494, it is well known, that from twenty to thirty individuals, of good family, chiefly resident in Ayrshire, were called before the Archbishop of Glasgow, for certain "new opinions," and were reprimanded. George Campbell of Cesnock, Adam Reid of Barskimming, John Campbell of Newmilns, ancestor of the family of *Loudon*, Andrew Shaw of Polkemmet, with the Ladies of Stair and Pokellie, and other persons of distinction, were among the number.

Our information in regard to the vernacular Scriptures themselves, has hitherto, it is granted, been vague and indistinct. The families of Nisbet of Hardhill and of Gordon of Earlstoun have been said to have possessed copies of the *New Testament*, thus early, in manuscript. The first instance, however, and on good grounds, has been questioned, if the manuscript in the Auchinleck Library be the book referred to ; and the second requires still farther proof. But that *the New Testament in the vernacular tongue*, in manuscript, was in existence, and in the best use, under the reign of James IV., we are now able to give one veritable proof, though never before presented to the English reader. It must be still more interesting, as coming from the pen of a native of Edinburgh, born in the year 1500, who long before this ought to have been better known, and of whom we shall hear more, after that the New Testament in print has been imported and read. Arguing in favor of the reading of the Scriptures, especially in families at home, and addressing James V. in the year 1534, he says—

"I will now add the decisions of princes, and that I may omit others, I will relate to you a domestic example. I remember the most excellent King, your Father, a very brave prince, by a remarkable testimony, approved of this domestic practice. There was in your kingdom a man, not only of rank, but also distinguished for his exalted piety, John Campbell, (*Dominius Sesnocensis*.) Laird of Cesnock. His house might have been an example of Christian instruction. For he had a priest at home who read to him and his family *the New Testament in their vernacular language* ; and the morals, both of himself and of his family, corresponded with the glad tidings. He also assisted the poor in all kind offices, and although he had learned from the Gospel that superstition and hypocrisy are displeasing to God ; that he might not seem partial to any rank, he was wont to receive also the monks into his hospitable abode. There, when he at times would familiarly converse with his guests upon Christian doctrine, certain hypocrites, as it happened, understood that he attacked some of their superstitions. At last, his mind having been often sounded, the monks, violating the law of hospitality, and, as it is said, 'passing by the eating-table and the salt,' they carried his name to the Bishop, and accused him of heresy. In that suit, when, after long disputation, it appeared that both he and his wife were in danger of their lives, Campbell appealed to the King. Although the monks were grievously offended that the King should call the cause before himself, still he thought it belonged to his good faith

and humanity, that, to good and noble men, he should not fail to do his duty. He therefore graciously heard the cause on both sides; and when the husband, from natural reserve, and not a little agitated by fear of the monks, answered with modesty, the King commanded the *wife* to plead the cause. She then, *quoting the Scriptures*, refuted the charges brought against them, so distinctly and wisely, that the King not only acquitted the defendants, Campbell, with his wife and the priest; but also rising up, he caressed the woman, and extolled her diligence in Christian doctrine. Having severely reproved the monks, he threatened, that if ever after they created trouble of this sort, to such honourable and innocent persons, he would punish them severely. To Campbell himself, indeed, he presented certain villages, that there might remain an honourable token of his decision, and of his good-will towards him; lest there should be supposed to lurk in his (the King's) mind any suspicion against Campbell because of the accusation of the monks."

This incident is not to be confounded with the occurrence in 1494, where *Reid* of Barskimming was the chief speaker. Besides, we know that John Campbell of Cesnock was the immediate successor of George, already mentioned. He appears to have been a son worthy of his father, and as the King here referred to, James IV., fell at Flodden in 1513, the occurrence must have taken place at least thirteen years before the New Testament of Tyndale could have arrived in Scotland, but most probably still earlier. At all events, it forms one of the most appropriate introductions to the following history; nor have we been able to adduce an incident of deeper interest before any part of the Sacred Volume, in print, was imported into England itself.

Such an anecdote is only in perfect harmony with the character of this monarch. Naturally gay and warm-hearted, he was by no means disposed blindly to follow the priests or monks of the day. On the contrary, having so remarkably conciliated the affections of his nobility, had he not been cut off in the flower of his age, he might have gone far to have rescued the crown out of the dictatorial tyranny of the priesthood.

The king was also decidedly in favor of the progress of letters. Witness only "The Thistle and the Rose," by Dunbar—a poem full of picturesque beauty—presented to James, in 1503, on the occasion of his marriage to Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII. By the king's sanction also, and under his own eye at Edinburgh, the art of printing itself was introduced into Scotland. The first patent was granted, in 1507, to Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar, his workman; and they set up their press accordingly in "the Southgate." But though the press was set up, the idea of applying that art to its noblest end, or the printing of the Sacred Scriptures, and in Edinburgh, was not to be cherished for seventy years to come. We are left, therefore, to inquire at what time any part of the Sacred Volume, printed in our native tongue, had first reached the shores of North Britain.

## SECTION 1.

## REIGN OF JAMES THE FIFTH.

STATE OF SCOTLAND—THE FIRST INTRODUCTION OF THE SACRED VOLUME IN PRINT, THAT IS, OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE—EARLIEST ARRIVALS AT EDINBURGH AND ST. ANDREWS.

THE first introduction of the New Testament into England, by Tyndale, has been fully described, and it must have been felt how much the existing state of the country deepened our interest in that ever memorable event; the state of Scotland immediately before, and at the same moment, will complete the picture as to the entire Island. For nearly eighty years longer, it is true, the inhabitants of both countries regarded each other with no amicable feeling. Monarch and people considered the interests of the two kingdoms to be perfectly distinct, and far from being disposed to union, they viewed each other with proverbial jealousy, and fought accordingly. In the year 1526, therefore, more especially after England had gained such influence in the north, the idea that the monarch of the inferior state would ultimately become the sovereign of the whole Island, must have been treated with disdain; but that the change, when it did take place, whatever was the character of that King personally, would be overruled for introducing to all alike, that Sacred Volume, which has been read ever since, is a result which would then have been regarded with equal scorn by *both* parties. Yet thus early, and whatever might be the feelings entertained, or sentiments then held, on either side of the Tweed, it seems as if the Governor among the nations, regarding them as only one people, had begun to act accordingly. If it shall turn out that the highest gift which He has ever bestowed upon both countries, was conveyed to them both at the *same* period; if the only effectual cement or remedy, for all local and petty antipathies, was then first supplied to both, however imperceptibly, and hitherto unnoticed, certainly the fact well deserves to be traced out, and will, it is presumed, fully reward attention.

In the opening of the sixteenth century, Scotland was rising, both in wealth, and importance, under the energetic government of James the Fourth, till the 9th of September 1513; when, through his own impetuosity, by the fatal battle of Flodden-field, the nation was thrown into a state which baffled all description. About ten thousand men were left dead on the field, and among them, not only the king himself, but the strength of his nobility, gentry, and yeomanry, were gone, within the short compass of three hours! Thirteen earls, fifteen lords and chiefs of clans, the eldest sons of five peers, the primate of St. Andrews and other ecclesiastics, the French ambassador, and the secretary of the

king, had fallen ! As for the gentry, there were but few houses which did not mourn one relative ; some entire families were swept away !

If ever a country demanded sympathy from its nearest neighbor, it was then ; but this was a feeling, with which Wolsey might have truly said, "I and the king have never been either annoyed or depressed." On the contrary, following up their advantage, many long years of vexatious intrigue, on their part, awaited the north ; nay, within only three years after the Flowers of the Forest were "a' wede away," Sir Christopher, afterwards Lord Dacre, the Warden of the English borders, had in his pay not fewer than four hundred Scots, outlaws, whose main occupation consisted in exciting such tumults and jealousies as might distract the government under the Duke of Albany. That period which elapsed from the year 1523 to 1528, was peculiarly distracting. On looking over the criminal trials of the day, as well as for many future years, we see but one continued series of slaughter and theft, treason and deadly feud.

In England Wolsey was evidently playing one of his double games with Scotland, as well as with the Continent ; a proof of his consummate talents for worldly business all round him, in every direction ; but he was now also enraged at the existence of Tyndale's Testaments, recently detected in Antwerp, and straining every nerve to get them burnt ; while Tunstal, Bishop of London, was not only authenticating the book for this end, but he and Warham of Canterbury, in October and November, were thundering out their injunctions against the Sacred Volume as "pestiferous poison."

With regard to the first introduction into Scotland of the Sacred Volume in a printed form, the historian has never yet been able to proceed farther than a shrewd conjecture. It has been supposed that the translation of Tyndale may or must have found its way there ; but when, how early, or by what means, we have never been told. If it can now be proved that the book was conveyed to Scotland as well as England, not only by the same method, but nearly about the same time, and certainly within the compass of the same year, the reader cannot fail to return with fresh interest to the period. This would be sufficient to render the year 1526 equally memorable in Caledonia, as in Old England.

In their commercial intercourse with the Continent, Scotland and England were altogether independent of each other, and the trade of the former with the Low Countries was of equally ancient standing ; but it is of importance to observe, that, by this period, and by the authority of Parliament, the Scottish merchants generally *went along with their goods*, and that none were allowed to do so, but persons "*able and of good fame*." So much the better, or more in favor of what was now to take place.

The reader can scarcely fail to remember what a battle was fought in Antwerp respecting the New Testaments of Tyndale, when first detected there, and how the Ambassador of England,

John Hackett, got himself so embroiled in the business; Wolsey and Tunstal being not more fierce at home than he was abroad. Hackett's object was to "see justice done" upon all such English books as were entitled "The New Testament." By "justice done," he meant burning them; and this he said was for "the preservation of the *Christian faith*." Now it was in the very midst of this, the first onset in that long war, that we have positive information as to Scotland; and while it must be new to the reader, it happens to be fully as distinct as any we have read in the history of England, if not more so. Hackett was in busy correspondence both with Cardinal Wolsey and Brian Tuke, the Secretary of State. It was to the former he addressed a letter, dated from Mechlin, on Wednesday the 20th of February, 1526, that is, 1527; from which the following is an extract:—

"Please your grace to understand that since my last writing to your Grace, I have received none of yours. I trust by this time that your Grace has ample information of such execution and justice as has been done in the towns of Antwerp and Barrow (now Bergen-op-Zoom) upon all *such* English books as we could find in these countries, similar to *three* such other Books as your Grace sent unto me, with my Lord the Bishop of London's signature.

"By my last writing to Mr. Brian Tuke (4 January 1527) I advertised him how that there *were* *DIVERS merchants of Scotland that bought many* of such like books, and took them into Scotland; a part to *Edinburgh*, and *most* part to the town of *St. Andrews*.

"For the which cause, when I was at Barrow, being advertised that the Scottish ships were in Zealand, for there the said books were laden, I went suddenly thitherward, thinking, if I had found such stuff there, that I would cause to make as good a *fire* of them, as there has been done of the remnant in Brabant; *but fortune would not that I should be in time*; for the foresaid ships were departed *a day afore my coming*. So I must take patience for all my labour, with leaving My Lady Margaret's letters, and good instructions with my Lord of Bever, and the . . . Mr. . . . off . . . concerning the foresaid business."

Mons. de Bever, who was Lord of Campvere, and Admiral of Flanders, had been in London only in March 1525, as Ambassador from Lady Margaret, Regent of Flanders, and must have been fully aware of Wolsey's imperious temper, as he had then insulted himself; but it is not a little remarkable, that, at this very moment, confidence in the court of England was failing, if not gone; the double dealing of the Cardinal on the Continent had been detected, and for some time to come, no attention will be paid to any request from *that* quarter. The Lord of Campvere was not so likely therefore to quarrel with the Scottish traders at their *own* staple port; nor is there the slightest evidence of Wolsey having conveyed the intelligence he had received to Scotland, a circumstance the more remarkable since he was so annoyed with the

subject. He had, it is true, far higher game in prospect. The sack of Rome itself first, and then his own splendid embassy to France engrossed him; but, besides, when these last ships arrived, Beaton lay under his frown, and in concealment! Hackett, however, certainly refers to importations as already past; and as more business was done in *summer* than in autumn, the probability is, that even these were not the *first* Testaments. At all events, here the channel of conveyance was opened. Besides Leith and St. Andrews, there were the ports of Dundee, Montrose, and Aberdeen, who all traded with Zealand; and as in Scotland there were no official steps taken against the *New Testament* by name, for at least five years after this, the book must have arrived, again and again, at all these ports. This is easily understood, after the scene we have witnessed in England, in the face of far greater, and more vigilant opposition.

Petty or narrow-minded rivalry has too often been evinced between England and Scotland, as to priority in smaller matters; but there was to be no room left for boasting in regard to the *greatest of all*. That such coincidence should never have been observed before, may indeed seem strange; but once pointed out, it certainly was not intended to be simply noticed, and so forgotten. Let it rather be improved, even at this late hour, to the praise of Him, who thus, in spite of every species of hostility, so signally conveyed his own word to the very camps of the enemy—to the north as well as the south, about the same period—to Edinburgh, as well as London—to the mouth of the Eden at St. Andrew's, and no doubt other places, as well as to the mouth of the Thames, or to Oxford and Cambridge! In this point of view, the year 1526 becomes by far the most remarkable in the annals of our common country. The New Testament, thus conveyed to both countries, was dreaded and deprecated by both alike, and as an evil of the greatest magnitude. More than ten years passed away in England, before their greatest national blessing was accepted or allowed by the sovereign; it was seventeen years before a similar allowance occurred in Scotland. Where then, ever since, has there been any ground for boasting? It is excluded; and that by the simple and authentic history of the Sacred Volume itself.

## SECTION II.

ANNO 1527-28—CONSTERNATION OF THE AUTHORITIES IN SCOTLAND—THE NEW TESTAMENT SOON FOLLOWED BY ONE LIVING VOICE, THAT OF PATRICK HAMILTON—HIS MARTYRDOM—ALEXANDER SETON, THE NEXT WITNESS, PERSECUTED—HE ESCAPES TO ENGLAND—THE NEW TESTAMENT GOES ON TO BE IMPORTED.

ONCE more the analogy between England and Scotland is presented to our view. As early as 1520, some alarm had been felt in England respecting what was called Lutheranism, the phrase of the day for any approach to Scriptural truth, even though the party molested might never have heard of Luther's name, or, at least, read a page of his writings. So Scotland was soon seized with similar alarm, and by the 17th of July 1525, an act of parliament had passed, enacting, that "no manner of persons, *strangers*, that happen to arrive with their ships, within any part of this realm, *bring with them* any books or works of the said Luther, his disciples or servants," on pain of imprisonment, besides the forfeiture of their ships and goods. Now, whether what was taking place last year as to books imported was known, we have no positive evidence; but at all events, by the autumn of this year there was fresh alarm, and that not owing to *strangers*. In the month of August 1527, the Earl of Angus having got himself appointed to be Chancellor, with Dunbar, the Bishop of Aberdeen and uncle of Dunbar the Archbishop of Glasgow, to assist him; Angus and the Lords of Council added the following clause to the act of 1525:—"And all other, *the king's lieges*, assistaries to such opinions, be punished in seemable wise, and the effect of the said act to strike upon *them*." Thus, between July 1525 and September 1527, as it was determined to extend those penalties to natives of Scotland, we have sufficient proof that importations by *them* had been going on; but while there were, very probably, some other publications, it is not a little extraordinary, that the *only* books which can now be traced, or distinctly specified, should be those of *the New Testament itself* of Tyndale's version. Never, then, let it be overlooked, that if the provisions of this act were followed out, there existed a time in the history of our country, when, if a vessel arrived at Leith or St. Andrew's, at Dundee, Montrose, or Aberdeen, with copies of the New Testament on board, the ship and cargo were liable to confiscation, and the captain to imprisonment! A battle was now to be fought and won, in the north as well as in the south of Britain.

But again, as in England, serious and long-continued persecution did not commence till after the Scriptures had arrived; so it was in Scotland. Copies had soon found their way, and not in vain, to the canons of Cardinal College, Oxford; but so they had to the canons of St. Andrews, as well as other parties. The explosion at Oxford occurred in February 1526, and by February

1528, at the very moment when Tunstal and his vicar-general were sitting in severe judgment on the book in London, the *New Testament* will now be very pointedly referred to, and condemned, within the walls of the Metropolitan Church in Scotland.

The occasion of this, the first storm, is well known. It followed the arrival from abroad, about the autumn of 1527, and the subsequent exertions of one of the loveliest and most interesting of all characters in early Scottish history—Patrick Hamilton. Of the noble army of Martyrs on British ground, during the sixteenth century, he was to be the youthful and heroic leader. He was the son of Sir Patrick Hamilton, and was born in the year 1504; intended for an ecclesiastic, he had the Abbacy of Fearn conferred upon him in his youth. Educated under John Major and others at St. Andrews, as soon as he had any knowledge of the pure word of God, he could not conceal his sentiments, and consequently was involved in trouble. He then went abroad, where he is said to have remained two years. Three individuals went with him, one of whom, as a servant, abode by him to the moment of death, having accompanied him to the stake. As there is sufficient evidence that Hamilton returned direct from Marburg in Hesse, and the University at that place was not founded till 1526, this fixes his departure to the year 1525 at the latest, not 1526, as frequently stated. The parliamentary act of 1525, already mentioned, may have been in some degree connected with the first disclosure of his views; and, indeed, when his sentiments, as left by himself, in his Latin treatise, are considered, two years may well be allowed for his attaining to such maturity of mind. Hamilton's name, like that of almost all who went to the Continent about that period, has been associated with those of Luther and Melancthon. He must have been eager to see these men, and there is no reason to doubt of his having known them both; but the evidence of his intimacy with Francis Lambert, John Fryth, and, of course, with Tyndale, rests on firmer ground. From Marburg, where Tyndale and Fryth appear to have been, he last came, and embarked in Holland for Scotland, thus following the very track by which the New Testament Scriptures had *preceded* him into his own country. His mind was full of ardor, and though Lambert had affectionately and strongly dissuaded him from rushing into such certain danger, if Fryth once told him what had just happened in England, one can easily conceive of this only adding oil to a flame already kindled.

Hamilton, on his arrival, had proceeded first to his brother's house in Linlithgowshire, Sir James having succeeded his father as Sheriff of that county; and here, as the sequel proved, he had preached, and conversed not in vain, as well as elsewhere.

The youth of Hamilton, and his rank, his fine talents and his views of divine truth, had all combined in producing an immediate impression; while the power of his family, of which the Earl of Arran was the chief, and who had so resented the death of Patrick's father, must have rendered any open hostility more difficult.



Invited to St. Andrews by a special message from the Primate, who, with solemn promises of safety, said, he only wished to converse with him, Hamilton went without hesitation. Beaton received him with a hypocritical show of kindness, assigned him a lodging in the city, and so left him to be fully ensnared by a Dominican friar, Alexander Campbell, with whom he had come in contact before his departure for the Continent. Only a very short time was required to draw from the ardent and zealous youth ample ground for accusation to the Archbishop; more especially as Campbell, who was the Prior of his order, had pretended to admit the force of all that Hamilton advanced. In fact, he had been only a few days in St. Andrews, when, under night, he was apprehended in bed and carried to the Castle; and the very next day he was before Beaton, with thirteen different articles laid to his charge, by the man who seems to have long thirsted for his blood. Though drawn into some general conversation at this moment, the youthful martyr, with the finest discrimination, separating the *truths* from the errors, had evidently resolved to die for the confession of the *former*, rather than the denial of the *latter*, and therefore he abode by the seven points already mentioned. So Fox informs us that "learned men who communed and reasoned with him do testify, that these were the *very* articles for which he suffered." Meanwhile with a hypocritical show of moderation, Beaton remitted the articles entire to the judgment of fourteen theologians, such as they were, not forgetting, however, to include among the number his base persecutor, Campbell. Within only a day or two more, these men returned their censure, condemning the whole articles as heretical, before a solemn meeting in the Cathedral. This happened on Saturday the 28th of February 1528; and now, on *the same day*, the prisoner, after all that had been promised by Beaton, was to be tried, condemned, and reduced to ashes, before the sun went down! They trod in the footsteps of the Pharisees of old, for the next day was the Sabbath!

The trial, such as it was, formed but a very summary proceeding; but we must not omit part of the brief dialogue between the Martyr and Campbell his accuser, in presence of his judges. The articles being read over by his determined prosecutor, with this he commenced:—

*Campbell*.—"Heretic, thou sayest it is lawful to any man to read the Word of God, and in special the New Testament?"

*Hamilton*.—"I said not so (to you) to my knowledge; but I said, and say it now, it is lawful to all men that have a soul, to read the Word of God, that they may understand the same, and specially the latter will and Testament of Jesus Christ, whereby they may acknowledge their sins and repent of the same, whereby they may amend their lives by faith and repentance, and attain salvation by Christ Jesus. *Campbell*.—"Now, heretic, I see that thou affirmest the words of thy accusation." *Hamilton*.—"I affirm

nothing but the words which I have spoken in presence of this auditory."

The auditory to whom he addressed these, and other like words all condemned him to be guilty of death; and, delivering him over to the secular power, on the afternoon of the same day, he was led forth to a stake placed, *in terrorem*, before the gate of St. Salvator's College. On the scaffold, turning affectionately to the faithful servant, who had long attended him, and slept in the same apartment, having divested himself of his gown, his coat, and his bonnet—"These," said he, "will not profit in the fire; they will profit thee. After this thou canst receive no commodity from me except the example of my death, which, I pray thee, bear in mind. For, although it be bitter to the flesh, yet is it the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possess that deny Christ before this wicked generation." When bound to the stake, far from exhibiting any fear, he fixed his eyes towards heaven, commending his soul unto God. The executioner setting fire to the pile, it would not burn, but merely scorched the left side of their victim! In this excruciating state, obliged to send some distance to the Archbishop's Castle for gunpowder, as well as elsewhere for more combustible materials; an immense crowd having assembled, some of whom loudly denounced the persecutors, while others implored the martyr to recant and save his life, he thus addressed them:—

"As for my confession, I will not deny it for fear of your fire, for my confession and belief is in Jesus Christ; and therefore I will not deny it. I will rather that my body be burnt in this fire for confession of my faith in Christ, than that my soul should suffer in the unquenchable fire of hell, for denying of my faith. But as for the sentence and judgment pronounced against me *this* day, by the bishops and doctors, I here, in the presence of you all, appeal against the said sentences and judgment given against me, and betake myself to the mercy of God." Then turning to Campbell, who had acted in the three-fold character of traitor, judge, and executioner, as he even now satanically assailed his victim, and reviled him as an heretic, Hamilton closed by adding, "Wicked man! thou knowest the contrary; to me thou hast confessed. I appeal thee before the tribunal seat of Jesus Christ."

Amidst the noise and fury of the flames now kindled, and the tumult of the multitude, his last words were distinctly heard—"How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm! How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!"

Thus gloriously fell, as far as we know, the first native of Scotland as an unspotted martyr for the truth, for the Word of God itself, as well as our right to read it.

The powerful consequences resulting from this martyrdom, can never now be fully traced; but if we follow them out as far as they may be, it will be evident, that, hitherto, the event has been greatly underrated. The New Testament Scriptures had arrived in Scotland, and they had been reading in secret for at least a

year and a quarter. These were God's own providential gift, at a period when the country was full of strife and feud, ferocity and murder. This it was which is to be regarded as the *commencement* of decided blessing from God; and now came the bold and loud summons from the believer's lips, to rouse the dead in sin, and embolden them to read, believe, and live. A space equal to nearly three generations had passed away since anything so truly horrible had occurred in Caledonia, however stern and wild. Besides, in 1432, it was a foreigner who had suffered; but here was a native, of the most amiable character, and high birth. The report of the martyrdom speedily ran through the kingdom, promoting a spirit of inquiry into the case, as well as the cause itself. For as truly as Antipas, the faithful martyr of old, so God's most faithful servant had now been "slain among them where Satan dwelt, even where his seat was;" and yet no place was so deeply affected as the spot where the deed was done.

Of the extent of the sensation now produced, it is impossible to judge with accuracy, but of its depth there can be but one opinion, since it actually so far changed the character of this metropolitan city, the Rome of Scotland. From being the stronghold of the Prince of Darkness, it became the seat of deep inquiry and indomitable discussion, among not a few of the students in the different colleges, the canons of the Cathedral, and even the Friars. The sufferings endured will furnish the evidence of this.

Another human voice was now demanded; but where shall one be found? Campbell, the prior of the order of St. Dominic, or the Black Friars, had betrayed this heroic young man, and who so proper to speak next, as a brother of the *same* fraternity? The Friar who had been *appointed* to preach throughout Lent, in the Cathedral itself, it might seem far too much to expect, but in truth it was no other! He was the first to sound again the trumpet of truth, and that almost immediately after the Martyr had gone to receive his crown. Opening his lips, they found he was no other than what they denominated a heretic! Standing on the very spot where the murderers had sat in judgment, this, as the prophet once expressed it, was as if "the stone had cried out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber had answered it." Nor was the preacher himself, from his official character, less remarkable. The Archbishop, as well as all under his authority, were afraid to touch him, he being actually the Father Confessor of the King himself—that King whom Beaton had not consulted, and who had therefore not consented to the counsel or deed of these bloody men. This was Friar ALEXANDER SETON, brother of Ninian Seton, or Seytoun of Touch.

In discharging his duty, and following the example of his deeply-lamented predecessor, Seton now saw that in the truth itself, there was enough to convict all its enemies, and produce dismay; and that no wise man will ever *commence* his labors by merely attacking superstition, or pulling at prejudices, as he would at a cart-rope; an egregious mistake, into which many have since

fallen. Taking for his subject the law of God itself, Seton insisted much on the following points—

“That the Law of God is the only rule of righteousness; that if God’s Law be not violated, no sin is committed; that it is not in man’s power to satisfy for sin; that the forgiveness of sin is no otherwise obtained than by unfeigned repentance and true faith, apprehending the mercy of God in Christ Jesus. Of purgatory, pilgrimage, prayer to saints, of merits and miracles, the usual subjects of the friars’ sermons, not a word he spake.”

It is remarkable that he should have been permitted to *repeat* his sentiments; but having been appointed to preach during Lent, this, together with his official character, may have been his safeguard, until he had given his auditory line upon line, and proof after proof. About the end of that season, however, having occasion to go northward to Dundee, he was there informed that a friar of his own order had been set up to refute his doctrine. He then returned to St. Andrews, and the King’s Confessor, not to be resisted, confirmed his former positions, adding, from Scripture, the qualifications required for a good and faithful bishop.

From what had happened in February, and observing the confidence or respect of the monarch to be on the decline, Seton well knew what must ultimately await him, and seeing no safety on the spot, he fled to Berwick. From thence, however, he wrote to his royal master a faithful letter, warning him of the men under whose influence he had now fallen.

At Berwick he waited for some reply, but waited in vain. Before this time Angus had been banished, and his estates forfeited; Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, had been appointed Chancellor in August, as his successor, and Beaton, though not yet in power, had been recalled to the Council by the end of November. Seton, therefore, retired into England, where he became chaplain to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. As if to show how equally balanced the two countries, England and Scotland, were, with regard to their progress in Divine Truth; about thirteen years after, or in 1541, Seton was called before Stephen Gardiner, and examined, but denied not any point which he had formerly taught. He even continued to preach the truths with which he had been charged, and died, it has been said, next year, or 1542.

In the meanwhile, or before the close of 1528, it is pleasing to find any information whatever, bearing on the Scriptures, and their continued importation. The friars now were more busy everywhere than they had ever been, since friars were in fashion. Earnestly charged, by Wolsey, with dispatches to Counsellor Herman Rincke of Cologne; their united efforts were to be employed in the apprehension of Tyndale himself, and of William Roye, once his amanuensis; or, at all events, their books. With regard to the men they entirely failed, but a number of what Rincke calls “*their books*,” he had found out and secured. These must have included copies of the New Testament, as well as Roye’s celebrated Satire on the Cardinal, a personal affair, which the lat-

ter so deeply resented. One short passage in Rincke's reply to Wolsey, dated the 4th of October 1528, and sent by West, deserves to be repeated here—

"But these books, unless I had found them out and interposed, must have been pressed together with parchment, and concealed; and enclosed in packages, artfully covered over with flax, they would in time, without any suspicion, have been transmitted by sea, into *Scotland and England, as to the same place*; and would have been sold as merely clean paper; but as yet, *few or none* of those, carried away and sold, have been found."

Here then we have distinct mention of a continued *traffic* going on, and of one of the asserted methods of transit, for there must have been various; nor is it less worthy of repetition, that the *Jews* are to be supposed as having had some concern in these importations, whether "to Scotland or England, as to the *same place*."

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### SECTION III.

FROM 1529 TO 1534—ALL-IMPORTANT PERIOD, HITHERTO UNNOTICED—ALEXANDER ALES—CRUELLY PERSECUTED BY HEPBURN, THE PRIOR OF ST. ANDREWS—AT LAST ESCAPES BY SEA, FROM DUNDEE, FIRST TO FRANCE, AND THEN TO GERMANY—HE WRITES TO JAMES V.; OR THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIRST REGULAR CONTROVERSY IN BRITAIN RESPECTING THE SCRIPTURES PRINTED IN THE VULGAR TONGUE—THE ABUSIVE PUBLICATION OF COCHLÆUS PROFESSEDLY IN REPLY—ANSWER OF ALES TO THE CALUMNIES OF COCHLÆUS—ALES PLEADS, MOST EARNESTLY, FOR THE NEW TESTAMENT TO BE READ—COCHLÆUS, QUITE ENRAGED, ADDRESSES JAMES V.—PERSECUTIONS AND MARTYRDOMS.

WE are now arrived at a very memorable period in the history of Scotland. It involves a space of five years, from the year 1529 to 1534 inclusive, and yet it has been treated by all our historians as a sort of chasm, or calm in the annals of persecution. No author has informed us that there was, at such a time, one fragment of distinct information in existence, respecting the Sacred Volume; its importation into the country; its being bought, or sold, and read by the people; or that such reading was being so bitterly opposed. This is the more surprising, since, upon this subject, it forms one of the most interesting periods in the early history of the *entire* Island. Commencing seven years before Henry the Eighth had decidedly broken off from Rome, and while both the South and North were still under the dominant power of "the old learning;" yet was it the season of the *first* regular controversy in Britain, though carried on with Scotland, respecting the Sacred Volume in our native language; as well as the undoubted right of every one, "both low and high, rich and poor together," to read the Scriptures for themselves.

ALEXANDER ALES, much better known on the Continent than

at home, and there by the name of *Alesius*, was born in Edinburgh on the 23d of April 1500. His father was an honest and substantial burgher of that city, and under his own roof the education of his son was so far perfected, as to fit him for entering the University of St. Andrews. As for his boyhood, the only particular known is one related by himself, in the preface to one of his future publications on the Continent, his Exposition of Timothy :—

“Diverting himself, with other children, on the top of a hill, where there was a high rock, as they were rolling themselves towards the precipice, he had advanced to the very brink, when he felt himself snatched up, and carried to a place of safety, without knowing how, or by whom. Some ascribed this,” says he, “to several portions of Scripture, especially from John, hung about my neck, which was then a common custom of parents with children.” In certain parts of Ireland, it is a practice *still*, to operate as a charm. Ales had ascribed his deliverance to the faith or prayers of his parents ; but many years after, the recollection still chilled his blood.

Having gone to St. Andrews, finished his education, and taken priest's orders, he became one of the canons of the priory or cathedral church in that city, then the largest in Scotland, as containing from fifteen to twenty thousand inhabitants. We hear nothing more of him, however, till he had reached the twenty-eight year of his age. Then, as a proof that the alarm of the bishops and monks in 1525 and 1527, respecting the introduction of “the new learning” into Scotland, was not without grounds, it turned out that the canons and students were, through the medium of certain books, studying the grand controversy of the times. But whatever might be the object of other young men, that of Ales was, that he might be qualified to *oppose* all innovation. When Patrick Hamilton, therefore, four years younger than himself, was “drawn unto death” at St. Andrews, and now “ready to be slain,” far from disposed to “deliver” him, and confident in his own scholastic powers, Ales actually undertook to reclaim the suspected heretic. For this purpose he held several conferences with his more enlightened junior, little dreaming that the attempt was about to change the current of his whole life. But staggered by the reasoning of that young gentleman ; then hearing his noble testimony, in a full house, or within the very walls where Ales himself was accustomed to engage in services which the Martyr had so exposed ; and finally, beholding the heroic constancy with which he maintained his integrity in the flames, amidst the rage, and more than savage cruelty of his enemies, the scene as well as the sentiments were never to be forgotten. In short, the heart of Ales was pierced by convictions, which ended in his conversion to the faith he had labored in vain to destroy. St. Andrew's was not now to sleep in quiet, after the smoke of Patrick's funeral pile had been blown upon the spectators, and scorched the Benedictine friar, his persecutor. Seton was the first victim soon after, but severer trials awaited Ales, the very next year. Suffice it to

say here, that, after enduring great trials, Ales had escaped from the port of Dundee through the kindness of friends, both on shore and on board the vessel, then ready to sail, about the close of 1531. Having landed on the Continent, whither he first went it is impossible to say, but certainly not to Wittenberg. By the loose manner in which he has occasionally been referred to, he is of course sent immediately to Luther; but if Luther had indoctrinated or only conversed with, all those Englishmen and Scotsmen who have been consigned, by historians, to his personal acquaintance, he must have had nothing else to do, from morning to night. On the contrary, and as late as the year 1534, Ales himself informs us, that he had not yet acquired the German language, and that he had *not*, even then, *known Luther at all*. He had traversed, however, the coast of France, and proceeded into some part of Germany; where, as he understood only Latin, he had assiduously applied to the Greek language. By the year referred to, he seems to have been fond of quoting it.

After the escape of Ales, an edict or order of the bishops had been promulgated, *prohibiting the New Testament in English from being read or sold*. To whatever extent this had gone, the alarm of the enemy is one decided proof of progress made.

Ales had been deeply indebted to King James the Fifth for his very kind interposition in his favor. Relying therefore, on the character of the King, no sooner had he heard of the doings of Beaton and his fellows, than he resolved to address his Highness. In his letter, he speaks of the King's interposition to deliver him from the *dreadful dungeon*, and then says:

Trusting, therefore, to your lenity and kindness, which was shown to me in my distress, I have not hesitated to write to you; not concerning my own personal injury, of which, however, I shall treat at another time; but that according to the duty which I owe to your Highness and the country, I may warn you against a certain nefarious and iniquitous edict, which, without your authority, the bishops have published in your kingdom, videlicet—*That no one should read in his native language, the books of the New Testament.*

“Although I saw in that affair how great was the fury of the priests against all who occasionally signified that they wished the churches should be more purely instructed as to necessary matters; yet this is evidently a new and unheard-of example, among those who style themselves Christians, to forbid, by an edict, the reading of the Sacred books. And I know that this device was managed without your counsel or authority, by the chief priests, or rather by the *Monks*, for *they* are, in truth, the contrivers of this business. I thought it therefore my duty to write to you, that you may interpose your authority, and consult both the glory of God, and also the reputation of your kingdom. For what kind of precedent is it, that men should be debarred from the oracles of Christ? What else could the Turks, or other nations hostile to the Christian name do, than to take care that the people

touch not the Sacred books—that they should not know the benefits of Christ, and his most holy precepts, lest any one should form a firm and distinct opinion with regard to divine things, from the very words of Christ, and the testimonies of his apostles?”

“Wherefore, I both warn and beseech you, for the glory of Christ, that you would by your authority repeal that impious decree; and not countenance the madness of these Pharisees.”

Ales then implores the King, as one to whom God had committed all departments of the state, to interpose—describes the advantages which must accrue to the people, and especially the children and youth, from being trained up by such domestic reading and instruction—they would prove better subjects and better citizens, which otherwise they could not be. He quotes the Scriptures to show that this is an imperative duty, as enjoined by God; and warns his Highness of the evils which must arise from the interdict. It would “take away the most sacred exercises of piety; remove from the well-disposed the necessary guards of conscience; scatter domestic discipline,” &c. Having “traversed part of the coast of France and many other places,” he informs the King that he had not heard of a similar decree having ever been issued by the Emperor or the King of France. They had published severe laws against dogmas, but not forbidden the *reading* of the Sacred Writings. Then he says:—

“Wherefore I conjure and entreat also, that you would restrain the counsels of the Bishops, and turn them from cruelty and impiety to gentleness, and a desire to show forth the glory of Christ. With a pious intention, most gracious Sovereign, I have written these things to you, which I pray that, of your clemency, you would take in good part. That I might warn on a subject so exalted, I am constrained by the duty which I owe, both to you and to my country. and lastly to the Church of Christ among you. And I pray Christ that he may guide your counsels for extending the glory of God, for protecting the churches, and for mitigating the cruelty of the Bishops.”

Thus it appears, at this early period, that Scotland was not behind England in point of progress made. The New Testament had been given to her in the same year.—She could already point to her proto-martyr—and an advocate rising out of his ashes, was now as earnest with *her* King, and against *her* bishops as John Fryth now was with similar parties in London. Had Ales only been forthcoming, he had expired in the flames this year, as certainly as Fryth did in England.

In reply to this letter, as far as is yet known, there was not one man in Scotland able to move his tongue; but there was one abroad, who, though abundantly ready in *reply*, could never *answer* any argument; and who, when engaged in furious wrangling, was never so much in his element. This, the reader may anticipate, was no other than *John Cochlaeus*, the same who raised the alarm respecting the New Testament, at first, 1525. Stung with disappointment, at his having no reward assigned to



him by Wolsey, or Henry VIII. ; he now did his utmost to procure notoriety and a pension, by addressing King James V. of Scotland. The epistle of Ales could scarcely have been read in his own country, before this indefatigable opponent must have been at the press, as his tirade is dated on the 8th of June 1533. There is nothing whatever of sound argument in the book, though professing to answer Ales, paragraph by paragraph. It abounds in different parts with virulent abuse, and in others with blasphemy. There is no lack of positive falsehood as to Luther, the writer's perpetual eye-sore ; and Ales, though unknown to Cochläus personally, comes in for his full share, upon one hundred and sixty pages, in reply to twenty-six ! The object in view was to mystify and alarm the young King ; and the title is perfectly expressive of the great point in hand—" *Whether it be expedient for the Laity to read the books of the New Testament in the vernacular tongue.*"

Not aware of the English New Testament having been before introduced into Scotland, as early as 1526, and glorying in his exploit of 1525, he proceeds :—

"As I see similar snares now preparing for your kingdom, I earnestly warn your Highness, that you may carefully guard against this hostile attempt upon your people, and that as to Alesius who meditates this injury, you would not rashly believe him, in opposition to your Bishops." He then praises the Scots for their ancient piety, since to their zeal in coming to teach them, the Germans were indebted, many centuries ago. There were still, he adds, Monasteries of Scotchmen in the cities of Germany—at Erfurth in Thuringia, at Ratisbon in Bavaria, at Vienna in Austria, &c. Therefore he felt nothing save the purest gratitude and love in now writing. He neither desired nor expected "any favour or reward from his Highness, nor from the bishops of his kingdom !" It was "affection alone" which impelled him, as he had "the most earnest desire for the welfare of all !" But in justice to this enemy, we must let him be heard. When he comes to the interdict, or decree against reading the Sacred Volume, not a little hampered, he thus artfully proceeds :—

"It appears at first sight odious indeed, and quite opposite to Christian piety, to prohibit the people from reading the books of the New Testament in their own language : in which is the bread of life, the food of the soul, the discipline of morals, the true knowledge of virtue, and the exact correction of vices ; and in fine, the knowledge of the most exalted love, grace, and beneficence towards the human race, of Christ himself, and our God and Father. To prevent, by an edict, so many people, and so great a multitude of the whole kingdom, from the enjoyment of such great, and so many blessings, may *seem* to be an employment both of envy and cruelty towards those who are subjected to it, and of gigantic impiety towards God. But assuredly, on the other hand, if any one consider what an *accumulation of evils* has sprung up among us Germans, within a few years, *from such*

*reading*, disseminated by Luther, he will, O King, presently conclude, *that your Bishops are pious, right-hearted, prudent and faithful pastors*, who are desirous, by a decree, to drive away their sheep from pasture *so noxious and so deadly!!* But Alesius says—Are the gospels, the words of Christ and his Apostles, noxious and deadly pasture? However, let him hearken a little. According to himself, indeed, they are most salutary and refreshing pasture, if they be well received; but if they are badly received, they become not the pasture of life, but deadly poison to those who receive them.

“I say nothing here of the loss of property which we have suffered from this gospel, while for these most mischievous books, our people have squandered, spent and lost an incalculable sum of money, for so many hundred thousands of copies printed and sold! From these they have got no good, but a great deal of harm; learned artizans neglecting their shops and their work, from whence they ought to procure a subsistence for their wives and children. Nor will I mention those evils, which many have endured in their body through this, while, in opposition to the edicts of the magistrates, they read the prohibited books; and for this offence were shut up in prisons, confined in towers, fined, banished from their country, and suffered other bodily inconvenience!”

In this manner the New Testament itself, being mixed up with all that ever issued from the pen of Luther; Cochleaus must now fortify the royal youth, originally disinclined to deeds of blood, not only against all the cruelties which might ensue in Scotland, and the counter advice of any of his councillors, but against all the odium which was sure to follow.

“But then they, the Bishops, will rightly take care, that they not only prohibit books of that kind, by the bare words of a decree, but also follow up the matter with efficacious diligence. For thus it will be, when they *act* against a few transgressors with *just severity*, that they will preserve the souls of many! Even as the Bishop of Treves did among us, who, when he had taken care that first one, and then another bookseller, who brought Lutheran books, *should be cast into the Rhine, with their noxious books*; this punishment of the few terrified others from bringing in more. By this he so preserved his people in *the faith and unity of the Church*, and also in peace and civil subjection, that his peasants remained quiet, while all those of the other Princes and Bishops rose in tumult. And if your councillors, (for there are *few* courts of Christian Princes entirely clear of this carnal leaven) shall suggest to your Highness the invidious words of the apostates, in which they complain (as Alesius of Wittenberg in his Epistle) that it is impious by a decree to forbid the reading of the Sacred books, and that reproach will attach to your kingdom, if men are driven from the oracles of Christ, lest the people should know the benefits of Christ—your Highness will be able to make answer with the greatest *justice and truth*, that the New Testa-

ment of *Luther* is not the Sacred books, but execrable and cursed, which will surely bring infamy on your kingdom and every evil—The New Testament of *Luther* is not the gospel of Christ, but of Satan! I doubt not that there are in your kingdom also, not a few Lutherans in disguise, who will suggest to your Highness that the Word of God ought not to be forbidden to the Laity; by which they would be understood to mean *the New Testament of Luther!* than which nothing is more effectual for spreading abroad this most abominable heresy, under the specious title of the Gospel, and the sweet-sounding pretext of the Word of God. If you have permitted this, you have introduced ship-loads of the most pernicious merchandize. If you have prohibited them, you will be accused privately of tyranny by the Lutherans, who are desirous of change. They will call you a Herod—a persecutor of Christ—a slave of the Roman Pontiff—a dependent of the Bishops—a patron of the luxury of the clergy, and what not?

“If therefore, O King, you desire to preserve among your people concord in the faith, and the unity of the Church, peace, unruffled tranquillity, agreement in piety and divine worship, fixedness of faith, and all the benefits of ecclesiastical discipline: *desist from this business of translation, especially at this time:* because much more mischief and destruction will proceed from that source, than good or edification!”

This poor infatuated zealot then at last informs the King that *any* translation of the New Testament, “the best and most undoubted,” if it be “*in the vulgar tongue,*” must produce all imaginable evil. He is even suspicious of *Ales* himself being so engaged, and that he will transmit copies secretly, through merchants, by the Elbe to Hamburg, which looks over to Scotland!

“If therefore you desire to preserve your subjects from so many evils, which will thence arise, use all care and attention to keep out these *paper merchandize*, so destructive and poisonous, lest, while you know not, they steal into your ports. It will be necessary that all merchandize brought from Germany be diligently searched and examined, lest this schemer among the Saxons should so be concealed that he may slay the unspotted; according to that of the Psalmist!! ‘Under his tongue are labour and sorrow. He sitteth in hiding places with the rich’—*that is, with the merchants!*—‘in secret places that he may slay the innocent. His eyes look upon the poor’—*that is, the simple people, who know nothing more than their mother tongue!* ‘He layeth wait in his lurking place like a lion in his den; he layeth wait, that he may seize upon the poor, to lay hold on the poor, when he hath enticed him.’ This, O King, is the forewarning of the Holy Spirit by the mouth of King David, to which, unless you carefully attend, your Kingdom will be laid open to the same kind of snares!”

The reader must now be more than satisfied, that this man was “a blasphemer, a persecutor and injurious:” and yet such is only a specimen of the verbiage with which he was eager to occupy

the ear of the young and thoughtless Scottish monarch. With Cochlaeus abroad, and such men in power at home, both bishops and monks, a Prince once averse to all cruelty, and still given to deeds of kindness in regard to the bodies of his subjects, was driving on to ruin; by yielding to the sophistry of the hierarchy, with respect to opinions which could neither be gainsayed nor resisted. At the same time, let the chief blame rest where it actually did. Had the King, unmolested, been allowed to pursue his pastime, humanly speaking, there had been no such cruelty as still ensued. But the ecclesiastics, led on at present by *Patrick Hepburn*, the young Prior of St. Andrews, as they were afterwards by David Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, were perpetually insisting that heretical opinions, as they styled them, did not belong to the King's jurisdiction: while, in justice to the Prince himself, there is reason to believe, that he by no means yielded without a struggle, and did actually interfere again and again, *as Ales* has represented. Even after he had fled, there is more than one passage left in "the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer" worthy of remark. Ales, therefore, might well write as he had done, and with considerable hopes of success. The King and the ecclesiastics had formed two parties quite distinguishable in the estimation of many more than the writer of this epistle: but soon after that Ales had done his best in addressing his former benefactor, not only did Cochlaeus follow, but it so happened that an ambassador or legate from the Pontiff had been perambulating the country in company with the King and the Queen Mother. They terminated their journey by visiting St. Andrews, where they were all entertained in style by Beaton and Prior Hepburn. In short, the year 1533 seems to have been about the turning point in James's course and character. He was even now only twenty-one years of age, but in early life, "a stranger to pride, easy of access, and fond of mingling familiarly with all classes of his subjects; with a generosity and warmth of temper, which prompted him, on all occasions, to espouse with enthusiasm the cause of the oppressed;" what wonder that Ales should have so addressed him? The change was most melancholy not only for himself, but his kingdom. The year before this, or 1532, he had been sinking deep into the licentious course which he afterwards pursued, for to this the hierarchy had *no* objection; and now he is giving himself up to the counsel of these unprincipled, and far more licentious, ecclesiastical men.

Before the end of the year 1533, and just as if to confirm every word that Ales had so faithfully written, the second martyrdom took place at St. Andrews, and this also was but a young man. Hamilton's death was sufficient to have roused both priests and canons, which it certainly had done, but the monks had also responded to the call. Seton was the first, Ales was the second, but here was a third, who seems to have been moved by Patrick's earliest exertions on his return from abroad, as well as his subsequent death. *Henry Forrest* of Linlithgow, a Benedictine monk, had contracted such an admiration of Patrick Hamilton as he

could not suppress. He thought that he had been wrongfully put to death, that the articles for which he suffered were not heretical, and might be defended. This much, however, they could not fully establish against him, till they resorted to the same base method which they had pursued with the first martyr; and one Friar Walter Laing was ready to act over again the same part which Campbell had done. Another specific charge however was, that he had in his possession a copy of *the New Testament in English*; now, of course, deemed to be a crime far more heinous after the edict or decree. There must have been considerable hesitation about proceeding to extremity, as Forrest had been for some time kept a close prisoner "in the tower" or castle of St. Andrews; and at last the spot on which he died at the stake, was at once expressive of the truth having extended far beyond the bounds of St. Andrews, and of the fear entertained as to its further progress. "He suffered death," says the manuscript, "at the north church style of the Abbey church of St. Andrew, to the intent that *all the people of Forfar or Angus might see the fire*, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine which they call heresy." On such a mode they had at last ventured, though far from being according to the counsel previously given by one John Lindsay, a man of wit, familiar with the Archbishop. "If you burn any more of them," said he, "take my advice and burn them in cellars; for I assure you that the smoke of Patrick Hamilton has infected all upon whom it blew." The first molestation of Henry Forrest appears to have commenced about the year 1530, but his death cannot be stated earlier than 1533; a circumstance which may account for his martyrdom being ascribed to both years.

Only a very short time, however, now elapsed, before there arrived from abroad an all-sufficient exposure of Cochlaeus, and of other men at home besides the calumniator. The slander and falsehood which had been emitted had, it is probable, not been seen by Ales for some months, but early in 1534 he was ready with his response. It is entitled—"*The answer of Alexander Ales, Scotsman, to the calumnies of Cochlaeus.*" It is addressed to the King as before, and contains the full account of his own personal treatment, besides some valuable particulars with regard to the Scriptures of the New Testament, still read by stealth, and hid with anxious care.

A few passages from this letter will be read with interest:—

"It remains that we say somewhat of the decree by which the *reading of the New Testament in the native language is prohibited*. But I think there is no need of a long oration in a cause which is so plain. What is this new paradox in the Church, that Christians are to be prevented from reading the Sacred Books? God commanded the law to be written on the lintels of the houses, and on the borders of their garments, to be always in view. Cochlaeus orders the Sacred Books to be snatched out of their hands; though by frequent reading the mind be stirred up to the fear of God, to advance faith, to invocation, and to other exercises

of that kind, which, without some meditation on the divine word, cannot exist in the mind.

"In a matter so evident, the unhappy condition of the Church is to be lamented, rather than any long disputation to be kept up. For even if the preachers in the churches taught purely and piously, still the *domestic* exercise of pious minds ought not to be interrupted. In Acts, xvii. chapter, the diligence of those is commended, who, when they heard the Gospel, yet daily searched the Scriptures, that by *their* testimony they might both confirm their faith and excite other spiritual affections. This exercise Cochlaeus derides and prohibits, because he does not understand what power it possesses; or what need there is to brace up weak minds, and, from time to time, to stir them up, by the Word of God.

"But then *domestic reading* is necessary for the instruction of *youth*, because that period of life cannot be sufficiently instructed in public sermons, however good and plain they may be; and yet we see few who accommodate their discourse in sermons to the capacity of a tender age. Domestic study is, therefore, by no means to be abolished, if we would, as we ought, train up children to piety from their tender years. The Sacred history is to be committed to memory—the sayings and the example of Christ are to be inculcated, that they may be in constant view, and that they may be exhorted to faith and good morals. Certain Psalms are also to be proposed, which, through all their life after, they may use in prayer. The Scripture requires this diligence in the *fathers* of families, as when, in Deuteronomy, it so often charges *them* to inculcate the law upon their sons. What do you answer, Cochlaeus, to this argument?—

"The German translation has had this good effect, not only in those countries which openly profess their attachment to the purer doctrine, but even in the rest of Germany, *boys and girls, in almost all the more respectable families read the New Testament, learn Psalms*, and read other useful books upon good morals, and by that discipline are happily trained both to piety and good morals. I have seen these great examples, with pleasure, in many places, which have no business with *Luther*.—And there is greater necessity in Scotland for books written in the vernacular tongue than in Germany; for so great is the darkness among the Scots, that the people reckon it an atonement to repeat the Lord's Prayer in their native tongue, from whence it may be judged how great is the necessity there for books written in the native language.

"Hitherto I have stated of how much importance it is to permit domestic reading, although preachers teach well. And that employment does not at all offend good teachers, so that they greatly encourage the churches to this practice, and so suit their discourses to the capacity of the hearers, that they aid and illustrate this same reading. But what if preachers teach in such a manner, that their hearers are *not* sufficiently instructed in certain things necessary to salvation, except they themselves read the Sacred Books? This is the *very cause* why the Monks struggle so earn-

estly, that *domestic* reading may not be permitted to the people! *Thieves*, as it is said, hate *noise*. For you cannot suppose, most excellent King, that there is any *other* cause why the monks are unwilling that the Sacred Books should be brought out, than that *they fear their errors and abuses should be detected*, if once compared with the Gospel. Craftily concealing this cause, Cochläus scares men from the Sacred Books by this reproach—he pretends that all who relish reading of this kind, favour the Lutherans, and I know not what other factions. You see, most excellent Sovereign, how bitter a calumny this is: for it is beyond a doubt, that both in your kingdom, and many other nations, there are many who, loving the peace of the Church, yet consider this domestic reading necessary, that they may know the power of religion, by examining the fountains of it for themselves; since, upon many important matters, unskilful teachers have not given them proper satisfaction.

“Moreover, how miserable is the state of the Church, when it neither has proper teachers, nor is permitted the use of the Sacred Books! I wish the authors of this decree would consider how much they offend God. They themselves do not teach, nor do they take care that the people are rightly taught, and this negligence occasions abuses not to be endured. To this carelessness, with which God is already greatly displeased, they now add the decree by which they forbid the reading of the Gospel. The patience of God is indeed too much tried: but I wish not longer to deplore these things, though I can scarcely restrain my grief. For although my *former* letter made very few complaints, yet Cochläus reproaches me because I wrote these things, as incensed with hatred of the Bishops; but I neither hate them, nor any order in the Church. At the same time, I cannot help being grieved, when I consider with what horrible darkness Christian doctrine lies buried; what torture distresses pious minds, who by force are compelled to attend impious observances. This just grief of mine, which *I know to be common to me, with many devout men*, Cochläus slanderously interprets to be hatred.”

Having deprecated the excess of authority, whether in Prelates or the Pontiff himself; praised the all-sufficiency of the Divine Word, and its infinite superiority above all collects and manuals and breviaries; he asserts that Cochläus had brought forward all his calumnies with a design “to frighten not the common people only, but you also, most excellent King, from the sacred books. There is no need to refute them all. To them all we oppose one sentence of Paul—‘*All Scripture, divinely inspired, is profitable for teaching, &c.. that a man may be perfect and furnished to every good work.*’”—

“Since Paul confessed himself to be a debtor both to Greeks and Barbarians, to the wise and to the unwise, without doubt he adapted himself to the capacity of either description. But this I will grant to Cochläus, that nowhere in Scripture are praised, the hypocrisy of the Monks, *their cowls, their wooden shoes, the*

*masses for the dead, and other such things of recent invention.* On this account they fear the Scriptures should be read, lest people begin to despise those splendid works, which delight so many idle and unlearned Mass Priests and Monks.

"Scripture proposes to us great and honourable works for all ranks of life, useful for assisting and protecting the society of human kind. It teaches nothing respecting those trifles which the monks *sell* under the most specious pretences. For this cause they do not wish the Gospel to shine forth, as they are afraid both for their *character* and their KITCHEN. Therefore, we must explode those calumnies, unbecoming for Christian ears, by which the authority of Scripture is weakened, and good people are scared from reading it. *If any one bring a dutiful mind, let him understand, that not only in the greatness, and the sweetness of the subjects which the Scriptures teach, but also in perspicuity, they far excel the rhapsodies of modern divines.*

*"Such is the force and power of their sentences, that they inflame the readers more than frigid disputations, and leave in their minds stings more poignant than even of itself could the thunder and lightning eloquence of Pericles. As for myself, this experience frequently accrues, so that when I read over again passages, however well-known. I return to the reading as if they were quite new. For either the signification is made more plain, and some consideration which I had not before regarded, or I carry away some pious emotion. For the Holy Spirit commands our minds to be stirred up by the handling of the Word of God, as Paul saith. Be filled with the Spirit, speaking to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs."*

"I have now spoken to the cause, concerning the decree, and have refuted the principal cavils of Cochleus; for it were tedious to refute them all, nor is there any necessity for it. Nothing, therefore, remains, except, perhaps, that testimonies are expected from me: but I have already related some opinions which commend to us the study of the Word of God, and particularly the *domestic use*.—Paul commands us, as standing in battle array, always to be fortified and armed by the Gospel, to ward off the fiery darts of the devil. Peter commands us to behave ourselves, so that we may be able to render a *reason* for our faith. That we may acquire a substantial knowledge of the Gospel, some domestic exercise is necessary both for ourselves, but especially for the young people; but what of this can there be at home, if books be wanting? David, describing the happy man, says—'*His delight is in the law of the Lord, and in his law doth he meditate day and night.*' But what meditation can there be, if books are taken away by force from the people?"

He then concludes—

"Most excellent king, I again beseech you, for Christ's sake, that you would not sanction that Decree about forbidding books; that you would not, by your authority, strengthen and assist the sycophants and hypocrites, who, on account of their own lusts,



cannot bear the light of the Gospel ; and carry on everywhere a horrible warfare against those who are pious, and who desire to shew forth the glory of Christ. They are not all turbulent and seditious who love the purer doctrine. I have treated more briefly of these matters than their importance demands, and therefore oblige myself to render a reason of my faith more fully, whenever you command me. I cannot now longer debate with Cochlaeus, though I should have been ashamed in a better cause, not to have spoken better than him. But I commend myself to your clemency, and wish that God may guide your mind to the glory of Christ, to your own salvation, and to that of the Church."

Naturally impetuous, and delighting in war, Cochlaeus was now in a perfect rage, and though evidently confounded by the talent displayed against him, as he could, at any moment, make lies his refuge, he lost no time in replying to Ales, by again addressing the King. He commences with one of his bold shifts or assumptions, which he reiterates as a fact throughout his quarto pamphlet. It was no less than this, that Ales was not the author, either of the *Epistle* or the *Response* ! He now ascribes the whole to no other than PHILIP MELANCTHON ; a very plain proof of the ability displayed, and an unwitting eulogy upon our Scottish exile, then, and even still, so little known.

But at this juncture, the flames of persecution are kindled for the third time. The martyrdom of last year confirmed the *Epistle* of Ales ; those of this year his *Response*. The flames had hitherto blazed at St. Andrews ; now, for the *first* time, they had done so at Edinburgh. Those of the year 1533, in effect, told us that the truth was extending beyond the boundaries of the metropolitan city ; and we shall now have proof, by the flames of 1534, that it had reached far beyond those of the capital. The former were kindled, to be seen at a distance, as a terror to the people of *Angus* ; those of this year, so as to be seen by the inhabitants of *Fife*. One martyr at a time had served hitherto, but now two men were consumed at the same stake, on the afternoon of Thursday the 27th of August 1534. There were two, also, out of a nameless number, who had been summoned, from various quarters ; and, as if the death of the *proto-martyr*, so lamented by Ales and many others, was now to be followed up, and the family exterminated, his brother and sister had been ordered to appear. In short, here was a band of selected witnesses ; and unquestionably we are to regard them as the representatives of many other individuals, not only in Angus and Fife, Clackmannan, and Linlithgow-shires, but in Edinburgh and Leith.

On Tuesday the 7th of July, Parliament had met at Edinburgh, and by Wednesday the 26th of August, an ecclesiastical court, of unwonted solemnity, assembled in the Abbey of Holyrood. The infatuated young King, in the face of repeated warning and entreaty, from an Exile whom he had once rescued out of the paws of the persecutor, was now about to take his first ominous step. To lend greater importance to this occasion, he had agreed to pre-

side, and clothed in scarlet; the judicial Scottish dress in matters of life and death, down to the present day. A number of persons had been summoned, and among them there appears to have been more than the following—

Belonging to *Edinburgh*—Mr. William Johnstone, Advocate, Mr. Henry Henderson, Master of the Grammar School; but the “*Diurnal*” adds, “with sundry others, baith men and women in *Edinburgh*.” From *Leith*—Henry Cairns, Skipper, Adam Dayes or Deir, Shipwright, John Stewart, indweller, and a married woman. From *St. Andrews*, Gavin Logie, John Fife, John McAlpine, ——— McDougal. From *Angus-shire*—Mr. David Stratoun. From *Linlithgow-shire*—Sir James Hamilton, the hereditary Sheriff, and Katharine Hamilton, his sister, besides Norman Gourlay and William Kirk, two priests, whose residence is not mentioned by any historian. With the exception of Hamilton and his sister, all these were disposed of before the Court rose. Several had already fled, and others abjured; but *Mr. David Stratoun* or *Straiton* and *Norman Gourlay* were reserved for execution.

The martyrdom itself took place next day. Of Gourlay we know nothing more than that he was a man of “reasonable erudition,” having been abroad. He said there was no such state as purgatory, denied the authority of the Pontiff in Scotland, but he had also married a wife, and this was an unpardonable crime. Mr. Straiton’s was a far more interesting case. He was a gentleman of landed property at the confluence of the North Esk with the sea, in the parish of Ecclesgreig, (*Ecclesia Gregorii*.) now called St. Cyrus, in the shire of Angus. His property included the seat of a productive fishery; and whether one refers to the present proprietor of the soil, to the present fishermen of Milton, or to the limestone quarrymen there, in the history of their predecessors above three hundred years ago, they have not a more interesting subject for remembrance than the present. Laurieston Castle, built in the tenth century, where Straiton was born, and part of which still remains, had, before and after his day, continued in the same family for four hundred years. The martyr appears to have been brother to the last laird or baron of Laurieston, and uncle to the present, then a young man. The Straitons, for several generations, were equally distinguished for stature and strength, and the martyr’s temper had once been both rough and imperious. In former days, he had resolutely resisted one *tythe* claimed by the vicar, Robert Lawson of Ecclesgreig; who exacted the *tenth fish* from those which his servants had taken out at sea. Straiton had said, “if he would have them, he must go and take them where the stock was taken;” and this had given great offence. “Before,” says Calderwood, “he had been very stubborn, and despised all reading, specially of good purposes; now he delighted in nothing *but* reading, although he could *not* read himself, and exhorted every man to peace and concord, and contempt of the world. He frequented much the company of *John Erskine*, Laird of Dun,” (the Provost of Montrose, who had recently re-

turned from the Continent) “a man marvelously enlightened in respect of these times.” One day “when the Laird of Lamrieston, being then a young man, was reading to our martyr *the New Testament* (so much hated by many,) he chanced to read this sentence of our Master—‘*he that denieth me before men, I will deny him in the presence of my Father and before his angels.*’ At these words, as one revived, he suddenly cast himself upon his knees, extending his hands, and looking constantly with his visage to the heavens a reasonable time, he burst forth at length in these words—‘O Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou abstract thy grace from me; but, Lord, for thy mercies’ sake, let me never deny Thee, nor thy truth, for fear of death, or bodily pain!’”

It becomes evident, that Straiton was fully prepared for such a time as the present. When brought before the King, on the 26th, great pains were taken to move him, and procure his recantation; but all efforts failing, he was adjudged to the fire. He then applied to his Highness, but the Bishops answered, proudly, that “the King’s hands were bound, and that *he* had no grace to give to such as were by law condemned.” It was after dinner next day that Mr. Straiton and his companion Gourlay were led forth to death. The spot was evidently chosen for *effect* whether near or afar off, on the northern brow of the Calton hill, above the rood or cross at Greenside. The stake was planted so far up the hill as that not only the surrounding crowd from the city, whether below or above, might see; but “to the intent,” says Calderwood, “that the inhabitants of *Edinb.*, seeing the fire, might be stricken with terror and fear, not to fall into the like.”

Not satisfied with these flames, the ecclesiastics, with the King at their head, assembled at Holyrood once more, on the 28th or next day, and, by way of conclusion to this headstrong burst of cruelty, brought forward the persons of highest rank—Sir James Hamilton and his sister, both of whom were related to the King. By advice of his Highness, however, the former had fled, so that the scene closed with the appearance of the lady, his sister. The Bishops gathering courage by their progress, neither her rank or sex could shield her. Mr. John Speers of Condy, the lawyer, and future King’s Advocate, or one of the men who had sat in judgment on her brother Patrick in 1528, held a long discourse respecting *works*, telling her there were divers sorts; “works of *congruity* and works of *condignity*.” Katharine, disturbed with the length and nicety of the argument, at last out of all patience, cried out before them all, the King also sitting by—“Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no works can save me, but *the works of Christ my Saviour.*” His Highness, amused with the very brief manner in which she had disposed of the lawyer’s tedious harangue, interposed, and saved her from death.

The visible and decided progress of Divine Truth is, however, to be observed, not only in those who suffered, but in the character

and station of those who had fled. The teacher of the grammar-school, and the advocate, Johnstone of Edinburgh, must have been men of some talent and influence. The former died in England. His house forfeited, was given to James Bannatyne, W. S. The property of the latter, also falling to the King, was sold for a trifling consideration, chiefly to Reid, abbot of Kinloss, afterwards President of the Court of Sessions, and Bishop of Orkney, and partly to another individual. Johnstone, however, returned some years after, when he was permitted to live in a single chamber of that house which had been once his own; though, at his death, his body was not allowed to be interred in any churchyard! The refugees from St. Andrews, the former associates of ALES, were among the most eminent for literature then in the country; and they prove that the disciples of "the new learning," far from being *weak* men, as some one has grossly asserted, were duly appreciated elsewhere.

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## SECTION IV.

FROM 1535 TO 1537—STATE OF SCOTLAND—PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF THE PRELATES—AGITATION—READING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT FORBIDDEN BY PROCLAMATION—PROGRESS OF THE CAUSE.

IN the course of our English history, these three years, from 1535 to 1537, abounded with interesting details, as including the year before and after Tyndale's martyrdom; the first being that of his imprisonment, the second that of his death, and the third so distinguished for the arrival of his Bible in London. On returning to Scotland, the interest is deepened. We there discover throughout, increasing alarm at the progress of "the new learning," and determined opposition to the Sacred Volume, as translated by Tyndale, and already so powerfully enforced by Ales.

ALES had three children, a son and two daughters. One only of the latter survived him. For his son, who expired at Leipsic, parental affection found a stone and inscription to mark his grave: but as for the father, his ashes lie—no *marble* tells us where! But ALEXANDER ALES was not a character to be consigned by history to oblivion for three hundred years. The first man in Scotland, nay, and, next to Tyndale and Fryth themselves, the first in Britain, who, in her highest places, plead so boldly and so well for the all-sufficiency and supreme authority of Scripture. The first in Scotland who argued so earnestly for the perusal of the Sacred Volume at every *household fire* within her shores; and therefore the man who struck the first note in giving a tone to that character for which she has since been known, and often commended. The people of North Britain assuredly have no occasion to feel ashamed of this early native of their capital—the

convert of her first martyr—the student and the prisoner of St. Andrews—the friend of Melancthon, and the Professor at Leipsic. Had his countrymen only known him before, some stone of remembrance might have been found even in Germany; but the memorial of his birth and death ought to have been in *Edinburgh*. There, in reference to the cause he advocated no inappropriate emblem would have been, *a Father and his Child reading the same Sacred Volume*, and, for a motto, in remembrance of his position at the moment, perhaps his own memorable quotation of the Athenian—“*STRIKE, BUT HEAR ME.*”

Yet although the memory of Tyndale, as well as Ales, has been allowed to sleep almost in oblivion throughout their native land, it would be unjust to Scotland entirely to forget the grateful recollections, and in Latin verse, of one man, who flourished in the sixteenth century, and died as early as October 1612. JOHN JOHNSTON, the intimate friend and colleague of Andrew Melville—a classical scholar, and Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews in 1593, amidst his eulogies on other men, appreciated the efforts of Ales, and assigned to the labors of Tyndale their own appropriate place. His tribute to the memory of *Ales*, whom he associates with Machabæus, is well known, as inserted in the Appendix to McCrie's Life of Knox; but as the lines on TYNDALE, *The Ezra of BRITAIN*, have never been printed, we subjoin a copy, taken from the Manuscript in the Advocate's Library. The labors and martyrdom of our Translator he first briefly records, to which Johnston then adds his own high and heartfelt acknowledgments—

“ Ille Dei vates sacer, Esdras ille Britannus,  
Fida manus sacri fidaque mens Codicis,  
Trans Sacras qui duxit opes Sermone Britanno;  
Quique nova inlustrans, quique vetusta dedit,  
Incedens veterum nova per vestigia vatum,  
Occidit, externis victima sacra focis:  
Scilicet innumeris meritis hoc defuit unum,  
Vatibus ut priscis par sit honore novo.”

We now return to the noble warfare in which Ales so ably, and without compromise, had led the van. We have seen the state of Scotland and England at the close of 1534; nor in 1535, while Tyndale lay in prison, as ardent and busy as circumstances would admit, was there any change in favor of the Scriptures in either government. As nations, far from being on sound terms with each other, they were firmly united in hostility to the Word of God; while in reference to Scotland, the cruelties of last year seem to have only strengthened the determination to *obtain* the Sacred Volume. The hollow device of representing the English New Testament to be the production of Luther or his disciples, which Cochlaeus had done all in his power to promulgate, continued to be fostered by the priests for years to come: but by this year it must have been well known, both by friends and foes in Scotland, that *Tyndale* was the author.

Meanwhile, the alarm of the Scottish government shows that books were still coming into the country. The Act of Parliament in 1525, against all importation by strangers, had been strengthened in 1527, so as to apply to the *native* importers; but by the language of Ales, it seems as if there had actually been attempts at *selling* the New Testament in *book-shops*; and certainly if the Act was *now* to be repeated, and with greater severity, it lends countenance to all his remonstrances. Parliament, at all events, opening in the summer of 1535, and on the 8th of June, farther degraded itself by not only repeating the Act, but now *all* persons *having* any such books, were commanded to *deliver them up* to their Ordinary within forty days, under the penalty of confiscation and imprisonment. As a decided evidence of no small progress made, even "*discussion of opinions*" was now sternly prohibited by the Parliament! Happily, however, there was an exception, or, as some would say, a flaw in the act, as there has often been since, in many such feats of human legislation. An exception was made in favor of *clerks in the schools*, who *might* read, in order to refute. The consequence was, that a number of these clerks, by reading and discussion, sincerely embraced the same sentiments, or the *reverse* of those which were intended by the indulgence.

In the year 1536, with regard to the Scottish monarch himself, now sinking under the power of licentious habits, and to which the clergy offered no objection, his situation was one which might well excite pity. The language of Ales has clearly shown, that, as a youth, there were generous and humane feelings within him; and the banishment of the Douglas family, with Angus at their head, was owing to a burst of emotion perfectly natural. But now the King was beset by no less than three parties. The family of Angus, though not in Scotland, were ever on the watch, having sold themselves to England. James, still unmarried, and without a direct heir, had the Hamiltons near him, not without an eye to the throne; while, as the clergy's kingdom of this world seemed to be in danger, the *guidance* of the monarch had become, with them, a subject of supreme and intense interest. The erratic course of the king's uncle, Henry VIII., had also raised Scotland in the scale of importance in the eye of Rome; so that, in conjunction with the hierarchy, James, being the man he was, had no chance of escape from vexatious thralldom.

*In May 1535, the reading of the Sacred Volume in the vulgar tongue was publicly prohibited.* Lord Howard and Barlow, in their joint letter of the 13th, give this information—

"Though we have not brought to such final pass the contents of our instructions, according as we had confidence, to the King's Highness' pleasure, yet there wanted in us no diligent endeavour, which nevertheless is not so in vain, but that we have necessarily tried out the Scottish dissembling mutability; which known and mistrusted, can do little displeasure, whereas their feigned untrusty amity intendeth us no farther pleasure but their own profit:

except hereafter God give them a more faithful heart, grounded on knowledge of his Word, *which, to be read in their vulgar tongue, is lately prohibited, by open proclamation.*"

Now, in our English history we have already always found, that every such measure as this, within the country, was only indicative of still greater pressure from without, and so it must have been in Scotland. Thus, then, *before Tyndale expired*, so powerful had his exertions proved, that his translation had been publicly denounced by the authorities in the north, as well as in the south; while all the time it was making its way, in unknown directions, and in both countries.

But why, it may now, with all propriety, be inquired, should William Barlow, perhaps inflated by his elevation, assume so high a tone, at this early day? Was he not himself a prior still, and why then, thus hastily, be so severe on the clergy? Was it to please Crumwell and the King? Why then use language actually at the expense of *both*, as well as of all the English *Bishops*, of whom Barlow was now one? Did the whole of this talk, so far as it concerned the *Scriptures*, carry very much the appearance of a farce on both sides? So it should seem; for why molest James V. about the Scriptures at present? In April and May 1536, what had Henry VIII.? What had Crumwell, though Vicar-General? What had the Bench of Bishops there yet *done*, in reference to the Sacred Volume in the vulgar tongue? Had they yet found a translation and agreed respecting it, and made open proclamation that all might read, believe, and live? Nothing of the kind. On the contrary, Henry and his authorities had been fighting against it exactly ten years! And what was the English government doing at the moment? Were its members not in the guilty act of leaving the translator to perish, without one solitary or solemn remonstrance from either the King or Crumwell, to whom earnest application had been made, and by no common man? Nay more, at the moment when Howard, the brother of the Duke of Norfolk, and Barlow were thus writing their joint letter, in what a shameful and bloody tragedy, in reference to Anne Boleyn, the King and Crumwell, and all around them were engrossed, we need not repeat.

Barlow remained behind Howard for ten days longer, when he signified that it would be "no more displeasing for him to depart, than it was for Lot to pass out of Sodom!" But he was *not* aware of Latimer being in the very act of preparing his Latin sermon for the prelates then occupying the English bench; and in which they were to have small credit over the Bishops whom Barlow had left behind him. He could *not* be aware that Fox of Hereford was about to tell his brethren that they were "in danger of being laughed to scorn by the common people, (who knew more of the Scriptures than they did,) as having not one spark of learning or godliness within them." Above all, he had not anticipated that a native of that same Edinburgh was on the point of adjusting the balance more correctly between the English and the Scottish

bench, when he put Stokesly the Bishop of London in a rage; though simply, yet boldly, pleading for no more than the authority and all-sufficiency of *Scripture*; when Cranmer himself was afraid to let him go on, and fight the battle out; or in other words, when the Archbishop of Canterbury would discover as much timidity as the Archbishop of Cologne had done, and before the *same* man! These equal reminiscences are imperatively due to the present history. They show how hostile the men, called ecclesiastical, in *either* country were, and at the same moment, to the highest favor which Heaven had ever bestowed on them both. It was certainly too soon for any such men to throw a snow-ball at their next neighbors, while "*the lay people*" in Scotland, as well as England, were alike so far ahead of them. Barlow, however, had now set out on his hunt after *preferment*, and a more dangerous course it is not possible for a man to pursue. Whether it was in reward of his services, or in preparation for the noted Convocation about to be held in June; even before he left Scotland, he was translated to St. David's, in which character he sat, and heard all that we have hinted, as in preparation for him. What must Barlow have thought or felt, when he saw a native of Edinburgh so encounter his brethren, and try their temper? But, at all events, we are indebted to him for the information he has given us, respecting those lay people in the north, for whom Ales had already so powerfully plead.

Under the influence of his ecclesiastical advisers, James was now bent on a matrimonial alliance with France. A regency was appointed, of which James Beaton was the head; and taking his nephew, the Abbot of Arbroath, with certain noblemen in his train, he left the kingdom in September, and after an absence of fully eight months, returned with a queen for his royal master, an accomplished princess, Madeleine, the only daughter of Francis I.

During the absence of his nephew from Scotland, Henry VIII., ever intriguing, had sent down Ralph Sadler, to his sister, the Queen-Mother, as early as February; and from thence he proceeded with instructions to King James himself at Amiens in March, professedly in reference to his mother, Henry's sister. The visit, in both instances, no doubt, had a double object in view: and hence the Scottish King was scarcely landed, with his bride, on the 19th of May 1537, than Sadler was down once more, charged with long and particular instructions. Henry, understanding that the gentlemen of "the old learning" were very much alike everywhere, and judging also by those who stood round his own person to the end of his life, again must this ambassador whisper, in the ear of James, his uncle's saying in reference to the clergy.

They were, "commonly held by the affection they have to their maintenance, and to their authority in pomp and pride." If Sadler actually went as far as his Master instructed him, he was to say that James was "not to think of himself, as perchance some of his clergy would have him to be, *as brute as a stock*, or to mis-



trust that his wits, which he had received of God, be not able to perceive Christ's word, which his grace has left us, common to be understood by all Christian men." Henry farther advised his nephew to try these clergy "by their works and deeds"—for "that would induce him to lean to the pure word of God, and to pass light upon dreams of men abused by superstition, to *blind* princes, and other persons of much simplicity." Sadler was then to pray Henry's good nephew "not to conceive any evil opinion of his uncle, from false and lying reports, only because his Highness, sticking to the word of God, had abolished certain Roman abuses and superstitions in his realm:" with many other such words.

The entire document is in perfect keeping with the deep hypocrisy of Henry's character; but if this was a specimen of his policy, not to say the refinement of his language, it was not likely to have much effect on such a Prince as James, at the age of twenty-six, recently married to the only daughter of the French monarch; and immediately after he had been accustomed, for so many months, to a very different style of address. Henry's nephew was not now to be rated like a school-boy, and Sadler, of course, had to return as he came. In pursuance of the same policy, he had brought a present of £200, by way of fee, to the Queen-Mother, and she, as in duty bound, acknowledges receipt, to her brother, in June, when she trusts that the King, her son, is sending to him David Beaton. She prays him to talk kindly with the Abbot, as he was a great man with his master.

The young Queen, however, had but a short time to live, having indeed been ill of consumption before her marriage. Upon landing at Leith, she had "knelt upon the beach," says Mr. Tytler, "and taking up some portion of the sand, kissed it with deep emotion, whilst she implored a blessing upon her new country, and her beloved husband." It says much for her character that in so short a period she had so endeared herself to all classes; as within fifty days after her arrival she expired. The deep regret of many was shown by their putting on mourning, a custom, till then, altogether unknown in Scotland. James, however, recovering from this shock, retained his purpose of sending Beaton to England. In the month of August we find him as far as Stamford, there soliciting an audience, through Crumwell, with the King, then at Dunstable. He had gone, no doubt, as an *espial*, rather than an ambassador, in return for the visit of Sadler in James's absence. But there could be no cordiality between the countries at this moment. On the contrary, the life of James had been twice threatened by secret conspiracy, through the intrigues of the Douglas family, who were living under Henry's protection. The clergy will continue to advise or promote alliance with France.

## SECTION V.

FROM 1538 TO 1542—BEATON A CARDINAL, AND PERSECUTION REVIVED—THE MARTYRDOMS OF 1538—THE CAUSE OF ALL THE TUMULT IN OPPOSITION TRACED TO THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE NATIVE TONGUE—ANOTHER MARTYRDOM—MEN ESCAPING—DEATH OF THE KING, JAMES V.

THROUGHOUT these five years ensuing, or from 1538 to 1542 inclusive, just as though it had been intended by divine providence to be the more observed by the people as such, and at all events by posterity, the only cause that looked upward, was that which was most hated; the only progress towards improvement, in any department, was in that of Divine truth. At the close of this period the King is to die, and even now, whether in relation to himself or the country at large, every movement was from bad to worse. All things went the downward road.

In justice, however, to James V., it must be remembered that he was called to contend with more than Henry VIII. ever had to encounter. The English Barons had been brought low by Henry VII. before his son came to the throne; but in Scotland, although in 1513 the "Flowers of the Forest" had died away, another race had sprung up since then. The clergy, too, had a David Beaton among them, as licentious and ambitious as WOLSEY himself, and far more unrelenting in his dispositions than the English cardinal ever was. Besides, James, younger than the English King when he came to the throne, had been watched and swayed by interested parties from childhood; so that having to cope with the Barons as well as the Clergy, it discovered no small force of character, that he proved so much of a sovereign as he did. In early life, amiable in his dispositions, he had evidently endeared himself to the people of his kingdom; and afterwards, in being dragged into such cruelties by these ecclesiastics, it only shows to what fearful extent a man may go, whether from profligacy or mistaken political motives. In short, among all these public men, the King is the solitary individual who draws on our pity. At one moment indeed, he will be seen to sink himself to the lowest depth, by compliance with his bishops, in the burning of his subjects for their attachment to divine truth; but before a year goes round, we shall not only see him sit for hours, and hear the ecclesiastical order lashed with the severest satire for their vices; but he will turn round afterwards, and acquiescing in the justice of the exhibition, rate the whole *order* severely to their faces, as the root of all evil. Both Henry and James vainly imagined that they themselves might live as they listed, though neither of them were blind to the scandalous lives of the priests and their superiors.

But to proceed, David Beaton having gone to France once more and to negotiate for another Queen, returned in May 1538, (only ten months after the death of Madeleine) with a woman of a widely

different character—MARY of GUISE—an alliance perfectly agreeable to the clergy, though ere long to prove most injurious to the best interests of the country. Beaton, like Wolsey in past years, looking out for his own advancement by the way, had contrived to be made Bishop of Mirepoix in Languedoc, with not less than ten thousand livres of annual revenue; and though not yet a bishop in his own country, his French appointment will strengthen the ladder to higher promotion. Sharpened, no doubt, by his visit to England last year, and having now furnished so trusty a check-mate for his Sovereign, no time was to be lost in proceeding against all the insinuations of his uncle, by strengthening his own personal authority through the court of Rome. He was indeed, as yet, nothing more than an Abbot in Scotland; but with his French see in addition, Beaton had applied to the Pontiff for one of his highest honors. Of course this was represented as by no means on his own account, but merely for the benefit of the kirk, and to meet the signs of the times. This, however, was no usual demand, no common step to advance, yet, through the vigilance of his agent in Italy, the able and aspiring Abbot succeeded, and was actually raised, by Paul III., to the powers of a Cardinal, on the 20th of December 1538.

Throughout the year 1538, the new learning having made very manifest progress, the disposition to persecute was about to be fully gratified. The secret of Beaton's zeal for power could not long remain hid, and since James was both so married, and too far gone to profit by any warning; his character as a man must "smart for it," as Henry, his uncle, had predicted. Nothing improved by his former visit to France, gay, licentious and thoughtless, James was as much in want of money as his uncle always was, and money he must have. In younger life he had shrunk from the shedding of blood, but now, in order to beguile him from an eye to clerical wealth and the accumulated treasures of the monasteries, the property of all who should either *die* for their opinions, or *abjure*, was held out as the base incitement to the enslaved and infatuated monarch. If, therefore, among the subjects of James there were those who would "take joyfully the spoiling of their goods, knowing that they had in heaven a better and an enduring substance," and if their attachment to the word of God, as such, should thus become apparent, a better evidence of progress made could not be wished. At the same time, the course about to be pursued by the enemy, is worthy of notice, on another account. It was the choice plan of Stephen Gardiner in England to hunt after such as he styled "the head deer;" and as the persecutor in Scotland is about to not merely gratify his own malice, but supply the King's necessities; the *poor* believer, who had nothing to forfeit or leave behind him, not being a subject suitable to the miserable end in view, must have been, most providentially, passed over. The *poor*, often the richest in faith, were below notice, merely because not worth the trouble and expense.

Before however noticing any instances of persecution, it must

be remembered that "*the New Testament in the vulgar tongue*," had been pointed out since May 1536 by public proclamation. There may have been some other English books suspected of heresy already in Scotland, but even still, no *other* book is expressly named. The presumption therefore is, that in all these proceedings, the *Scriptures* chiefly, if not solely, were now aimed at, and all opinions grounded on the Sacred Volume.

It was in the very month in which Beaton was made a Cardinal at Rome, that the persecution in Scotland had already revived. No one had suffered death since August 1534; but after four years had elapsed, an early, if not the first arrest, afforded rather a curious illustration of blind fury.

Martin Balkesky, a burghess of Edinburgh, had been thrown into confinement in the Castle, as early as December 1538, for "breaking our Sovereign Lord's proclamation against using and having such *books* as are prohibited by Parliament." He first complained therefore to the King, who referred him to Beaton, only a few days before he was made a Cardinal, or about a month before he could hear of the appointment. Beaton, still only an Abbot, but Coadjutor of St. Andrews, referred the burghess to the Lords of the Privy Council. Balkesky then supplicated them, and they promised enlargement, on condition of his finding caution to the Justice-Clerk, Thomas Scott of Pitgorno. The caution he demanded was not less than a *thousand* pounds. On the 23th of February, the very day before a dreadful martyrdom, which Balkesky may have witnessed from the Castle, the caution was found and offered; but now not satisfied, on the 7th of March, Sir John Campbell of Calder, Archibald Williamson, burghess of Edinburgh, and Robert Hoppringill, burghess of Peebles, had to become sureties for *two thousand* pounds more, that the prisoner should "abide the King's Grace's pleasure and will;" no slender proof that they had already got one substantial citizen by the hand. Only five days elapsed, however, when they were obliged to let him go, "remitting to him the escheat of *all* his goods, &c. for having and using certain *English* heretical books." A letter of remission was granted to him on the 12th of March; his professed defence being, that he had merely refused to deliver up his *Matin-book* to the official of Lothian at his first command."

But if this proved a blank, they had caught a richer prize in the person of Walter Stewart, son of Lord Ochiltree. He was fined in his whole estates, or possessions moveable and immoveable, "by reason that the said Walter was abjured of heresy."

Beaton, however, once a Cardinal, there was no farther occasion for troubling either the Lords of the Privy Council, or those of the Justiciary. Wherever his cross was borne before him, there he reigned as lord paramount over the conscience, and other gentlemen will not *now* so easily escape. By the 10th of January, 1539, we find Robert Forrester, brother to the Laird of Arngibbon, William Forrester, son of John, burghess of Stirling, Walter Cousland, David Graham, and James Watson, all of Stirling, were seized for

*books*, suspected to be heretical; "for breaking his Highness' proclamation in having and using such books as are suspected of heresy, and *are prohibited by the Kirk*." Observe the altered phraseology, or how soon and slyly they were interposing their own authority. The caution at once exacted from these parties amounted to no less than 3100 marks, so that the entire property must have been considerable. The first gentlemen, we shall find die at the stake; the second and third, as well as another, a burgess of Edinburgh, Robert Cant, were all entirely forfeited in March. Similar forfeitures extended to Perth, as well as to Sterling, where John Stewart, son to Henry, Lord Methven was among the number; and so far as the seizure of property was concerned, the persecution lay very heavy upon Dundee.

Two parties had now fully engrossed the mind of Beaton, namely, the Kirk and the King. The former was to be defended by fire, the latter to be cajoled by fines; and this month of March served to unfold his character, as equally busy in both departments. The most fearful week was the first in this month, and Saturday the 1st its most shocking day. The country hitherto had witnessed no scene so outrageous. The trial, such as it was, and the sentence to death being all overtaken before the sun went down, it must have been intended to strike with terror, not Edinburgh alone, but every other place. Not fewer than five different men appeared; John Keillor and John Beveridge, two Benedictine monks or Blackfriars, not improbably from the same monastery in Edinburgh where Prior Buckingham had lodged till 1535, when he set off to the persecution of Tyndale; *Sir* Duncan Simpson, so called as being a priest, from Stirling; Mr. Robert Forrester, notary, a gentleman of the same place; and last, though not least, a Dean of the Kirk, Thomas Forret, canon regular in the Monastery of St. Cohn's Inch, and Vicar of Dollar. Having been summoned before Beaton and Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, men equally notorious for licentious habits, and bigoted attachment to their system, no mercy was in store for any of the five, while the last was treated with characteristic reproach and barbarity. The trial soon over, the fire was prepared on the esplanade of the Castle, visible at once far and near, to two counties, Mid-Lothian and Fife.

The King, too, must proceed one step farther on the present occasion. In 1531 he had presided in a *red* dress at the trial of Straiton, but his authority on the bench was now *not* consulted. It had, in fact, been superseded by that of this Cardinal, but still his Majesty must sanction all. He must follow the footsteps of his father-in-law Francis I., in 1535, and himself be present to see the red flames on the Castlehill, when five of his best subjects were consumed to ashes before his eyes, on the 1st of March 1539.

Not satisfied with this horrible scene, Beaton must look westward, where it seems to have been resolved there should be another martyrdom by way of terror. Two individuals having been apprehended in the diocese of Glasgow; *Jerome Russel*, a Fran-

ciscan or Greyfriar, and a young man, *Ninian Kennedy*, only eighteen, of good education, and possessing "an excellent ingyne (genius) for Scottish poetry;" they were immediately brought to trial. This myrmidon of Beaton's, John Lauder, and two other willing agents, Mr. Andrew Oliphant, as notary, and one Friar Mertman, were sent off to Glasgow in commission, to assist, or rather secure success. The Archbishop, not so bloodily inclined, hesitated. "I think it better to spare these men," said he, "than to put them to death." "What will ye do, my Lord?" said the commission from Edinburgh. "Will ye condemn all that my Lord Cardinal, other Bishops, and we have done? If so, ye do shew yourself enemy to the Church and us, and so we will report you, be assured!" Dunbar became afraid, having no relish for coming into collision with this new-made Cardinal. The King had conceded his *own* authority, and his Lord Chancellor now as meanly followed! Adjudging both the martyrs to death, they died in triumph. In addition to these tragedies there was a third, at Cupar in Fife, in order to awe that part of the country, where, by the Lord Treasurer's Accounts, one man, not named, also suffered at the stake.

During a season of confiscation and murder such as this, the victims pillaged must have been numerous; we could name more than we have mentioned, and it is manifest, that they were not only men of intelligence, but of considerable substance. But among those in imminent danger at this moment, there was one, the most eminent scholar of his age. We need scarcely name *George Buchanan*. His *Somnium* or Dream, his satire *Palinodia*, as well as his *Franciscanus*, all of which had been so deeply resented by the whole fraternity of "the old learning," rendered him the most desirable of all victims, and he was actually in close custody at St. Andrews. The Cardinal, it is said, offered the King a sum of money as the price of his blood. Once apprised of this, Buchanan made his escape from the window of his prison, through England into France, and before the close of this year he had been chosen Latin Professor in the College of Guienne, Bourdeaux. But besides him, in the course of this month of *March*, many others had fled. The fires had produced their desired consternation. Thus, if we look to Berwick alone, as already quoted under our English history, on the 29th of that month, the Duke of Norfolk informs Crumwell—"Daily cometh unto me some *Gentlemen* and some *CLERKS* (priests) which do flee out of Scotland, as they say for *reading of Scripture in English*, saying that if they were taken they should be put to execution. I gave them gentle words, and to some, money." So did this determined enemy of the Sacred Volume in English write, and act, at the moment, merely from vile political motives. But the enemy himself has often, throughout, corroborated the truth of this history.

Such, then, was the result of the influence and title, newly imported from Italy, but at the same time the storm has again cleared the moral atmosphere, giving decided proof that a great and un-

wonted power had been introduced into Scotland. In other words, we have before us the veritable progress of all the Scriptural Christianity which has been in the country ever since; and however feeble and unpretending in its commencement, the work, since 1526, was now of thirteen years' standing.

The reign of discord between England and Scotland commenced, and open violence, between parties on the borders, was but the precursor of other quarrels. In the midst of his quarrel with Henry a slow fever consumed him, and he sunk into a state of distraction, accompanied by the deepest melancholy. The Queen at Lithgow was on the point of being confined, and if a son were born, it was hoped that this might rouse the father. On the 7th of December, she was delivered of a daughter—"Mary, Queen of Scots"—but the intelligence had the opposite effect from that which had been anticipated. Referring to his kingdom, said the dying man—"It came with a girl, and it will go with a girl." Then giving his hand to those near him, he turned himself on the bed and expired, on Thursday the 14th of December. The body was brought to Edinburgh, and interred at Holyrood on Monday the 8th of January 1543. Often has it been said, that James V. died literally of a broken heart, and, in Scottish history, certainly he presents the most impressive illustration of that passage in holy writ—"The sorrow of the world worketh death."

But we must return to the history of the Sacred Volume. Seven years after the Scriptures of the New Testament in English had been first conveyed into Scotland, there had been an able and well-sustained controversy, though hitherto buried in oblivion, as to the right and duty of the people to read the Scriptures for themselves, and at home in their own dwellings; but there had been no ministry of the word, properly so called. One man, *Forret*, in a very limited district, for a short time, had spoken out; but he was almost immediately silenced, and then burnt to ashes. There had been no son of thunder lifting up his voice, nor had any such means been employed as to account for this confessedly great change. Two or three men from England may come down afterwards, and make some impression; but we now speak of the past, and of what had been already effected. Putting the presumptive heir to the crown entirely out of view, as a weak and vacillating man, have so many round about him been so shaken in mind, as to involve themselves, by Beaton's casuistry, in the deadly sin of what he called heresy? Then, as far as the art of printing, or English books were concerned, nothing can be ascribed to either cause: and of books imported from abroad, we find not upon record a single title-page, *save one*. But that *one* has been proclaimed in open court, by *Lauder*, in 1538, as having been the great, nay, the only source of annoyance. He denounced it as heresy. "God forgive you," said *Forret*, "that ye should call the book of the Evangel of Jesus Christ heresy." But he insisted that it was, and that it was *this* which had occasioned "*ALL the din and play in their Kirk*," or throughout Scotland. Certainly it

was intended, that posterity should observe this, and no event of the day has been more distinctly marked, if so much so.

The ministry of the word, though of Divine appointment, has again and again, throughout this history, been presented by God as entirely subordinate to his own word—the living voice of man, to the voice of the living God. In the scale of human depravity, or the profanation of divine things, besides the neglect or perversion of the ministry, there is a lower depth, or greater sin. This had been shown in Scotland as well as England, in the treatment of the Divine Record itself—in the wilful concealment of the Word of God—in the denial of it to the people—nay, in the denunciation of it by the profligate rulers of the darkness which reigned around them. This was the greatest of all crimes. The force of systematic depravity could no farther go. They had rejected the word of Jehovah, and what wisdom was in them? The Sacred Scriptures, therefore, and more especially those of the New Testament, standing in the same relation to the Christian Church, which the law, when *lost*, did to the Jewish, and which, when found, became the means of its revival; so the Sacred Volume must now take precedence. We leave other nations to examine for themselves; but in the course pursued by Divine Providence towards this island entire, and by way of eminence, this fact is worthy of more reflection than it has ever obtained. The Word of the Lord, as an instrument in his own hands, and conveyed into the island in spite of all opposition, was to be first, and to be thus glorified. So it had happened in England, as already explained. But here, in the north, as well as in the south, in Scotland as well as in England—

Jehovah had resolved to show  
What his own Sovereign Word could do.

And yet, after all that can be said, at *this* moment, what was now to be done? nay, what to be expected? We have come to December 1542. The King is dead, and Beaton has reached the highest point of his ambition. Before his sovereign was even laid in the grave at Holyrood, *he* has usurped the government; and look wherever the people might, everything seemed to portend success in favor of such a movement. With regard to his own crafty brethren, he sits, like a sovereign Pontiff, over every one of them. The king has left for his heir only an infant, whose mother is favorable to all the intentions of Beaton. The presumptive heir to the crown, the Earl of Arran, is not merely a weak man, but he seems to be quite indisposed for action; while, in point of talent and activity, there is no other individual to be compared with the Cardinal and legate. As for the nobility at large, their power is broken; such of them as possessed any authoritative influence are either dead, or in exile; and the best of them have been carried out of the way, from Solway Moss to London. The neighboring powerful monarch, elated by his victory, threatens war; and it may be one of conquest or of extermination. In short, according to Buchanan, “the considerate foresaw a tempest overhanging



Scotland, dark and gloomy beyond conception ; for the King had not made a will, and left a girl, scarcely eight days old, as his heir."

From all these circumstances, it must have been quite impossible for any man to see before him a single day, or to foretell what awaited either himself or his country. The only certain thing was, that Beaton had resolved to be both "king and priest" for the time being ; having, it is said, caused the will of the king to be proclaimed on Monday after his death, and this, it is understood, pointed to him as the future regent. But let what will take place, nothing shall prevent the progress of Divine truth ; and, as in nature, the darkest hour precedes the day-break, so it may be even now.

## REIGN OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

THE YEAR 1543, A MEMORABLE ONE—CRITICAL STATE OF THE GOVERNMENT—REMARKABLY SUDDEN CHANGE—THE PRIMATE OF ST. ANDREWS, THOUGH A CARDINAL, IN PRISON—GENERAL PERUSAL OF SCRIPTURES SANCTIONED—MORE MARTYRDOMS BY HANGING, DROWNING, AND THE FLAMES—THE DEATH OF BEATON.

THE year 1543 was a memorable period, and deserves to stand by itself, whether we allude to Scotland or England. In relation to both countries, it was a crisis ; but as viewed in conjunction, we are furnished with matter well worthy of notice, and in close connection with the sacred Scriptures. In Scotland, the opening of the year will discover how insignificant is the power of any human party, however ably led, when the moment arrives in which the Supreme Ruler begins to deal with it. Beaton we have just left in great power, and fondly anticipating a higher place than Wolsey himself had ever reached. He may be allowed, for a few days, to dream of reigning over the kingdom, at the head of a regency, of which the Earls of Argyle, Huntly, and Murray, were to be chief men ; and as for the presumptive heir to the crown, the Earl of Arran, he must be neutralized or overruled. If we can rely on the deliberate testimony of Arran himself, BEATON exhibited a will of the King, appointing *him to be guardian of the infant Queen, as well as Regent, or Governor of the realm.*

Henry VIII., his determined enemy, was now dreaming also, as well as Beaton, though in very different strain. The death of James V. instantly gave fresh impulse to his ambition. If possible, and immediately, he is to reign over Scotland. He is to get possession of Beaton, as well as the infant Queen Mary, who, as he now proposed, should in due time be married to his son Edward. Once awake, however, both the King and the Cardinal must, like other men, follow with the tide of events ; but the

question between them at this moment being one of time, the sequel will explain which of them gained his object. No sooner had Henry been informed of his nephew's death, than he sent for the Scottish lords and gentlemen, the prisoners from Solway, who, only a few days before, had been marched, as in disgrace, through London, and then they had been only upbraided. The King now sounded them, with a view to his intentions, when, without exception, they bowed to his terms, and without gain-saying! Henry exacted pledges, which they left behind them; and they engaged, that when Queen Mary came to be ten years of age, she should marry Prince Edward. On Friday the 29th of December, the prisoners were allowed to depart, and coming down by way of Darlington, they had reached home by Wednesday the 24th of January. Arran now found himself in circumstances to act with decision; and no sooner do we turn to Scotland than we find that not one day had been lost by the Governor.

Upon Monday the 8th of January, the King had been interred; but on Wednesday the 10th, not more than forty-eight hours having elapsed, the Earl of Arran was proclaimed Protector and Governor of the kingdom. Thus far successful, still the Governor was not sufficiently strong to take any step against Beaton. On the contrary, slow to forego all secular power, it appears that Beaton actually snatched at the chancellorship, and obtained it, for one solitary week! With such an office in addition to those he possessed, if he had effectually ousted Dunbar, the Archbishop of Glasgow, he had no doubt intended ultimately to overrule the Governor according to his pleasure.

Here, then, at last, it becomes evident, that Henry VIII. had overreached his greatest opponent in the North; for though already in possession of the great seal, by Friday the 26th of this month, the Chancellor and Cardinal, though Legate, was in safe keeping at Dalkeith; only two days after the arrival of the Scottish barons from England! The will exhibited, pronounced a forgery, had been of no avail. But whatever obscurity still hangs over the precise charges against Beaton, he was put in prison on the day now mentioned. From Dalkeith he was removed to Seton House; from thence, under the charge of Lord Seton, to Blackness Castle on the Forth; and finally, to St. Andrews, from whence he was not released till April, or more than a fortnight after Parliament had transacted all their business. Thus are we left free to inquire what this business included.

In the meanwhile, however, was the arrest of such a man as this to pass without notice? So far from it, all the disciples of "the old learning" were immediately in mourning, and struck with horror. "The public services," says Mr. Tytler, "were instantly suspended; the priests refused to administer either baptism or burial; *the Churches were closed*: an universal gloom overspread the countenances of the people, and the country presented the melancholy appearance of a land excommunicated for some

awful crime. The days, indeed, were *past* when the full terrors of such a state of spiritual proscription could be felt, yet the Catholic party were still strong in Scotland; they loudly exclaimed against their opponents for so daring an act of sacrilege and injustice; and the people began, in some degree, to identify the cause of Beaton with the independence of the country." The barons also were far from being unanimous on the subject. Four days only after the imprisonment, or on Tuesday the 30th of January, the Earl of Argyle had left Edinburgh for his estate in the west, where, gathering his clan, he might stand ready for any future emergency. The Earls of Huntly, Murray, and Bothwell, had offered to be sureties for the Cardinal's liberty, but in vain. Mass might be suspended, while the priests and monks, having little or nothing to do, had more time for politics and intimidation; but still there was no enlargement of their Cardinal. At this early period, and in reference to the clergy, such an instance of inflexibility was analogous to that of the Venetian government; and it becomes the more observable, when the two *cousins* are viewed in contrast. Between the Earl of Arran and Beaton there was the greatest possible distinction, in point of strength of mind and firmness of purpose. It was therefore fit, that at this peculiar crisis, the weakest individual in authority, or the most vascillating, not to say treacherous, should be instrumental in putting aside by far the most acute and powerful man in the kingdom. All that the Pontiff could possibly convey to him from Rome, had previously been bestowed; and if any words are about to be spoken in Parliament regarding the SACRED VOLUME; if anything was about to be done, which was *never to be undone*; it was certainly something to say in future years, that all this power had gone for nothing!

Parliament having been summoned to meet on Monday the 12th of March, throughout the month of February, the Earls of Argyle and Huntly, Bothwell and Murray, were straining every nerve to rally and invigorate their adherents; so that the week immediately before the opening of Parliament exhibited two parties in hostile array, one assembled at Perth, the other in Edinburgh. At the former, besides the earls already mentioned, there were other noblemen, with a great number of bishops, abbots, and knights. They commenced with negotiation, sending certain articles to the Governor and his council. The very first of these stipulated, that *the Cardinal should be set at liberty*; the second, that *the New Testament in the native tongue should NOT go ABROAD*. They then requested that the Governor should be counselled by *them* in all the affairs of the realm, and that other ambassadors to Henry VIII., than those which were intended, should be sent to England!

There was not a moment's delay at Edinburgh in returning a most decided answer. The Governor and council would listen to no such terms. On the contrary, they immediately dispatched a herald of arms, charging all these lords at Perth, under pain of

treason, to repair to the capital and serve the Governor, according to their allegiance. At the same time, or upon Friday the 9th of March, by way of making their intentions doubly sure, Archibald Beaton of Capikdra was committed to ward at Dalkeith, as his relative the Cardinal had been in January, he being now in safe keeping at a greater distance. The party at Edinburgh was now ready for business.

The appearance of the herald at Perth had proved quite sufficient. The Earl of Huntly immediately gave in. As for the clergy, while they could not extricate the Cardinal, if they had anything to say against the Scriptures, it was proper that they should be mustered on the spot. Since Beaton only is put out of the way, let the fraternity assemble and put forth all its strength. As a body, therefore, whether bishops or abbots, they now followed Huntly's example; and they all arrived in Edinburgh on Sunday, or the day before parliament was opened. By Monday, the Earl of Murray, and on Tuesday, the Earl of Bothwell, sent, craving that they might serve the Governor. The only baron absent was the Earl of Argyle, who plead sickness; but on Thursday he sent his procurator and his two uncles to make his excuse. In short, and on the same day, the Earl of Angus and his brother, Sir George, in their joint letter to Lord Lisle, describe the assembly as "the most substantial Parliament that ever was seen in Scotland in any man's remembrance, and best furnished with all the three estates; the multitude, including their serving men, being as much as Edinburgh and Leith could lodge."

This "substantial" Parliament having assembled on Monday the 12th, on Tuesday they proceeded to business, and in three days only dispatched the whole; for though it did not rise till Saturday, after Thursday there is nothing recorded. On Tuesday, as James, the Earl of Arran, had been chosen by an inferior number of Lords only, he was now ratified and confirmed by all the three estates, as governor and second person in the realm. On the same day, Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, and as Lord Chancellor, made a motion as to the treaty of peace with England, and the marriage of Mary to Edward. By Wednesday they had reinstated the Earl of Angus and his brother, Sir George Douglas, in their honors and estates, after having been kept in banishment by the late King for fifteen years. But Thursday, the fifteenth, was reserved for by far the most memorable transaction, or rather the only one, worthy of our notice.

On that day a bill having been presented by Lord Maxwell for allowing *the Scriptures to be read by all without any limitation*, the Lords of the Articles found, because there was no law shown or produced to the contrary, that the same may be used by *all the lieges of this realm in our vulgar tongue*; and therefore in full Parliament allowed the bill to be read.

Dunbar, the Archbishop and Lord Chancellor, rose, "in his own name, and in name of *all* the prelates of the realm that were present, and dissented *simpliciter*." They now opposed the

measure at least “unto the time that a provincial council might be had of all the clergy of this realm, to *advise and conclude* thereupon, *if* the same be necessary to be had in vulgar tongue, to be used among the Queen’s lieges *or not*; and thereafter to shew the utter determination what *shall* be done in that behalf; and thereupon he craved instruments.” Thus spake one of the three estates in Parliament to a man, but upon this day altogether in vain, as the bill was immediately passed into a law, and in these terms:—

“It is statute and ordained that it shall be lawful to *all our Sovereign LADY’S lieges* to have the *holy writ*, both the *New Testament* and the *Old* in the *vulgar tongue*, in the *English* or *Scolish*, of a good and true translation, and that they shall incur no crimes for the having or reading of the same; providing always that no man dispute or hold opinions, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament.”

The party in opposition might complain, and still decline to say mass, nay even refuse to bury the dead, but as soon as Parliament had risen on Saturday, no time was lost in proclaiming to all the people what had been done. On Monday an order came from the Governor to the Clerk-Register, Mr. James Fowles of Colington, and proclamation was made at the market-Cross of *Edinburgh*; but this was not sufficient. Letters were sent off by special messengers, ordaining the Act to be proclaimed within the jurisdiction of the protesting Archbishop in the *west*—also in *Dundee* and *Aberdeen*, in *Elgin*, *Forres*, and *Inverness*; in *Dunfermline* and *Perth*; in *Lanark* and *Dumfries*, *Kirkcudbright* and *Wigton*.

It is interesting to observe from the reasonings in Parliament, that the English Scriptures in print had been produced before the Assembly; when the friends of “the old learning” did not deny but that they might be read, provided the translation were *true*. It was then demanded what fault could they find with it? When much search was made, nothing worthy of reprehension could be found, but that *love*, they said, was put in the place of *charity*, as Tyndale certainly had translated from the beginning. When it was asked, what difference there was, and if they understood the nature of the Greek word *Agape*, (*Αγαπε*) they were *dumb*. At length the commissioners of burghs and part of the nobility required “that it might be permitted to every man to use the benefit of the translation of the *Old and New Testament* which then they had—till the prelates and kirkmen set forth a translation more correct;” but which, it is well known, they never did. The clergy still opposed, and for a long time; but the number of voices prevailed against them, and so by the Act of Parliament, it was made *free to every man or woman to read the Scriptures in their own or the English tongue, and all acts made to the contrary are abolished*.

The act was never repealed, nor was there any haggling with the subject in Parliament, amidst all the turmoil of many subse-

quent years. Not a single edition was ordered to be put to press, nor was there any Bible to be printed in Scotland for fully thirty-five years to come. Sadler, it is true, had written, at the Governor's request, for certain copies to be sent, but this was not till a fortnight after Parliament had risen, nor can this render the proclamation intelligible. The Governor had ordered open proclamation to be made, not in Edinburgh alone, but in all the principal towns of the kingdom; but was this to be regarded as no more than a liberty to read what was *nowhere* to be found? This would have been nothing short of a piece of mockery. Here, therefore, at last we meet with a sudden, but certainly no slight or ambiguous confirmation of our previous history. Long before these parliamentary men had thus spoken, human authority for such liberty had never been consulted. It was now above sixteen years since the English New Testament at least had been in Edinburgh and Leith, as well as St. Andrews and Dundee. Maxwell, who had spoken in Parliament, was then a much younger man; and it is curious enough that *at that time*, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the uncle of Beaton, should have been a fugitive tending sheep, under the disguise of a shepherd; while, at *the present moment*, the nephew, though clothed with the highest pontifical authority, was now a prisoner in safe custody.

In such a history as the present, nothing could be more desirable than to ascertain the precise extent of the circulation of the Sacred Volume, or by whom, at this early period, it was actually and already possessed. Our authority for this is the well-known John Knox. About six or eight years had elapsed after Knox's settlement before he commenced that history, the whole of which passes under his name; and since by the year 1543, though not yet decided in his views of Divine truth, he must have become no unobservant spectator of his country, no man was more able to narrate with fidelity what had been so visible to many eyes. Looking back, therefore, about twenty-five years, and speaking of the freedom, then at last proclaimed, for all to read the Scriptures, he says—"This was no small victory of Christ Jesus, fighting against the conjured enemies of his verity; not small comfort to such as *before* were holden in such bondage, that they durst not have read the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, nor articles of their faith, in the English tongue, but they should have been accused of heresy. *THEN might have been seen the Bible lying upon almost every gentleman's table. The New Testament was borne about in many men's hands!*"

Now, these volumes, of course, had been in Scotland before, and most of them long before this period; otherwise such a display could not have been made, for a very considerable time to come; so that, up to this period, the progress of Divine truth had been entirely independent of human approbation, or rather in spite of human authority; and the cause will now proceed as it had done, whatever should occur, or whatever men in power may yet either say or do to the contrary.

The year 1543 is indeed a marked and conspicuous one, as having been fatal to the reputation of every sovereign in Europe, with the Pontiff in the midst of them all. Without exception, their characters suffered shipwreck in open day; for wherever we turn our eye, hypocrisy, however shallow, and want of principle, are conspicuous.

There is but little more to add, than that the King in England, and the Cardinal in Scotland, who hated each other with a perfect hatred, were now alike hastening to their ruin, and to die within eight months of each other. Beaton, once more in possession of unlimited power, was sure to take advantage of the word *opinions*, so strangely inserted, like a sting in the tail of the late Act of Parliament; and with this precious Governor at his feet, he took him forth in 1545, as he had formerly done James V., to witness and sanction his murders. To say nothing of those who were banished, these amounted to at least seven in number, and, through the Cardinal's influence, it is worthy of remark, partook of a new character. It had been the practice of that community to which he belonged, to *burn* people to ashes for their opinions; but whether it was cowardice in Beaton that he durst not do this, or rather cunning, that he might *identify the State* with what he did; yet so it was, that of five persons put to death at Perth, four were hanged, and one was drowned. The last was a female, the first and only martyr of that sex of which we read. She was the wife of one of the sufferers, with an infant at her breast, who, before she was thrown into the water, gave the infant to another, and expressed great joy in following her husband to a better world. A sixth individual, a priest, John Rogers, is said to have been despatched within the Castle of St. Andrews, or thrown over the wall, so as to occasion his death; but the *only* instance of death by *fire* was, conspicuously, Beaton's own act, shortly before his own murder. This was George Wishart, whose martyrdom, on the 1st of March 1546, is to be found in our general histories, taken in connection with the Government state papers and manuscripts, but recently published. One point only is deserving of notice here, as illustrative of the pinnacle on which Beaton stood, just before he was thrown down or slain within his own strong castle, while in the act of rendering it stronger still. This is to be seen in the insolence with which he trampled on his victim, the Governor, and now treated his authority. Arran had advised delay, and that the cause of Wishart should be thoroughly examined, intimating that if the Cardinal acted with precipitation, the blood of this man would be required at his hands. However deeply chagrined at this message, Beaton coolly replied, "that he had not written to him about this matter, as supposing himself to be *any way dependent* upon his authority, but from a desire that the prosecution and conviction of heretics might have a *show* of public consent! But since he could not obtain it, he would proceed in that way which to *him* appeared to be most proper!" He did proceed, and shortly after followed to his own judgment in another

world. His death by violence, which took place on the morning of the 29th of May 1546, may be traced to the long-cherished desire of Henry VIII., so well known by his agents at the time; or to the violent existing quarrel between Norman Lesly, Master of Rothes, and the Cardinal, respecting a piece of land, heightened, no doubt, by his treatment of Wishart; but the event was nothing more than might have been expected, while it is impossible to overlook the circumstance, that the man who would not allow another to be deliberately and legally tried, was himself put to death, without trial or ceremony of any kind.

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### QUEEN MARY, JAMES VI., TO THE COMMON-WEALTH.

FROM 1543 TO 1650—SINGULAR HISTORY OF THE SCRIPTURES IN SCOTLAND, DURING THIS ENTIRE PERIOD—NOT SUPPLIED FROM ITS OWN NATIVE PRESS, BUT BY IMPORTATION, FOR MORE THAN A HUNDRED YEARS—STATE OF LITERATURE AND EDUCATION—THE APOCRYPHA—THE PRESENT VERSION OF THE BIBLE BECAME THE ONLY ONE IN USE.

FROM the year 1543, and for more than three successive *generations*, the history of the English Bible north of the Tweed is of a very marked or memorable character, and peculiar to Scotland among all the other nations of Europe. Certainly not one of them has the same story to tell. Throughout, it forms a remarkable continuation of that independence of human patronage, which has been so steadily repudiated from the beginning; while no country has been more signally indebted to the gracious providence of God.

In 1543, when it was first proclaimed to be lawful to peruse the Scriptures, although they had been reading in secret for fully sixteen years, it is to be observed that no edition of the Bible entire, or of the New Testament separately, was ordered to be printed. Cardinal Beaton having immediately regained his authority, such a proposal was not to be whispered for a moment. But as he was removed by death only three years after, this will not account for its being, not three, or five, but *thirty-five* years, before any Bible was issued from the Scottish press! This, too, was in folio, nor did a second edition follow, and of the same unwieldy character, till 1610, or above thirty years more had passed away. Nay, only the third edition, and at last in the octavo size, did not appear till the year 1633; or ninety years from the day on which it was said to be lawful *to have and to read* the Bible in English! There was then also a fourth edition, in 1637, and one in duodecimo next year. Thus it was, that for more than a hundred years, or a space of time equal to that of three generations, there were no more than five editions of the Bible issued from the printing



presses *in the country* ; not to say that two of these were in folio, no size even approaching to that which the people required, having made its appearance till so late as 1633. The first pocket Bible was not printed till 1638.

Such then was the condition of our Scottish ancestors, so far as their own *native* press was concerned. No Bible, even so convenient as that of an *octavo* size, had been printed in Scotland, for the use of the community, till one hundred and seven years after the New Testament of Tyndale had been first conveyed to Edinburgh and St. Andrews, as well as other ports.

The first Bible printed on Scottish ground was not published till the year 1579, or seven years after the death of Knox ; not to say that this was in folio, and appointed to be sold for the sum of £4, 13s. 4d., or seven marks ; how, all this time, had it fared with the people, or the thousands who, even now, could afford no such sum ? It may indeed appear scarcely credible, but by even this early period it comes out, that the Sacred Volume in the vulgar tongue, was *almost in every house* ! A better testimony to the truth of this fact could not be desired, since it is to be found in the Dedication to James VI. of this first Bible. After acknowledging the "great occasion" they had "to glorify the goodness of God towards their country," the Assembly addressing the King exclaims—

"O what difference may be seen between *these* days of light, when *almost in every private house the Book of God's Law is read, and understood in our vulgar tongue*, and that age of darkness, when scarcely in a whole city, (without the cloisters of monks and friars,) could the Book of God once be found, and that in a strange tongue of Latin, not good, but mixed with barbarity ; used and read by few, and almost understood or expounded by none ; and when the false named clergy of this realm, abusing the gentle nature of your Highness' most noble goodsire, of worthy memory, made it a capital crime, to be punished with the fire, to have or read the New Testament in the vulgar language ; and to make them to all men more odious, as if it had been the detestable name of a pernicious sect, they were named **NEW TESTAMENTERS**." And certainly, with the exception of *Christian* itself, a more honorable appellation, by way of reproach, was never bestowed on the people of any country.

But still the question returns—How had the Sacred Volume found its way into so many private families ? They were supplied not only from *England*, but from the printing presses of *Holland*, as they continued to be from both countries, for more than half a century to come. Hence the next edition executed in Scotland was still a folio, and not printed till 1610, or only a few months before our present version ; the first edition of *that* version not appearing till 1633, and the first pocket Bible not till five years later. In this point of view, certainly no other people in Europe can look back to such a century.

The first intimation of any printer in Scotland obtaining a direct

license to publish any part of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue is dated 22d March 1564. This license was nothing more than what was customary with relation to every *other* book, but there is not even the shadow of proof that any part was ever put to press, a circumstance rendered next to certain from what followed. Four years after this, or 14th April 1568, Robert Lekprevik, was licensed to print the translation commonly called the Geneva Bible; and as this right was declared to be for twenty years, although *importation* was *not* prohibited, since, from *printing* the Bible, every other person in Scotland was, what hope was there that there would be an edition by Lekprevik, or by any other man, before the year 1588? Certainly none.

This first Bible, and in folio, appeared at last. It is a *verbatim* reprint of the Geneva translation of 1561, or that book which we have already referred to as promoted by the father of Sir Thomas Bodley, only it is more correct. Like the first Bible of 1537 for England, by Grafton and Whitchurch, this, therefore, was a personal enterprise, originating with two men burgesses of Edinburgh, Thomas Bassandyne and Alexander Arbuthnot; the latter, it should seem, the man of most substance, the former, a printer by profession. Bassandyne, a native of Scotland, had gone first to Paris and then to Leyden, where he acquired the art of printing, and returning to his own country, had already begun business for some time, in the Netherbow of Edinburgh. He commenced now with the New Testament, which was finished and dated 1576, but its issue had been hindered or delayed till the Old was completed, in three years after, or 1579. By about this time Bassandyne died, and the book was published with Arbuthnot's name only at the beginning. It had been finished in July, and in six weeks after, having applied to the Privy Council for a license, as it was necessary for all *other* books, he obtained one, and at the same time also the title of King's Printer. It is therefore entitled

"The Bible and Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament. Printed at Edinburgh by Alexander Arbuthnot, Printer to the King's Majestie, dwelling at the Kirk of Field. 1579. Cum gratia et privilegio regie Majestatis."

It will be remembered that this was a Bible not for general use at home, but for the "Kirk," wherever it was; and it deserves notice, that a large proportion of the money requisite for the work was furnished *while* it was printing; *not*, however, out of the public purse, but by contribution of the parishioners, through their ministers, whether bishops, superintendents, or visitors. It was, in fact, a present from the *people* to their respective places of worship, and, as a proof of their zealous desire, it deserves to be recorded, that in many, if not in most instances, the money was furnished about three years before the Bibles were fully delivered.

It was not till thirty-one years after, as before mentioned, that the next, or second Bible printed in Scotland, appeared, from the

press of Andrew Hart, dated 1610. This much admired folio carries equal evidence of its being an independent personal undertaking. Hart, as already stated, was not the King's printer now, nor ever was; but it is curious enough that he published this book in the face of Robert Charteris, then printer to his Majesty, who, in June 1606, had received a special license for twenty-five years, to print Bibles in the vulgar tongue; but, like his predecessor before Bassandyne's time, he never printed even one solitary edition.

The folio Bible, finished by Hart only a few months before, was not a reprint of the preceding, or Bassandyne's, throughout. In the Old Testament it was, but the New was similar to that published in England, by Laurence Tomson, almost the same with the Geneva text, but having what were styled the Notes of Beza in the margin. No license whatever for printing this book has ever been found, though there may have been one; but, at all events, the next year, or 1611, when the first edition of our present version *had* come forth in England, we find the following enactment by the *diocesan* Synod of St. Andrews.

"Forasmuch as it was thought expedient that there be in every kirk a common Bible, it was concluded that every brother shall urge his parishioners to buy one of the Bibles *lately printed by Andro Hart*; and the brother failing either to cause buy one, as said is, or else to give in his exact diligence, shall pay at the next synod 6 *lib.* money;" that is, ten shillings sterling.

In reference to Scotland, that her sons should have been supplied, and so richly, with the book of God, in a way altogether independent of her native press, not to say her reigning government, and for more than a hundred years, is one of the most singular points in her history. From the year 1526 down to 1633, and even later, the people at large had been supplied entirely from without. The *New Testamenters* acquired their honorable distinction from reading an *imported* book. Their Bibles, after this, were prepared for them at a distance, with paper and types foreign to their country, and yet as early as 1579, the book was "almost in every house." The tide of importation, however, was then only setting in with a stronger current, for after that it rose to a far greater height.

After the opening of the seventeenth century, not only importation of books from abroad, but printing of books at home, having proceeded with accelerated progress, we have the surest index to the art of reading having advanced with equal steps. Indeed, some time after this, it is by no means difficult to prove that anxious attention had been bestowed upon education down to the humblest rank, and the art of reading had become very general. It may be thought by some a picture too highly colored; but according to Kirkton the historian, by the time that our present version of the Bible was prevailing throughout the kingdom, or before the restoration of Charles II., he affirms that "every village in Scotland had a school, every family almost had a Bible; yea, in

most of the country all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided with Bibles either by their parents or the ministers." Whatever deductions from this statement can be proved, may be freely allowed, but after all, we presume that a very remarkable degree of moral cultivation had certainly been attained, and beyond this period we do not at present proceed.

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### THE APOCRYPHA.

ALTHOUGH our present version of the Bible was now gaining general acceptance through Britain, there was still one serious incumbrance from which it behoved to be delivered, and with which it ought never, for a moment, to have been associated. We allude to the *Apocrypha*. The clear and very decided views of divine truth held by Tyndale, forbid the idea that *he* would have ever associated it with the Sacred Volume, and at all events, of its introduction, in the vulgar tongue, into this country he stands innocent. But Coverdale, who, as we have seen, had so lent himself to Crumwell, entertained no such scruples. The books of the Apocrypha were then indeed placed by themselves, as in distinction from the Sacred Canon, but their insertion, between the Old and New Testaments, like the term *penance* adopted in Coverdale's text, was a sacrifice made at the altar of *expediency*; that baneful doctrine by which the Vicar-General was at once ruled and ruined. Sir Thomas More, constrained to bow before the power of Crumwell's influence, never having once denounced Coverdale, might well let the book pass without open censure, or wink at the progress of a version which was to contain both penance and the Apocrypha.

Penance had been so far, and at once banished from public approbation, by the adoption of Tyndale's version in 1537, and in preference to that of Coverdale. But John Rogers having included the Apocrypha, from Coverdale, that was now to be dealt with, and in no measured terms. Even before our last revisers began, great dissatisfaction had been expressed in print as to the Apocrypha. But it deserves our notice, that when our present version was preparing, and as early as 1604, the King was warned by a voice even from without the kingdom, in very decided terms. This referred at once to the contents of the Apocryphal books, but especially to their being *read* in public worship.

"Because the canonical Scriptures are *alone* sufficient for the Church; and have this prerogative and excellency above all other writings whatsoever."—"Else should *errors, fables, magic, blasphemy, and contradiction of the canonical Scriptures* be brought into the Church; for such are found in the Apocrypha books. As, for example, see *Errors* in ECCLESIASTICUS and 2 MACHABEES; *Fables* in ESDRAS, 2 MACHABEES, and TOBIT; *Magic* and Blas-

*phemy* in TOBIT; *contradiction to canonical Scripture* in JUDITH, ESTHER, and ECCLESIASTICUS." "Else should many still be noused in their ignorance and error, to think that the Apocrypha books be the Word of God and part of the Bible, as well as the books of the Old and New Testament."

No attention having been paid to this remonstrance, and the Apocrypha having been printed along with our present version, the Parliament was now to be addressed in bolder language, not as to its being read merely, but in reference to its place within the boards of the Bible. In 1642, to Bartholomew's Church, behind the Old Exchange, London, an individual had been chosen minister, who was about the most learned man of his day, and in rabbinical learning, too, but certainly no advocate for the Apocrypha holding such a place in the Sacred Volume. Having been appointed to preach before the House of Commons on the 29th of March, 1643, which happened to be his birthday at the age of 41, he took for his text Luke i. 17.

"The words of the text," said he, "are the last words of the Old Testament—*there* uttered by a prophet, *here* expounded by an angel; *there* concluding the law, and *here* beginning the Gospel. 'Behold,' said Malachi, 'I will send you Elijah the prophet;' and 'he,' saith the angel, 'shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias.' And 'He shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children,' saith the one; and 'the disobedient to the wisdom of the just,' saith the other. Thus sweetly and nearly should the two Testaments join together, and thus *divinely* would they kiss each other, but that the *wretched Apocrypha* doth thrust in between. Like the two cherubims in the temple oracle, as with their outer wings they touch the two sides of the house, from 'In the beginning,' to 'Come Lord Jesus;' so with their inner, they *would* touch each other—the end of the Law, with the beginning of the Gospel—did not this *patchery of human invention* divorce them asunder.—

"It is a thing not a little to be admired, how this Apocrypha could ever get such a place in the hearts, and in the Bibles, of primitive times, as to come and sit in the very *centre* of them both. But to this wonderment there may be some satisfaction given—namely, because that these books came to them from among the Jews, as well as the Old Testament and the New; and because that the Jews alone, and alone so long, had had the knowledge of divinity and religion among them, the converted Gentiles could not but give their writings extraordinary esteem.—But it is a wonder, to which I could never yet receive satisfaction, that in churches that are reformed—that have shaken off the yoke of superstition, and unpinned themselves from off the sleeve of former customs, or doing as their ancestors have done; yet in such a thing as this, and of so great import, should do as first ignorance, and then superstition, hath done before them. It is true, indeed, that they have refused these books out of the canon; but they have reserved them still in the Bible! As if God should have

cast Adam out of the *state* of happiness, and yet have continued him in the *place* of happiness."

This was no other than the well-known Dr. John Lightfoot; and it is curious enough, that he was then preaching weekly on the very spot to which the body of Coverdale had been consigned in 1538, or seventy-five years before; the man who *first* placed the Apocrypha in English between the Old Testament and the New. The present preacher, indeed, had long felt as he now did, and fourteen years ago, at the age of twenty-seven, in his earliest publication, had spoken out in a similar strain. The figure he employed with the Commons must have been a favorite one, for he had used it before, and was now only quoting his mature sentiments before Parliament on a public fast day, in the probable hope that they might have some practical effect. Speaking, in 1629, of those who had put in the Apocrypha between Malachi and Matthew, he had said—

"What do they, but make a wall between the seraphim, that they cannot hear each other's cry? What do they, but make a stop between the cherubim, that they cannot touch each other's wings? What do they, but divorce the marriage of the Testaments, and so are guilty of the breach of 'that which God hath joined together, let no man put asunder?'" In short, he earnestly longed for its being banished from the Bible; and therefore, once more, on the 26th of August 1645, when again officiating before the House of Parliament, he was not less eager for "a review and survey of the translation of the Bible;" and that they, as a body, would "look into the oracle, if there be anything amiss there, and *remove* it"—referring, no doubt, especially to the Apocrypha.

Lightfoot, however, it should seem, was not aware that the Almighty had never permitted any such body, in their official character, nor, indeed any other, as such, thus to "look into His oracle." No, and as Parliament was never allowed to touch the Sacred Text itself, so, however urged, neither was the voice of *their* authority to remove the Apocrypha from its place. That was to be removed by Him who moves the human mind; and so, as far as the Bible generally was concerned, the Apocrypha sunk at last from that place to which it should never have been raised. It disappeared from Bibles as by common consent; it sunk under the power of general opinion. From that period the Christians in Britain have stood, and for many a year, beckoning, as it were, to the surrounding European nations to follow in the same safe and lawful, or incumbent career.

Thus the history of the Bible in Scotland, has been brought down to the same point of time with the previous detail respecting England. Since the commencement, in 1525, or of the Scriptures entire, in 1537, there had been a fivefold revision of the original translation, an advantage altogether peculiar to itself, and doubly valuable from that circumstance. Consequently, there had been *five* different versions printed, and these had proved in succession

the means of salvation, and source of comfort to four successive generations; but now there came to be but *one* version. Entertaining no superstitious reverence for that one, as though it were already perfect, or never destined to be yet improved and corrected, we cannot but pause over this *general consent*, as a very memorable historical event. The last rival competitor for general acceptance had been the Geneva book, a version in several passages preferable to our own, and especially in translating "*love*," not "*charity*;" but it had been generally encumbered with *notes* or glosses; and it is observable, that so late as the year 1649, an attempt was made to saddle our *present* version with those *notes*, but it was in vain. One or two editions of the Bible were thus printed, but such additions to the Sacred Text must not continue. *Notes and comments* must be withdrawn. Since the year 1611, however, these two versions of the Sacred Volume had been before the people in both countries; our present translation, from the beginning *without notes*, the other very generally *with them*; so, at last, and about the middle of the seventeenth century, our present venerated Bible had nearly arrived at that state of prevalence which it has ever since maintained. Whatever opinions have since prevailed, or died away, from that time to the present, and in any part of the United Kingdom, the same version, without a single interruption, has continued to be the Bible of Great Britain and Ireland, or wherever the language is spoken.

In looking back, however, from the commencement, even down to this period, it must be very evident, that no space whatever is left for self-complacency. No inhabitant of Britain can now say, that the Revelation of the Divine Will was received by his forefathers generally, with any ready or cordial concurrence. On the contrary, the point to which the sovereign disposer of all events had now brought our country, was precisely that which he had begun so long before. It was the Bible, but *without note and comment*, which was now at last received, whether in England or Scotland; but then, such had been the original movement of Divine providence. This it was, which Tyndale had laid down to Henry the Eighth, as the sole and exclusive terms of combat, above one hundred and twenty years ago! Through the medium of his Word, the Almighty had been striving with the nation ever since, and "*the long-suffering of God had waited*, and long it had waited, *as in the days of Noah*."

The season and circumstances, therefore, in which this *general consent* took place, it would be criminal to overlook, or ever forget. The event was one of moment to unborn generations, and every one must be eager to mark the time. Both the season and circumstances, it is true, may be humbling to our national vanity, but for this we have been fully prepared; after having had such frequent occasion to observe, that independence of human authority, patronage, or power, has been one distinguishing feature of this history throughout. By far the most remarkable display of this, however, was reserved to the *close*. There was a moral signifi-

cance, others will say sublimity, in the season chosen. It was at a crisis altogether *sui generis*, when God, by his providence, as all agree, was speaking loudly to every corner in Great Britain and Ireland.

It was at a period when there was *no earthly throne in the island to invoke ; no King in Britain to enjoin such consent*. It was when there was *no primate of Canterbury or St. Andrews to enforce it, or any House of Lords in being*. Even the office of "*Licensor of the press*" had been abolished, nor must the existing legislature of the day for once interfere. *No voice of human authority was raised*, when a nation, in other respects greatly divided, became of one consent, and a consent unbroken to the present hour ; nor did any one thing in which man was then engaged, concur to produce an effect, then first felt by the whole kingdom, and since enjoyed for nearly two hundred years !

In those unprecedented and tumultuous times, certainly the main consolation of those who feared God, and loved the Scriptures, must have run in very much the same channel ; and perhaps at no preceding era in this country, had they more frequently closed their mutual communications in the same expressive terms—THE LORD REIGNETH. But we who live, though at such a distance, can now see this event in greater perfection, as by far the most conspicuous proof that He did reign, as still He does. It was the solitary eminent public occurrence, which was to admit of no mutation for two centuries to come.

The kingdom itself may yet be moved, from its centre to its shores, and be greatly agitated. The civil power may change its aspect. The monarchy may be restored, only to be dealt with providentially, as the Pontiff had been. The line of succession may be broken, and the existing dynasty even be banished from the soil. Yet better days are coming, and no weapon, though employed by a future Sovereign, shall prosper against the Bible of his subjects ; though among the causes of removal from his crown and kingdom, should hostility to the Sacred Volume be discovered, this is not to be buried in oblivion amongst other provocations.



## BOOK V.—GREAT BRITAIN.

### FROM THE COMMONWEALTH TO QUEEN VICTORIA.

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#### SECTION I.

##### THE COMMONWEALTH TO GEORGE THE THIRD.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1688-9—PRECEDING OPPOSITION TO THE SCRIPTURES BY JAMES II.—CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLUTION—STATE OF THE BIBLE—PRESS IN ENGLAND—CANNE'S BIBLE—GUY'S BIBLES—BASKERVILLE'S—BLAYNEY'S BIBLE—STATE OF THE BIBLE PRESS IN SCOTLAND—JAMES II. EQUALLY BUSY IN OPPOSITION THERE—THE NUMBER OF BIBLES IS NOW PAST ALL HUMAN COMPUTATION—THE RESULTS, IF BUT TOO FEEBLE IN BRITAIN, MUST BE LOOKED FOR ELSEWHERE.

THIS period, extending to one hundred and thirty years, from 1650 to the twentieth year of the reign of George the Third, or 1780, involved many changes in the sovereignty of the kingdom, namely—

The Commonwealth, . . . . .	1649-1660.	Queen Anne, . . . . .	1702-1716.
Charles II., . . . . .	1660-1685.	George I., . . . . .	1714-1727.
James II., . . . . .	1685-1688.	George II., . . . . .	1727-1760.
WILLIAM and MARY, . . . . .	1689-1702.	George III., . . . . .	1760-1780.

Glancing back for a moment at the commencement of the Stuart dynasty, though there was some expression of apparent momentary interest by James I., in reference to the Scriptures, as this was never followed up by any substantial or recorded proof of continued zeal, it was ominous of all that followed in the times of his son and grandsons. That king, it is notorious, in his latter years, had discovered a decided leaning toward the gentlemen of "the old learning;" and at all events under the successive reigns of his descendants, we witness such neglect in the printing and publishing of the Sacred Volume, not to say open contempt; that if the eye has once fixed on this history throughout, one cannot help anticipating the approach of some great national crisis. What were dignified with the title of "public affairs" had frequently in this kingdom, before now, been treated as subordinate to one other. Among the elements of our national changes, it is true, any reference to the Sacred Oracles, thought first given to us after such an extraordinary manner, has seldom, if ever, found a

place. And yet, in reference to the Scriptures in the language of the people, a contrast is forced upon us between the house of Tudor and that of Stuart. The princes of the former, from Henry to Elizabeth, had been overruled, and to this they submitted—those of the latter were at last banished from the soil. Among the impelling causes of this final step, the treatment of the Divine Record may have had more to do than has hitherto been observed.

The very *first* year of the reign of James II. was marked by several noted events, indicative of direct hostility to Divine Truth, as affecting its devoted adherents at home and abroad. From the year 1670, indeed, the sentiments of this Prince had created uneasiness, agitating Parliament again and again, and his doings in Scotland from 1679 were known to all. But once crowned, in February 1685, he then pledged himself to be a disciple and adherent of “the old learning.” In June, Charles, the Elector Palatine, dying without issue, was succeeded by the house of Newburgh, no less ardently devoted to Rome. In October, Louis the Fourteenth revoked the edict of Nantes; and in December, threatened by the Court of France, the Duke of Savoy had recalled the edict that his father had granted in favor of the Vaudois. All these were indications of some general storm, and the King of England will hasten its approach. Ere long a select junto of persons in favor of the old learning and its re-establishment, with Father Edward Petre, the King’s confessor, as a privy councillor at their head, took the management of many affairs, the too evident proof of some concerted scheme being in progress.

And now when the King was down at Oxford, for the last time in 1687, he might “be presented in the name of the University with a rich BIBLE, printed there,” which his Majesty, as a blind, said he would accept; and he might afterward talk of establishing toleration by an Act of Parliament; but it is of far more importance to observe, both before and after this, how he had been acting elsewhere, both at London, and in his former abode at Edinburgh.

The reader has already heard much of the Barkers, as the printers of the Bible, but long before their rights expired, Charles II. had granted a reversionary patent to Thomas Newcome and one *Henry Hills*. Sooner or later this last man, whose moral character seems to have been far from correct, had actually been employed in printing the Scriptures, and, according to report, shamefully incorrect. But no sooner was James upon the throne, than Hills had come into closer confidential contact. He then styled himself openly, “Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, for his Household and Chapel.” This might serve for whatsoever was to be done in London, but there was another man sustaining the same office and title down at Edinburgh, and the question will be, how were they engaged? Was the press about to be employed in hostility to the Word of God, and by printed sanction of the King? In both capitals the design was the same. So early as October 1685, the servile Privy Council in Edinburgh

had issued orders to every printer and bookseller, forbidding the printing or selling any books which reflected on the faith of the King. Among these, however, there was at least one bookseller of some spirit and conscience, named James Glen. He explicitly stated that he had *one* book which he was resolved to sell at all hazards, though it was the worst enemy the Church of Rome had ever seen; and that one book was *the Bible*. But still the progress downward went on. The King's yacht had arrived at Leith from London in November 1686, with an altar and vestments, images and priests, to be accommodated in no other place than Holyrood. A college of Jesuits was there established—a printing press was set up, and among its fruits we need only to mention one production:—

“The Catholic Scripturist, third edition, more correct, by Joseph Mumford, priest of the Society of Jesus, Holyrood House. Printed by James Watson, printer to his Most Excellent Majestie's Royal Family and Household, 1687. *Permissu superiorum*”

In this book the reader was told in so many words—“*Scripture alone cannot be the rule of faith.*” So determined was the opposition shown to all this, that ere long blood had been shed, and cruelties inflicted; though these doings in Scotland were merely a branch of the same wild design which was driving with unblushing vigor in London itself. Hence from the press of *Hills*, who had just served the office of Master of the Stationers' Company, we have more than one publication, full of monstrous and daring profanity in reference to the Sacred Scriptures.

What the Revolution did for us was this, says Mr. Hallam, “it broke a spell that had charmed the nation. It cut up by the roots all that theory of indefeasible right, of paramount prerogative, which had put the Crown in continual opposition to the people. A contention had subsisted for five hundred years, but particularly during the last four reigns, against the aggressions of arbitrary power. The Sovereigns of this country had never patiently endured the control of Parliament; nor was it natural for them to do so, while the two Houses of Parliament appeared historically, and in legal language, to derive their existence as well as privileges from the Crown itself.”

To enter with any minuteness into the history of the English Bible throughout this long period, from 1650 to 1780, could answer no valuable or present practical purpose; but this work would, confessedly, be incomplete, did we not put upon record certain particulars, in reference both to the Scriptures themselves, and the vast number of editions printed.

With regard to the Bibles themselves, and especially their style of execution, the history is too often so very unwelcome, that we have no disposition to go into more detail than is necessary. Classics, and almost every species of mere human composition, not only beautiful, but sometimes almost faultless, were teeming from the press, or at least in the best manner which could then be executed; while the Sacred Record, in the most miserable style,

both as to paper and printing, was issued by printers, who, to crown all, were proclaimed to the nation as *privileged* to do so. This, however, let it be ever remembered, was *man's* department in the affair, and the slovenly, the penurious manner, in which he too frequently, and so long performed his task, left to his posterity nothing whatever save the blush of shame. There were, it is granted, many most creditable editions, and the English Bible considered as an *instrument* of infinite good, still continued, by the favor of God, to be sufficient for its purpose, or intended end; but a minute detail of the incorrect manner in which it so often came from the press, would serve to illustrate only the forbearance and long-suffering patience of Heaven.

The first English Bible, with Scriptural references on the margin throughout, was prepared and printed in Amsterdam by JOHN CANNE. He proceeded on the principle, that "Scripture was the best interpreter of Scripture," and his parallels, therefore, are parallels of *sense* and not of sound, as too many have been since his day. Of this Bible there were various editions, at home as well as abroad. Several of these books are but too incorrect, and many of the later have been corrupted by *additional* texts.

Though rather an eccentric character, we must not omit notice of THOMAS GUY, as printer of Bibles from 1680. The English Bibles being so badly printed, Mr. Guy engaged with others in printing them in Holland, and then imported them. Upon this being prevented, he contracted with the University of Oxford for the privilege of printing there. For many years, to his own advantage, he carried on a great trade; and thus began to accumulate vast wealth, though he engaged in other speculations. The Bibles he printed, though certainly not elegant, were, as books, by no means contemptible. At his death in 1724, he left as large an amount of property as any commoner before him had ever done. At the age of seventy-six, he resolved to erect the hospital in London, so well known since as Guy's or St. Thomas's Hospital, and before his death, four years after, at an expense of above £19,000, he saw it roofed in. Whatever was the character of the deceased, therefore, it may be said, that among printers of the Bible, Thomas Guy stands by himself. His property must have been above £330,000.

After the Revolution, the very first monarch who took any cognizance of the carelessness of the privileged printers of the Bible, belonged to the House of Hanover. George I., having informed himself on the subject, issued the following order to the patentees—1. That all Bibles printed hereafter shall be upon as good paper, at least, as the specimens they exhibited. 2. That they forthwith lodge four copies in the two Secretaries' offices, in the registry of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. 3. That they shall employ such correctors of the press as shall be approved of by these two bishops. 4. That they print in the title-page the exact price at which each book is to be sold to the booksellers.

These orders, dated 21th April 1721, must have had some effect, though they could not possibly reach the root of the inaccuracy.

There was, however, considerable improvement, and in the reign of George II., a folio Bible was produced, said to be the most beautiful ever yet printed. This was by John Baskerville of Birmingham, the printer and typesfounder, in 1763: though once more the country had been indebted, as it had often been before, not to any privileged or incorporate body, but to individual genius and enterprise. Baskerville, indeed, had to pay a considerable *premium* to the University of Cambridge for permission to print his Bibles, and after his death his types, which lay a dead weight for want of a purchaser, were carried out of the country. The reign of George II. was also distinguished by one of the most careful revisions of the Scriptures which had yet been made. In 1769, a Bible in folio and quarto was edited by Dr. Blayney, the subsequent Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. Professedly, in this edition, the *punctuation* was thoroughly revised; the words in *italic* were examined and corrected by the Hebrew and Greek; the *proper names* were translated and entered on the margin; the *heads and running titles* were corrected; errors in *chronology* were rectified; and *marginal references* were corrected and considerably increased. This has been referred to often since as the *standard* edition. Yet even then, there had not been sufficient vigilance in superintendence, as more than a hundred errors have been detected since, and it was reserved for our own age to make a nearer approach to an immaculate volume. But enough has been said of the English press. It remains only that we look to North Britain.

With reference to Scotland, were it not that the inhabitants had been constantly receiving the Scriptures both from England and Holland, their condition would have been deplorable, so far as their native press was concerned. During the Commonwealth, and down as far as the twenty-fourth year of Charles II., or from 1649 to 1672, there is understood to have been no Bible printed in Scotland, and perhaps the people had better have remained dependent on foreign supply for forty years longer.

It was in the year 1671, that a privilege was obtained by one Andrew Anderson from Charles II., which continued for forty years, to the great disadvantage and molestation of the country, and most dishonorable to the King. At his very outset, Anderson had been convicted by the Privy-Council of gross inaccuracy in printing a New Testament, yet still this man, and especially his widow, were permitted to harass the trade on one hand, and the country on the other, with their productions; this woman actually accumulating very considerable wealth at the expense of both. Anderson's 8vo Bible in 1679 was, indeed, very well executed, but all the subsequent editions, down to 1712, waxed worse and worse. The privilege thus granted by Charles II. was of such shameful extent, that it has been said of it by one who felt its effects—"By this gift the art of printing in this kingdom (of Scotland) got a

dead stroke ; for by it, no printer could print, anything from a Bible to a ballad, without Anderson's license." Bibles the most illegible and incorrect that ever were printed in the world came from this press ; the patentee persecuted all the other printers in Scotland, and at last went so far as to seize a number of Bibles brought from London by the booksellers. Still the patent was never revoked, and when it came to an end, it will scarcely be believed, that this woman "left no stone unturned to procure a new one !" But the Stuart kings were gone, and under Queen Anne such an avaricious pest was no longer to be endured. Watson, from whose history we have quoted, became printer under Freebairn, the patentee, and a better day succeeded. For ten years, from 1713, he printed a number of most excellent editions in folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo, and twenty-fours. His editions of small size in 1715, 1716, 1719, and 1722, as well as his folio of 1722, are still deservedly esteemed. The assignees of Watson were not so careful, but by this time the Scriptures were printing in Edinburgh by two or three other houses. One merciful peculiarity, however, in regard to Scotland, and during the whole period under review, must not be forgotten. It was this : *importation* was never interdicted, and the consequence was, that long before 1650, and beyond 1780, the Scriptures had been imported during the run of all the home patents. Such Bibles are still in existence, and to be found there, ranging in point of dates throughout a period of above two hundred years. More than half the Bibles used in Scotland throughout the eighteenth century, are supposed to have been printed in England or Holland.

But we must not omit to glance at the *number* of Bibles and New Testaments printed in England, Holland, and Scotland on the whole. At the very threshold of this period, and so forward, we meet with one circumstance, which, to every reflecting mind, must immediately convey an idea of personal, and, of course, national responsibility, rising to a height beyond all accurate calculation. It is simply this—*The Books cannot be numbered !* Hitherto, we have numbered the editions printed. This is now *impossible*. From the commencement of this period to its close, no one can say how many *editions* of the English Bible have been published, much less inform us how many copies on the whole. On attempting this, one is soon lost, as in a wilderness ; but it is one unknown to any other part of the world, or any other language upon earth ; and all is vague conjecture. The printers themselves have left no data, nor can those now living lend any assistance. Both in England and Scotland, it is long since they have left off numbering even the editions.

That there should be one ever-watchful eye, and only One, who knows this secret, and the number of them all, is a consideration of no light import ; the amount of which will only be known, when another book is opened, which is "the book of life." But we have noticed this circumstance here, chiefly in order to point out its bearing upon everything else *printed* in the English tongue.

Even long before 1780, no *other* book, in the annals of printing, occupied such a place. Of no *other* book, in the history of our country and its literature, can anything approaching to this be asserted. As far as the English language and the art of printing were concerned, everything else in the form of human composition, or in the shape of a book, was reduced to a thing of comparative insignificance. Even before the close of the last century, notwithstanding the countless multitude of publications by men issued from the press, how triumphantly had the *Sacred Volume* redeemed itself altogether out of the usual category of *books*! This it has already done, by our simply following out only its history. Nor is this all. From the place it *thus* occupied even then in this land, it never will be, never can be, superseded as to its number, by any book of *human* composition in the shape of print. With all safety, at the present moment, we assert as much, not blind to all the approaching wonders of the steam-press itself.

It is, however, with the times that passed over Britain during these one hundred and thirty years, that we have now to do; and the all-important inquiry remains to be answered—What were the results? To record all these, would, of course, demand a volume. The days of burning the *Sacred Volume*, or those who possessed it, had long since passed away. And whatever the beneficial consequences now were, while, we repeat, that there had been many most estimable editions of the Divine Word, the slovenly and imperfect style in which man had too often fulfilled his part, only render the results so much the more observable. On the whole, however, at home, or within the shores of Britain, it must be confessed, there was by far too much ground for the genuine patriot to hang down his head. Thus, in finishing his well-known “History of the Translations of the Bible,” in 1738, one cannot but observe, that good John Lewis seems to have been in but very low spirits indeed with reference to the subject on which he had bestowed unprecedented research.

“This is the account,” says he, “which I have been able to give of the several translations of the Bible and New Testament into the ancient and modern English tongue, and of their most remarkable editions in print. From whence, I suppose, any one will infer the great honour and esteem that these holy books were always held in by our Christian ancestors: since they were so very desirous to have them, and to know and understand their contents, as to spare no cost or pains, but to run the hazard of even their lives and fortunes, and not to count them dear, so that they might but procure the free use of these books, and have the advantage of perusing them. The great number of the copies of them in manuscript, before printing was invented, and the many editions of them since printing came into use, is a demonstration of the great value put on them by the Christians here in England; and that every one who could read took care to purchase a Bible or Testament in the tongue wherein he was born. This, no doubt, will be thought a very great reproach to the professed Christians

of the present age, and but too good an argument of their having lost their first love, and being nowise earnest for the faith delivered to the saints in these holy books. Since—to our shame be it spoken—whatever reputation the Holy Bible *has* been had in, it is *now* treated with the utmost slight and neglect, and is scarce anywhere read but in our churches! So far, too, are many of our modern Christians here in England from reading this book, meditating on it, and letting the sense of it dwell richly or abundantly in them; that, everybody knows, the writings of the most silly and trifling authors are often preferred, and read with greater pleasure and delight. What surer sign can be given, that we have a name that we live, and are dead? And, consequently, that unless we remember from whence we are fallen, and repent, and do the first works, the great Author and finisher of our faith will come unto us quickly, and will remove our candlestick out of his place. *Sed Deus avertat omen.*”

Mr. Lewis, no doubt, spake as he felt at the moment, and must have had too much reason for all that he expressed. Yet such is the history of our English Bible, when *fully* followed out, that it will be sure to raise any man far above his own vicinity, his own community, or connections. From the beginning to the then existing moment, our Sacred Volume had been the counsellor of all departments throughout this nation, the partizan of none; and immediately after the author had penned these lines, by many who had never read them, considerably revived attention was given to the Scriptures of truth. But as we have now to raise our head, and survey a century and a half, we shall obtain a more enlarged view of the progress made; and it is not for us to present so sombre a picture of the times as that of Lewis. True, indeed, we have been accustomed all along to look to our own favored island only, as embracing the soil where the seed was sown; but we have come to another, and more advanced stage of this stupendous cause; and in tracing it out, if we simply follow the Sacred Volume, we are invited to depart, or to look far beyond the shores of either England or Scotland.

## SECTION II.—NORTH AMERICA.

### THE REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST TO GEORGE THE THIRD.

THE BIBLE FIRST BEHELD BY THE NATIVES IN AMERICA, AN ENGLISH ONE—COPIES CARRIED AWAY TO NEW ENGLAND BY THE REFUGEES AND FOLLOWING SETTLERS—EXTRAORDINARY RESULTS—WILLIAMS, ELIOT, MATHER, EDWARDS, BRAINERD—THE ENGLISH BIBLE IS AT LAST PRINTED IN AMERICA—THE FIRST EDITION IN 1782—THE FIRST BIBLES IN OCTAVO, QUARTO, AND FOLIO, PRINTED THERE IN 1791.

IN the opening of the seventeenth century, England and Scotland, once united under the same crown, had received the appel-



lation of *Great Britain* from her overjoyed monarch, James the First—a title peculiarly flattering to his personal vanity. In connection with the Sacred Volume, his kingdom exhibited the aspect of an island which had been invaded from without, and which, after long resistance at first, had been ultimately subdued by the Word of God. The Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, which were now happily printing both in England and Scotland, had, from the beginning, been often also *imported*, nay, and from Holland, copies were importing afterwards. But if perfect liberty not only to read, but also to judge of their contents, is not to be here obtained, Divine Providence has now another, and a greater lesson in reserve. The inestimable gift, or deposit, is not to be always, or even long, confined within the shores of Britain.

Of course, it could not then have crossed the imagination of any man, that the same unseen hand, which we have observed all along, was already in motion, and actually preparing for the population of a *new* world, where a freer life and a fresher nature were to be enjoyed; and even at the present day, few individuals may, at first, be disposed to trace the populating of the American wilderness, in any degree, to the consequences of *reading the English Bible in Britain*. At all events, the time had arrived, when, as it was carried out of England to the European Continent in the reign of Queen Mary, so under that of James, nay, and of *seven* sovereigns in succession, it was to be carried farther still. If the liberty to form opinion of its dictates, was a blessing denied to many under the Tudor family, so it happened under that of the Stuarts; and the same cause produced the same effect, only to a far greater extent. Under Queen Mary I., all that had occurred, was an affair of little more than five years' duration. It might be compared to the migration of those birds which, in summer, return again to gladden the land, for at that time many returned; but now, from the American "Pilgrim Fathers," and so onward, the people in general who hurried across the Atlantic, like the passengers to eternity, were to return no more. For this singular movement of the British people, in the *civil* department of the British constitution, there was not to be found even the shadow of a cause; but if the existing government of the mother country, generally speaking, was either so framed, or to be so conducted, as to charge itself with the vain task of regulating the mind, as well as that of ruling the bodies of its subjects, then was there no relief or remedy, but in another arrangement beyond seas. Hitherto, we have long, and not unfrequently, seen the Almighty overruling *individuals* of the highest authority within this kingdom; but, if necessary, it was as nothing with Him to overrule the *realm* itself. The only question will be, What connection had all this with the perusal of the Sacred Volume in our native language, and in our native land?

The very first Bible that was ever beheld by the Indians of North America, was, unquestionably, an *English* one, and so early as the year 1585. That part of the Continent then visited,

Queen Elizabeth had just named Virginia, and, in the expedition sent out, there happened to be one Heriot, an eminent mathematician, and apparently a kind-hearted Christian. Feeling deeply interested in the artless and hospitable Indian natives, he took advantage of the impressions made by the sight of their instruments, whether marine or mathematical, perspective and burning glasses, clocks and books. This led many of them to give credit to what he said respecting God. "In all places," says he, "where I came, I did my best to make his immortal glory known, and told them, though the *Bible* I showed them contained *all*, yet of itself it was not of any such virtue as I thought they did conceive. Notwithstanding, many would be glad to touch it, to kiss and embrace it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke all their body over with it."

Although America had been discovered to England, by Cabot, in 1497, under Henry VII., the first permanent colony on the coast of Virginia did not arrive till 1607, while our present version of the Bible was preparing; but this was still nothing more than a mercantile adventure under James I. It was in the year 1620 that the refugees from England to Holland embarked on board the *Mayflower*, and touching, by way of farewell, at the land of their birth, proceeded across the ocean. On the 12th of November that year, these "*Pilgrim Fathers*," as they have been ever since styled, having their Bibles with them, kept their first Sabbath on the shores of *New England*. The name thus given, by Prince Charles, a few years before, seemed to send its echo back to the country which they had left forever. The Sacred Volume in their native tongue, which these people prized above life itself, was now within the shores of a new Continent; but this was in the year 1620, whereas the *first Bible with an American imprint was not published till the year 1782*, that is, above a hundred and sixty years afterwards, or little more than only sixty years ago! Yes, such is the remarkable fact.

From the first reception of the English New Testament by Britain, it was about a hundred years before the Bible, so singularly conveyed to the island at first, began to be carried away, never to return. But what must now appear in retrospect far more extraordinary, for a *hundred and sixty* years the authorities at home would never permit of a single edition being printed, except within this island! To speak still more correctly is humiliating to our common nature. The British authorities, in fact, *never did* give any permission, but at the end of this long period, the English Bible was then printed, four thousand miles distant, *without* authority or liberty being either asked or granted by any man. As if the singular history of this version *must* still retain the integrity of its character, down to our own day, and exhibit to the world, once more, the same independence with which it was first presented to us at home, the American edition was printed in defiance of all British restrictions, in the year 1782.

The simple announcement of this fact, though never pointed

out or contemplated, as it has deserved to be, at once gives birth to a crowd of remarkable associations. Here was a period of more than a century and a half, in all which time no man, or set of men, is represented in history as particularly zealous in the business. Nothing similar to a society, confederacy, or association, was formed; the idea of either *cheap* or *gratuitous* circulation had never once entered the human mind, to any known extent; and yet, by the good providence of God, through the usual channels of commerce, *from the reign of James the First, down to that of the eighth sovereign in succession, or the 22d year of George III., was the Divine Record in English uniformly carried all the way across the Atlantic!* It belongs to the Christians throughout America at present, along with those now living in Britain, devoutly to mark this as by far the most remarkable SIGN OF THOSE TIMES. It was the zeal and long-suffering patience of God which thus ministered his Word to those who lived and died at such a distance from the spot where it was prepared! Odious, indeed, and humiliating must this spirit of restriction or monopoly now appear; but as to the event itself, never were any people upon earth so singularly supplied, and for so long a period, with the Word of Life. As one step in the path of Providence, it even still suggests the idea that something far more powerful and extensive is intended, through the medium of *this* version, than it has ever yet accomplished.

The greatness and importance of this movement, however, can only be estimated, by observing its results; or, in other words, by adverting to the trans-Atlantic events of that period, or the men who lived and died in America, throughout these years, and this would require a volume. But for our present purpose a very few names may suffice, and these are mentioned simply in the order of time, as they come before us. The first was born in Wales, the second in England, and the three last in America itself.

ROGER WILLIAMS,	born in 1599, died in 1683.	Aged 84.
JOHN ELIOT,	born in 1604, died in 1690.	Aged 86.
COTTON MATHER,	born in 1663, died in 1728.	Aged 65.
JONATHAN EDWARDS,	born in 1703, died in 1758.	Aged 55.
DAVID BRAINERD,	born in 1718, died in 1747.	Aged 30.

Roger Williams, a native of Wales, had been first bred to the law in England, under the immediate eye of Sir Edward Coke. He had once conversed with King James himself, procured his first charter in 1644 from Charles I., and the second in 1663, with the full consent of Charles the Second. The latter gave his promise, under his hand and broad seal, that "no person in Rhode Island should be molested, or questioned for matters of conscience to God, if so be he was loyal and kept the peace." Thus was insured to this small State almost entire exemption from all Indian hostility, and although their quiet was interrupted once in 1686, under *James the Second*, by Sir Edmund Andros, who dissolved their government, and broke their seal; after the Revolution in

1688-9, Rhode Island and Providence resumed their charter, on the ground that an act extorted by terror might be justly recalled when restraint no longer remained. With the exception of these three years, therefore, the Government, on which King Charles was experimenting, has now *consisted* for two hundred years.

Next comes JOHN ELIOT to meet us, and carrying his *Bible* in the language of the North American Indians, completed in the year 1663; for though the emigrants to America might *not* print their *own* Bible, they might print the Indian, or any other they pleased!

In the same year that Eliot published his Bible, COTTON MATHER was born, and here he comes with his singular "Ecclesiastical History of New England." For passing over all its strange credulity, he brings his "Essays to do good," to which Benjamin Franklin, and many others, have acknowledged themselves so much indebted; to say nothing of his three hundred and eighty publications beside.

Lest, however, any inquiry be made after strength of mind, here is JONATHAN EDWARDS, not only with his "Notes on the English Bible," and his "History of Redemption," but all his profound writings. Perhaps no man was held by him in higher admiration than DAVID BRAINERD, that prince of missionaries to the American Indians, whose example has been of such value ever since.

The time would now fail to tell of many other venerable, laborious, and useful characters; but though they were all before us, or all mentioned by name individually, one of the most notable circumstances in their lives was this—that *not one of these men ever possessed any other than an IMPORTED English Bible!* And *all* who ever heard them, *all* who read the book from which they preached, were using volumes which had come to them, thousands of miles, across the sea, from the land of their ancestors! A similar track, or lengthened train of proceeding, of course cannot be pointed out, with relation to any other European version of the Scriptures; and, with reference to any Bible in any language whatever, we may safely say, that the same remarkable course will never *again* occur in the history of future times. Meanwhile, if the path pursued has lent additional emphasis to the history of the English Bible, so it ought, assuredly, to the obligations of those millions, far and near, who now all read the same version.

To return, however, to the history itself, the first proper American imprint, as already stated, was not before 1782; though in the course of this long extended period, there was one attempt at what has been styled piracy, in a small edition of only 800 copies of the Bible, in quarto, by Kneeland and Green of Boston. But it certainly casts no honorable reflection on the monopoly so long maintained in England, that this was done only by an evasion of the patent. Carried through the press as privately as possible, about the year 1752, it bore this imprint—"London: Printed by Mark

Baskett, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty." A similar expedient was resorted to with a solitary edition of the New Testament, by Rogers and Powle of the same place. The principal man concerned in both, was Daniel Henchman, a spirited bookseller, who had built one of the first paper mills in New England. The fact is, that the printing press had been set up as early as 1639, and its noblest fruit had been the Indian Bible for the natives; *other* books they were at liberty to print; they had a newspaper as early as 1704, and were making paper from one generation to another; but owing to their connection with Britain, they must *not* print the *English Bible*! The very few Scriptures now mentioned—such was the humiliating apology—were thus put forth, "in order to prevent a prosecution from those in England and Scotland who published the Bible by a patent from the Crown, or '*cum privilegio*,' as did the universities of Oxford and Cambridge." Nor, alas! for Old England, was the liberty *EVER* granted! At last it was wrested from her, *nolens volens*, so that the first English Bible, with an American imprint, was not published till the year already specified. In connection with this fact, one should have imagined there could scarcely have been another more humiliating to national vanity; and yet there was one, which must not be suppressed, as it may be of some value even still. During this long period, no other nation in Europe had so treated its vernacular Bible. There never was any monopoly of the Sacred Scriptures, as to printing them, in Germany, similar to that in England; no patents from the beginning, to compare with British policy. And therefore the first Bible in any European language, printed in *our own* America, was in *German*. This was in 1743, after having been three years in the press, by Christopher Sauer at Germantown, near Philadelphia. He printed a second edition in 1762, and a third in 1776. It was only her *own* Bible, as already stated, that England held in chains.

Still, however, and as if to link the two countries, even *then*, more closely than ever in Christian bonds, this first American Bible is the more worthy of notice, as not having been the work of a native American. It was a year equally memorable in both countries. Political ties might be snapt asunder; not so those of Christianity; and at the very moment in which American independence was acknowledging by Britain, there had been printed by a native of Scotland, on the American shore, and in the city of Philadelphia, a practical acknowledgment, that we were still the readers of one common Bible, and equally bound by the same Divine authority.

ROBERT AITKEN, born in 1734 at Dalkeith, had served a regular apprenticeship to some bookbinder in Edinburgh, and afterwards perfecting himself in the knowledge of the book trade, at the age of thirty-five he sailed for America. Having seen the country, he came home, and in 1771, with a stock of books, embarked for Philadelphia. Three years after this, having commenced printer, and in 1775, a magazine, it was in 1782 that he

published, in small duodecimo, his edition of the Bible in brevier type—"Philadelphia, printed and sold by R. Aitken, &c., MDCCLXXXII." Mr. Aitken died only in 1892, having survived his son, but he left a *daughter*, who continued the business; and she has had the honor of printing the *only* edition of the *Septuagint* that ever had been translated into English.

At the end of the Old Testament, in Aitken's edition, was printed a resolution of *Congress*, recommending it to the people at large, "as a pious and laudable undertaking, in the *existing* state of the country." Into the history of the printing of the English Scriptures by native Americans, we here enter no farther than to mention, that the *first* English Bible, in *folio*, was published in Worcester, Massachusetts, by Isaiah Thomas, in 1791; and the first, in *quarto*, with a concordance, also that year. At the same period, the *first* edition of the English version in *octavo*, was printed at Trenton, in New Jersey, by Isaac Collins. The *second*, in *duodecimo*, was not published till 1797, by Thomas at Worcester, Massachusetts, which seems to prove, that Bibles of this size, at least, if not others, were still importing from Britain.

Thus, as far as we have come, and before we proceed to our final section, we may be permitted to assert, it has been demonstrated, that for more than two hundred and fifty years, or from 1526 to 1782, the Sovereign Disposer of all events had proceeded invariably, and with infinite long-suffering, after the *same* manner, whether in England or Scotland, or finally in America.

### III.—OR FINAL SECTION.

#### REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD TO QUEEN VICTORIA.

##### *The last Sixty-four Years.*

THE COMMENCEMENT OF A GREATER MOVEMENT THAN EVER BEFORE—THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN FRANCE—ACTION IS CALLED FOR—THE SOVEREIGN DISPOSER OF ALL EVENTS. AS A SECRET MOVER, UNOBSERVED—THE FIRST FEEBLE MOVEMENT TAKING ITS NAME FROM THE BIBLE—THE SECOND—ITS ENTIRE FAILURE NO GROUND FOR DISCOURAGEMENT—TEN YEARS BEFORE DIVINE PROVIDENCE FIXED ON ONE YOUNG MAN—TWO OTHER MEN GO TO HIS AID—THE BIBLE WITHOUT EITHER NOTE OR COMMENT DRAWS MORE ATTENTION—THE DESTITUTION OF IT IN WALES—THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY WITH ITS AUXILIARIES—THEIR EXERTIONS UP TO THE PRESENT DAY—FALL IN THE PRICE OF THE SACRED VOLUME—AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY—CONCLUSION AS CHEERING AS IT WAS UNANTICIPATED.

SPEAKING generally, for these three hundred years, there has been one feature of distinction between England and France. A marked distinction, confessed by all, has long existed, and it has appeared so palpable, that the British people have been described as "living in a sort of *moral* separation from the rest of Europe,

analogous to their physical insulation." An eminent French writer, M. Guizot, has lately said as much, and then he traces this to "the development of the principles, the *different* elements of society taking place in some measure at the *same time*, at least much more simultaneously than upon the Continent." There is much of truth and beauty in his subsequent explanation, but in searching for an adequate cause of distinction, must we not go farther, or deeper than this? Must we not inquire whether there was not some appliance, or powerful agency within this country, which France, as a country, had repudiated, or of which she has been, for ages, comparatively destitute? And if we *do* find something among the people here, but not there, the operation of which, in its influence on society, may be compared to the irresistible influence of secreted leaven, are we not called to watch and observe it? To observe it, too, in its operation upon every *element* of society, let that society, as a whole, be found in whatever condition it may? Now it is notorious, that the Sacred Volume has never been received so as to be calmly and deliberately enjoyed in France, as it has been in Britain. Civilization, indeed, in the popular sense of that term, has proceeded in both countries, and so much the better for all the purposes of comparison. There is, indeed, no necessity for our nicely balancing which has been foremost in *that* race, but we are certainly bound to observe how one people, *with* the Divine record in their hands, have gone on; and then to observe the other, who have advanced in what is styled civilization, *without* it. Their respective careers afford one great moral lesson, in which the incidents on the road, and the progress of the journey, become alike impressive and full of instruction; while, at the same time, it is not to be forgotten that such has been the place which France and Britain have occupied in the eye of the world, that all Europe has looked on—all Europe has been engrossed, and even affected; nay, such is the actual position of these two kingdoms at the present moment.

The history of Britain, in connection with the Scriptures, we have already given; and, in this comparison, let all justice be done to her potent neighbor. There *was* a time, in the sixteenth century, when France bade fair to have followed in the same career. Like England, and especially Scotland, she was highly favored from *without*. In the course of only fifty years, or from 1550 to 1600, there were printed not fewer than ninety-eight editions of the French Bible, and fifty-nine of the New Testament separately. Again, when in 1600, Lertourt had printed his edition in folio, it was followed by thirty-five editions in various sizes, besides fifty-six separate editions of the New Testament. To these we may add thirty-six editions of the Catholic version, and seventy-four of the New Testament, from 1600 to 1700. Here, then, of the Scriptures in the French tongue, we have not fewer than *three hundred and fifty-eight* distinct issues from the press! Oh, what an affecting retrospect, if all this was *not* to prevail? If all this was to be resisted from within the kingdom at large? For of these

358 editions, not fewer than 295 had been printed, not in France, but chiefly at Geneva, on the one hand, and at Amsterdam, on the other. Yet so it happened, for then came the reign of Louis XIV., with a brilliancy of a far different character. Were any one to take the hundred years which preceded his being declared of age in 1651, and compare it with the century which followed his death in 1715, few historical contrasts would be more striking. In the former, we should see the truth of God combating superstition, and promising, if only let alone, to make the vine-covered hills of France rejoice in the possession of the true vine; in the latter would be seen but little or nothing else save infidelity, undisguised and unblushing, in frantic rage against Divine truth itself.

During the seventeenth century in France, but more especially from the year when Louis the Fourteenth was declared of age, all eyes were fixed on the Crown, and for sixty years despotic monarchy was the order of the day. This long reign has not unfrequently been compared to that of Augustus. Poets and orators, philosophers and lawyers, painters and architects, were not merely allowed to play their several parts, but they were fostered and stimulated by the royal bounty, while at the same time arts and commerce were brought into a flourishing condition. But was this all? Not to mention the licentiousness of this Monarch and his Court, how did he conduct himself towards the human mind and the Sacred Volume? After hearing Massillon on more occasions than one, well might he go away, as he confessed, "very much displeased with himself;" but he was the slave of his own passions, and so died. It was the same man who persecuted the Port-Royal of which Pascal was the head, who banished Fenelon, but to crown all, revoked the Edict of Nantes, in 1685! And what then? More than fifty thousand families, nay, it has been said eight hundred thousand individuals fled the kingdom, and they are not in this history to be called by any mere nickname. Correctly speaking, they were the people who plead for the *Scriptures*, or possessed them; and prizing them from principle, above life itself, left all behind. They were the salt of the land, as the pestilential exhalations which followed most fully proved. No, the condition in which a Monarch *leaves* his country, has been well described as the key to his character and to his reign; and in what condition was France when Louis the XIV. died in September 1715? Dying at the age of seventy-seven, after a reign, in full sovereignty, of more than sixty years; several provinces were left less powerful than they were even at the beginning. The insatiable thirst for splendor at Court had beggared the kingdom, and another Versailles would have completed its ruin. The people possessed no rights; the Royal authority was restrained by no limits. And how did the people behave, when their King died? They insulted his funeral procession, and the Parliament cancelled his will. He had carried despotism to its utmost height, violating laws both human and divine; but the eyes of Louis *Le Grand* once closed in death, his entire system was levelled to the ground.



Such was the termination of brilliant despotic monarchy in France.

But if after this period, French government as such had little or no power to annoy, the eighteenth century was to prove of a far more serious or searching character. A storm which had been long gathering, amidst the elegant gayety or external polish which reigned at Paris and Versailles, was, in the end, to break over the country at large; and occasion not a few, even in Britain, to stand in doubt whether she should be able to weather it. Properly speaking, this was a question, not respecting *government* of any kind, but *society* at large. It was not any single monarch which now filled the eye, all over Europe, but the people of France, in full resolve to throw off every restraint, human and divine. It was a development of what was styled "public opinion," working for unlimited display, and for many years. The closing ten years of the eighteenth century only interpreted a process which had been in constant operation ever since the days of the Grand Monarch. The death of Louis the Fourteenth had been the signal for action. In patronizing genius, he had been all along inviting intelligence and opinion, and the next century was to explain to all Europe, as had been done in ancient times, "that science may flourish amidst the decay of humanity, and that the utmost barbarity may be blended with the utmost refinement."

Under Louis the Fifteenth, the French in general were at a loss to comprehend how a narrow channel of seven leagues sufficed to separate a country where the people were everything, from one in which they were nothing: but there were philosophers, falsely so called, busy night and day, and they had sternly resolved to make "something" of the people. It was not an error into which these men had separately fallen, and which they separately avowed, but a deep-laid, understood design. A powerful confederacy had been formed, at the head of which all historians agree in placing VOLTAIRE. His disciples or associates are known to all. There was Toussaint and Helvetius, D'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and many others of the same school. The vain design, which was carried on for many years, with great subtilty, was to sap the foundations of Christianity, and destroy the authority of *Scripture*. Before these men, there was nothing so inviting in their own apprehension as the triumph of Reason, the perfectibility of the human race. By this time, the mind of man, they said, sighed for its *native home*, and well it might; but they fearfully mistook their way, when they confounded Christianity with superstition, and cast away the word of Jehovah. There was, however, to be no Temple save the Temple of Reason. As it were, in the inner court of this structure, the league had been formed against all who looked higher than *Nature*, for the object of their veneration and confidence. They had banded together, and their *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique* contained the entire poison of the sect—Scepticism, Materialism, Deism, and unblushing Atheism. Carefully enlisting the lusts and passions on their side, against every species of re-

strait they had vowed vengeance; but, above all, the Sacred Volume excited their implacable hatred. Voltaire, their hoary ringleader, was born in 1694, and at the age of 81, was full of the hope of success. Upon Louis the Sixteenth ascending the throne, in 1775, when writing to Frederick of Prussia, the *philosopher* King, for such was the title in which they gloried—"I know not," said he, "whether our young King will imitate your example, but I know that, with the exception of one, who is a bigot, he has taken *philosophers* for his ministers; one of them, M. Turgot, is worthy of your Majesty's conversation. The priests are in despair. *This is the beginning of a great revolution.*"

This vain and miserable apostle and high priest of infidelity had now for half a century vented all his malice, especially against the Scriptures. With learning, such as he had cultivated and possessed, with genius and wit, he had daily, year after year, put forth all his strength. Both Jews and Christians, the Old Testament and the New, he had assailed, as if laboring under a virulent species of black inspiration. At this moment he was within three years of his death, as he expired at Paris on the 30th of May, 1778, it is generally understood, in mental agony not to be described. It was only three years after, when one of the best of our English poets placed him in contrast with an English Christian cottager—"never heard of half a mile from home," and in verse which will never die.

"The Scripture was his jest-book, whence he drew  
 'Bon mots' to gall the Christian and the Jew;  
 An infidel in health—but what when sick?  
 Oh—then a text would touch him at the quick:  
 View him at Paris in his last career.——"

The votaries of this school, it is well known, died miserably almost to a man. Condorcet swallowed poison, when, in the depth of wretchedness, he was pursued by the myrmidons of the Revolution at that time raging. The scene was then, if it be not still, indescribable. There was no inundation of surrounding nations from without, no earthquake or pestilence from within, but a ferocity more terrible than them all in union, which spared no age, nor sex, nor rank. With all its horrors, however, it was nothing more than the natural or necessary result of those principles which had been diffused throughout France, for many years; and with a zeal which had never, in modern times, been exhibited by the believers in Christianity. As if to keep *them* humble, and rouse *them* to activity, in all time to come, and especially in times like the *present*; never let it be forgotten, that before the Revolution of 1792, the promoters of infidelity in France are stated to have raised among themselves and spent, a sum equal to *nine hundred thousand pounds in one year*, nay, again and again, in purchasing, printing and dispersing books, to corrupt the minds of the people, and prepare them for desperate measures!

Amidst a frenzy, so peculiar in its character, and certainly unknown to any former age, while France was driving on in misery,

neither Britain, nor even her colonies, remained unmoved. To say nothing of older sceptics, from Herbert to Hobbes, England had now her Edward Gibbon; Scotland, her David Hume, who by the way had first lighted his taper in France, with a view to his own country; and then finally came home, an Apostle to the *common* people, Thomas Paine from America. In Britain the sentiments of Gibbon and Hume had infected the higher classes, and it is well if many of them be not infected still; but for the people at large, Paine, though obliged to leave his native land, sent into it fourteen thousand of his deistical publications, and these were followed by large and cheap editions printed on British ground, and most industriously circulated.

After all this, and on both sides of the Channel, certainly never more could infidelity complain of want of time or space, to put forth all her strength. The tree was one of a hundred years' growth, and now it stood like the deadly upas, in great vigor, spreading its branches all around. Philosophy, falsely so called, had actually done her "perfect work," and to what now did it all amount? The mass of a mighty neighboring nation was reduced to the rank of atheism; one of the most current of all languages had become the language of infidelity; the most polished people upon earth had become the most profligate, and even ferocious; the burning lava of French principles was overflowing the Continental nations, and Britain was now more than threatened: she had been scorched, and begun to suffer. Her very colonies were affected. Not only was the baneful influence felt in America, but even in India, almost all Europeans were of the infidel school. There, said Sir James Mackintosh, "every form of religion was tolerated, *except* the Christian." Some English writers went so far as to apply to the times one passage of Sacred writ: "And the fourth angel poured out his vial on the sun; and power was given unto him to scorch men with fire: and men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory." They remarked, at the same time, that this "heat" could not be understood of the persecution of the faithful, because they would not *blaspheme* under it. But all prophetic or ambiguous language apart—

"The very spirit of the world was tired  
Of its own taunting question, asked so long,  
'Where is the promise of your Lord's approach?'  
The infidel had shot his bolts away,  
Till, his exhausted quiver yielding none,  
He glean'd the blunted shafts that had recoil'd,  
And aim'd them at the shield of Truth again."

Such a scene Europe had never before witnessed, so that if the dormant energies of all who believed in Divine Revelation had not been awakened, never could they have said that burning zeal had not been displayed by the enemy—zeal sufficient to have roused the soul of every one in this country, who rested all his

hope for time and eternity on the Sacred Volume *alone*. To this, therefore, and to this *alone, and without note or comment*, must, they not finally turn?

In these circumstances, however, and only thus far, we may be permitted to remark one notable distinction between France and Britain. Both countries, it will be said, had produced their respective infidels, and where then lay any difference? In France had they not enjoyed elegant writers in Fenelon and Pascal? Ecclesiastical and civil historians, as in Dupin, Fleury, and Rollin? Nay, celebrated preachers, as in Bourdaloue and Massillon? True, nor do we forget among them all, Houbigant, living till within about thirty months of being an hundred years old, from 1686 to 1783. Shut out, by deafness, from society around him, for more than eighty years of study, he had put forth his Hebrew Bible in four volumes folio in 1753; and borrowing strength from England and Scotland, translated Charles Leslie's tracts against Deism, and President Forbes's thoughts on Religion, natural and revealed. But still, throughout the eighteenth century, there had risen not one French mind, of sufficient power and skill to gain-say and resist, so as to check the tide of infidelity. No, it spread over the people, and swept all before it into one common ruin. And why? *The people in France HAD NOT READ THE SCRIPTURES FOR THEMSELVES.* A *ceremonial* religion, though supported by immense wealth, had proved to be no barrier. On British ground there was a difference. Her sceptics in succession, had, every one of them, been looked hard in the face. From Herbert down to Hume and Paine, they had been fully met, exposed and overthrown; while Deism, false philosophy, and boasted human reason were not only tried by appeal to the oracles of God, but scrutinized as to their moral tendency, and found wanting. But why all this, or rather why successful, to whatever degree? We hesitate not to reply, that there is but one answer. *The people in Britain HAD LONG READ THE SCRIPTURES FOR THEMSELVES.*

Such a storm as this, however, was not to be drifted to leeward by the breezes of controversy. Man might do his utmost, and seemed to have done so; but the sky had not cleared, nor, to human apprehension, had the tide turned. At last, towards the close of the century, Richard Watson, who had so meanly crouched to Gibbon in 1779, after having written against him in his "*Apology for Christianity*," put forth a second apology. It was no other than an "*Apology*" for the Bible!! This able publication was of great use, so far as the audacious and vulgar sophistry of Paine had imposed on such as had not previously examined for themselves; although the advocate of divine truth could not have descended *lower*, in adopting such a title, in reference to such a creature; but still there was actually nothing done by man, such as the times demanded. Disintangling the sophisms of infidel writers, or resisting the scurrility of licentious and profane men, was but like fighting in the fire for very vanity. Human compo-

sition of any kind was but of little avail. It was not a time for writing *books*. The season called for action—UNITED ACTION.

Here, however, obstacles deeply rooted, and of long standing, presented themselves, and especially in Britain throughout. That there were myriads of Christians within her shores, all reading the same Bible, could be questioned by no man; but how to bring those myriads together, or how to make them act in *union*, were questions more difficult than that which Columbus proposed with respect to the egg. Differences, professedly conscientious, had kept British Christians asunder for ages. As bodies of men, they had been living in a state of estrangement from each other, from father to son. It seemed as if there were even a degree of hereditary alienation from each other. The writer is old enough to remember all this distinctly, and more than this. Not to mention prejudice, selfishness, or easy indifference, there was the spirit of nationality, as seen, not merely in the different forms under which Christianity was professed, but in the five different languages spoken within the realm. Among them all, there were those who read and revered the sacred page; but *how* they were to be brought together: *how* they were ever to put forth their energy in *union*, no man had yet said, because no one had yet seen. There was the spirit of monopoly affecting every interest, whether sacred or civil; or, what was many years since designated by no common mind, the mind of Wilberforce, that "nasty little corporation spirit," which not only tied up the hand, but froze the heart, and made self the centre and circumference, whether of feeling or desire. All these things had given such a tough and unaccommodating character to Christians, on the whole, that union to any great extent was certainly *not* premeditated. By the generality it was not then expected.

Long had Britain boasted of her "*Institutions*"—far too long. But, though formed professedly both for defence and safety in time of danger, to which of them could she, or did she, now look for help, against the common foe of divine truth? She stood, indeed, like a stag at bay, and withstood, as no other nation had; but it is not now to be concealed, or to be forgotten, that not one of her corporate bodies, not one of her "interests," or her long-established institutions, stepped forward, as such; nor would the strongest of them all have been of any avail in turning the tide of infidelity, much less in driving it back. The fact was, that a spirit of scepticism had more or less infected all ranks and all parties; and yet the union of *all* was demanded, a united phalanx, a larger Christian *circle* than Britain had ever witnessed, and, ultimately, than the world itself had seen. Yet how was such a thing possible?

Meanwhile, the enemy had been united, and united only for purposes of vengeance or disorganization. The enemy was at the gates, and had spoken with a voice which had made the nations quail—our own included. But in regard to *this* country, it is most of all remarkable, for we are now at sufficient distance to see it as soon as pointed out, the *real state of things* was per-

ceived by no man in it. In the very heart of this crisis, as in every other such, or just when the tide of infidelity was rising to its height, Providence was first, and the first mover. The names of a very few men then moved, remain unknown to this day; nor was a single individual among this feeble band then aware of the work he had begun. The enemy was certainly coming in like a flood; but the finger of God had already at least pointed to a standard against him. It involved but a *single*, but a *simple* idea, in proof of the quarter from whence it came; yet nearly a quarter of a century passed away, before it was *heartily* taken up by man. God had spoken once, nay, twice, yet man perceived it not. The first time he did so, a remedy was pointed out, applicable not to one class in this nation alone, or at such a season, but to the world at large, though this was not yet observed. The second time was in reference to FRANCE itself, and at the very moment in which their fearful Revolution was about to burst out; though that was not a soil where such an idea could *then* be expected to ripen into action. "The still small voice," however, already uttered, and on *both* sides of the channel, was not to be ultimately drowned in the roar of infidelity.

But in addition to those incidents, which will be explained presently, it will also appear that, though it was in the shades of obscurity, God had already infused a spirit of deepest sympathy into one human breast in England. It was sympathy for his country, though not for it alone, but more especially for *foreign and distant*, or heathen nations. In modern times, it was the commencement of a NEW feeling in the human heart, and of more value to the best interests of Britain, than, as a nation, she has even yet perceived. Such, however, will turn out to be the first *symptoms* of that great movement to which we have alluded, and now turn.

In the year 1780, while England was in a state of warfare not only with America and France, but with Spain and Holland, the first association of individuals known by a title taken from the Scriptures themselves, without note or comment, took its rise. "*The Bible Society*," and nothing more, was the name chosen. With whom the idea originated, has never been clearly stated; but at such a period it was the more singular, as being intended solely for the benefit of *soldiers* and *sailors*. It had been resolved to put into their hands the words of Him of whom it is said, "He shall judge among the nations, and rebuke many people, and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks—neither shall they learn war any more." It appears to have been simply the idea of their frequent exposure to death, whether by land or sea, that suggested the movement.

This Society was supported by "voluntary individual subscriptions, and collections at different places of worship." Within two years they had expended upwards of £1500, having distributed more than eleven thousand Bibles among different regiments and ship's crews. The very first ship to which they gave the Scriptures, it is singular enough, was one, the hulk of which Major-

General Pasley, with such laborious ingenuity has been raising out of the deep in our own day, at the distance of sixty years after she had sunk.

“It was not in the battle;  
No tempest gave the shock;  
She sprang no fatal leak;  
She ran upon no rock.

“A land breeze shook the shrouds,  
And she was overset;  
Down went the Royal George,  
With all her crew complete.”

It must have been about eighteen months before this that a Bible had been given to every couple of seamen; and “by letters from some on board, written before the sad and sudden event, there was sufficient ground to believe that the Holy Scriptures had made some of that crew wise unto salvation.” There were 400 Bibles on board, “when Kempenfelt went down with twice four hundred men.” At subsequent periods we read of many thousands of the Sacred Volume having been distributed; for it need scarcely be mentioned that this is the same institution which exists at the present day, under the title of the Naval and Military Bible Society.

It was not till ten years later, or May 1792, that we hear of another kindred association. A certain number of individuals in England, chiefly in London, had met, and assumed the title of “*The French Bible Society*.” Their object was to furnish those persons in the French nation who were destitute, with copies of the Scriptures in their native tongue.

They had opened correspondence with some gentlemen in Paris, who had expressed an intention of forming a similar Society. A printer at Paris had been engaged, and four thousand livres remitted in advance, while they in England recommended the formation of societies in different parts of this country. But all this was in vain: it was all too late, whether on this side of the Channel or on that. Over France, in general, and especially throughout the summer of 1792, there was lowering nothing save the sulkiness of a thunder-storm before it opens, and the Revolutionary war put a period to all communication between the countries. The funds remitted were lost. “We have lived in times,” said the printer, still alive in 1801, “which have destroyed everything, overturned everything, and all must begin afresh.” But nothing then could be either begun, or carried on; so the money collected in England had to be spent in circulating English Bibles in *Ireland*, and the Society was then *dissolved*!

Nor, in this failure, was there anything to discourage the historian of the times. No work of any magnitude *ever* took its first rise from an assemblage, or confederacy, whether large or small. Of this fact we have abundant illustration in Scripture itself; it is reiterated with great power, especially in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews; and our previous history from the beginning throughout forms a running attestation to the same effect. An association of any kind, involved *too many* for God to begin with. At all events, we do not hear one word more of a Bible Society, nor was one spoken of, for more than ten years to come.

These years, however, even from 1780, were pregnant with vital importance in regard to all that have followed since. And though even now but imperfectly understood, in other days, when tracing the footsteps of a gracious Providence, not in our Island alone, but in lands distant "far as the sea-fowl in a year can fly," they will look back to this period, or before the existence of any modern efforts, styled missionary, when the Church at large lay in a state of sad and criminal repose. But in doing this, every one will have to be alike content, should he meet with scarcely more than one human agent, or no more than one man, wherever he was, and however unknown at the time.

If, therefore, throughout these years, there was anything else in progress, however secretly,—if there was one individual mind loaded with one subject, and if, instead of any community of whatever description, that individual attract notice, it will only be in perfect keeping with the entire history through which we have passed. Now, from the year 1780 down to 1792, when he fully declared himself, and in the very same month, when certain men, of whom he knew nothing, were thinking of France, their next-door neighbor only; we are informed of one who, when all that he accomplished before death is taken into account, cannot be overlooked without doing injustice to the present history. If his mind had been, for years, engrossed,—if his heart had been, in truth oppressed by a sense of pity for mankind, and of imperative obligation to convey the Volume of Inspiration to every land, we have found at least one appropriate link in the chain of our narrative with regard to the Scriptures, nor have we been able to find any other.

It was in the year 1779, when he had only completed his eighteenth year, that this young man was brought to a heartfelt persuasion of the truth of Christianity, and, in justice to the *English Bible*, in the first instance, let it be observed, that in little more than three years, "without reading anything material on Christian doctrine, *besides the Scriptures*, he had formed his own system." The same version, for many generations, his countrymen and forefathers in succession had been perusing; but certainly never since it was first translated, had it been read with the same ultimate effects, for his mind was already bent upon *action*. These early impressions were the more remarkable in that they were cherished, and grew, amidst a most singular conflict of opinion, respecting the *duty* of all to whom the Gospel is proclaimed, *to believe* it—so very low had Scriptural Christianity sunk! At the same moment, senior ministers of the truth, around him, were saying,—“The time is not come; the time that the Lord’s house should be built;” and those in younger years responded,—“There is more than enough to do at home.” Certainly, no one was more ready to admit, that much, very much, remained to be accomplished in his own country; but of this young man it requires to be particularly observed, that it was rather the dark and immoral state of the world itself, and upon the largest scale, which had taken possession of him, and so



preyed upon his spirits. It is now an established fact, that for years together he had no one who could fully sympathize with the deep and peculiar frame of his spirit. From a personal acquaintance with circumstances, even the writer is able to attest as much. All that time he emphatically belonged to *himself*. A persisting and unquenchable efficacy of purpose dwelt in him, night and day.

By this time there may be not a few who suspect or anticipate that we have been alluding to CAREY—the Tyndale, in our own day, not of an island only, but of a continent, or not of Bengal alone, with its thirty millions of a population, but the first translator of the Bible entire into the parent language of India, as well as several of its dialects, and of the New Testament Scriptures into others, not a few. As a reader of *the English Bible*, in the first instance, and with such effect, he comes to fill his appropriate place in such a work as the present.

At the same time in which William Carey was meditating on this subject, and devising ways and means to give the Bible to the whole world, the great philanthropist, Thomas Clarkson, then a young man, was revolving in his noble heart his plans for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade.

Throughout the whole of the following year, or 1786, it is impossible to say of Carey and Clarkson, which was most painfully engrossed with his appropriate subject. The latter began to think “that the finger of Providence was discernible,” but the former still met with objections, on the ground of “so much needing to be done at *home*.” Before the close of this year, Clarkson imagined “that the day-star of African liberty was rising; and that probably he might be permitted to become a humble instrument in promoting it; but to Carey neither sun nor star for many days appeared. His object being of a deeper character, he must sustain still longer mental suspense. The fact was, that Clarkson had been more than surprised, to hear of the labors of GRANVILLE SHARP, and that some six individuals in London had been associated for the purpose of enlightening the public mind; while, at the same moment, Carey also had at least three stanch friends, to whom he had applied with great earnestness. These, it is well known, were FULLER, SUTCLIFF, and RYLAND. He this year had urged any one of them to take up *his* subject, but they knowing well how much and deeply he had thought, devolved it on himself. When the extent to which he pushed his “Enquiry,” is observed, and the circumstances of the writer at the moment are taken into account, if we consider it simply as a literary production, it would be difficult to find a parallel. Ungainly in his appearance, absorbed in thought, he was regarded by some others as phlegmatic, and how could he be otherwise than dull? Independently of the subject with which his mind was loaded, he was now preaching regularly at Moulton, a village four miles from Northampton, for an income much below twenty pounds, and he was teaching a school as an additional means of support! These were circum-

stances not likely to elevate the spirits of any man, and which certainly augured anything but future influence and power; save in the eye of Him who "draws from human littleness his grandeur and renown." But still, he was now reading the Bible in three, if not four languages, and every incidental circumstance only contributed to deepen the impression on his mind, as well as his sympathy for the most distant nations. Among other branches, when instructing some of the village children in geography, of which he was very fond, he had resolved to inform them, as he pointed out the different countries on the map, or rather on a globe by himself constructed of *leather*, the *religion* professed by each of them. Going over these, as he had to do, again and again, saying—"These are Christians, and these are Mahomedans, and these are Pagans, and these are *Pagans*, and *these are Pagans!*" the thought would as often return upon him—"Why, they are almost *all* Pagans, and I am now telling these children as a mere fact, that which involves a truth of the most melancholy character." But so passed away 1786, and longer still.

Heartfelt sympathy, or conscientious obligation with regard to the moral condition of Heathen nations, or distant lands, was unquestionably *a new feeling*, which had now sprung up within the shores of England. For more than two centuries and a half she had enjoyed the light of Divine revelation, but had never yet acted fully in character, or almost, in any degree, worthy of the high favor bestowed upon her, whether in 1526, or in 1537.

The feeling, however, now to be found in the bosom of one man, was not to be cherished only, and then to die with *him*. For several years still, indeed, this deep impression had to be maintained amidst feeble hopes of success, or rather many discouragements. Thus, partly owing to straitened circumstances, and to his own modesty, the "Enquiry," of Carey was not published till 1792. But the same year he enjoyed one special public opportunity of unburdening his mind of the convictions and impressions of previous years. Having read Isaiah liv. 2, 3, he remarked in his introduction, that the Church was here addressed as a desolate widow, dwelling in a little cottage by herself; that the command given, to enlarge her tent, contained an intimation that there should be an enlargement of her family; and that to account for so unexpected a change, she was told that her "Maker was her husband," so that another day he would be called "the God of the *whole* earth." He then enforced what he conceived to be the spirit of his text, in two exhortations. "*Expect great things—from God.*" "*Attempt great things—for God.*" "If all the people had lifted up their voices and wept," said Ryland. "I should not have wondered at the effect; it would only have seemed proportionate to the cause; so clearly did he prove the criminality of our supineness, in the cause of God." To all he then uttered, the preacher soon gave the force of his own example, by leaving his native land, with the fixed intention of laying his bones in India.

It is worthy of remark, that while the audience he had addressed, was so deeply moved at the moment, there is certainly no discourse in modern times, which has been so frequently alluded to since. The two leading remarks have been repeated, as a sort of "key-note;" then first struck; and repeated also, as an instigation to exertion, ever since, for these fifty years, in England, America, and the East. And why? Within the compass of an hour, the man was expressing the deep feeling of eight or nine years.

Upon embarking for India next year, it might have been supposed that England would have enjoyed the favor of sending to her own colonial possessions one of her own sons, so bent on conveying the word of life and truth to the Heathen; but as a nation or government, she could no more enter into the design, even in 1792, than she had done when she herself was about to be so mercifully visited, through Tyndale, in 1526. The analogy between the two cases was but too strong. If on the part of authority, in the early part of the sixteenth century, there had been fear of England *receiving* the Sacred Volume in her native language; so in the close of the eighteenth, on the part of certain authorities, there was also fear as to the consequences of *giving* it, and that to her own Eastern possessions!! The second psalm, after having been read upon British ground, for above two hundred and fifty years, was not yet understood! The honor, therefore, of conveying Carey to his appointed field of action, was given to a Danish vessel, and he left his native land, never to return, as Tyndale had done, so long before. Nor did the resemblance here terminate. Our translator was never quite secure of permanent residence, in his adopted continent, till he had sat down upon Danish ground at Serampore, and for a short period, when it was taken by the British, scarcely even there. Still it was from this spot, as from a little sanctuary of only six square miles, that the Sacred Volume was to issue forth in so many of the Oriental languages. In the modern, as well as the ancient instance, the undertaking must appear to be, not a national, but a providential one.

Carey having arrived at Calcutta, in November 1793, as there was no decided movement in his native land with regard to the English Bible, or any other, for more than ten years to come, the space can only be filled up by his progress in the translation of the Scriptures into Bengalee and other tongues, and in their printing, as commenced in the year 1800.

Possessed with a mature acquaintance with Christian doctrine, in his thirty-third year, and in the spring of 1794, Carey had begun to translate the New Testament into the language of Bengal, and by 1797 it was finished, and nearly ready for the press, as soon as types could be cast, and a printing-press procured. These were the days when everything was to *begin*, and far different in their character from those of following years; but thus laboring in India, there was time sufficient given, if not appointed, for the character and exertions of our Translator to make a deep impression upon individual minds at *home*, and this they certainly did.

Thus, the venerable JOHN NEWTON was fully acquainted with his progress, and so early as August 1797, in his own playful style, he informs his intimate friend, Dr. Ryland,—“Mr. Carey has favoured me with a letter, which, indeed, I accept as a favour, and mean to thank him for it. I look to such a man with reverence. He is more to me than bishop or archbishop: he is an apostle. May the Lord make all who undertake missions like-minded with brother Carey.” Far separated from all Christian society, and literally alone, in the midst of the most ancient idolatry in the world, meeting only with Europeans more than tinged with infidelity, they told him that it was impossible to convert the natives; but nothing could either damp his zeal, or at least affect his determined perseverance. His dearest friends at *home*, in feeling for his situation, had become more alive to their own. Thus in April 1798, FULLER informs him.—“The spark which God stirred you up to strike has kindled a great fire, not only here, but in America. I received a letter lately from a society in New York, who are endeavouring to station missionaries all along their frontiers. There is a good understanding among Christians of all denominations on this subject. Dark clouds overshadow us as a nation, but we are happy in God. *Infidelity* threatens to swallow up *Christianity*; but however those who are interested in its emoluments may tremble, we have no apprehensions. Instead of waiting for the attack of the enemy, we are acting offensively. The Christian world is almost laying its account with nothing but victory, and commencing its operations against the strongholds of heathenism. So we have nothing to do but to pray and preach. Our worthy friends HARDCASTLE and REYNER feel interested much in the work, particularly *the translation*. I have just now received a letter from the former, full of inquiries as to what can be done to promote it.” THOMAS SCOTT, the well-known expositor of Scripture, had early conceived high expectations of Carey, and in 1793 had written to Charles Grant, Esq., in his favour, who expressed the most cordial desire to serve him in his purpose. At that period, however, and without an atom of patronage, the translator must and did proceed to India, as already described. The son of Mr. Scott, the late minister of St. Mary’s, Hull, had felt with his father, and, in writing the life of that venerable and useful man, alludes to Carey and these early days. “He is,” says he, “perhaps, better entitled than any other individual to the praise of having given the *first impulse* to the extraordinary exertions of the present age for the propagation of Christianity in the world. I well remember the late Rev. Andrew Fuller reporting, at my Father’s house, in the year 1792, the impression which had been made upon an association meeting of his own denomination, by Carey’s sermon on the address to the Church, Isaiah liv. 2, 3,” &c. Mr. S. then refers to various institutions as springing up in succession, “all, we trust, destined to contribute their share to that great and blessed consummation, by prophecy’s unerring finger mark’d, to faith’s strong eye.” But in

these pages we are necessarily restricted to *the* SCRIPTURES themselves, and the progress here made, till the period when that subject was taken up, in good earnest, by the mother country.

By the close of 1799, Marshman and Ward having arrived in India, the three men so well known ever since, had met, and settling down at Serampore, on the 16th of May, 1800, the Bengalee New Testament was put to press, and in less than nine months it was finished, on the 7th of February 1801.

In 1801, Carey having been appointed, by the lately deceased Marquis Wellesley, to one of the Chairs in Fort-William College, his views as to translation, in conjunction with those of his colleagues, were, throughout 1802, ripening into a plan for embracing others. "We have it in our power," said Carey, in 1803, "if our means would do for it, in the space of about fifteen years, to have the Word of God translated and printed in *all* the languages of the East. Our situation is such as to furnish us with the best assistance from natives of the different countries. We can have types of all the different characters cast here, and about 700 rupees per month, part of which I hope *we* shall be able to furnish, would complete the work."

Sentiments of such enlarged compass as these, ever met with congenial minds at Serampore. In truth, the "Enquiry" of Carey had spread out before them the four quarters of the earth with their various countries, in all their destitution of the Word of God, or knowledge of Christianity.

Carey, in the close of 1799, as already hinted, having been joined by two others, Marshman and Ward, who labored with him, they all in union pursued the same course. WARD, though he had been called to the ministry, was a finished printer, and under his eye all printing was conducted. When upon his voyage to the East he happened to write in his journal these words, by way of anticipation,—“Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should *print* among the Heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ,”—though he little knew to what extent this favor would be granted him; otherwise he might have added, “and in *twenty* of their languages.” The twentieth version of the New Testament had advanced to the book of Revelation at the press, by the day of Mr. Ward’s decease, Friday 7th March 1823. It was the twenty-fourth year of his residence in India.

In MARSHMAN, our first translator had met with a mind no less determined than his own; but as he had taken up India, Marshman had sat down to the language of the largest associated population upon earth—the *Chinese*. “Four or five persons in our family,” said Carey in February 1806, “are labouring hard at the Chinese language.” It was about the beginning of that year that Marshman, with two of his own sons and one of Carey’s, had commenced the study of this peculiar tongue, and through their persevering efforts, within two years they had attracted notice.

But it should seem as if the time to favor CHINA, yea, the set

time had come, since another laborious and persevering man had now been engaged with the same language. Robert Morrison of Morpeth, in Northumberland, had landed at Macao in September 1807, and in 1808 had commenced his studies. By 1811 and 1812, he too had printed the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Next year, William Milne, a native of Aberdeenshire, also arrived at Macao, and was no less diligent in the cultivation of Chinese. In short, here at last were two translations of the entire Scriptures in Chinese left by these three men. The Chinese Bible entire, by Marshman, was completed at press in April 1822. Upwards of a year after, or in the summer of 1823, that by Morrison was ready for publication. As first versions, they remain, just as all our first European versions did, to be greatly improved. But as divine truth makes progress in China, as unquestionably it will, another day, when contemplating the infancy of Scriptural Christianity there, these devoted men will never be forgotten as the first and best friends of that vast Empire.

To proceed, therefore, no further than the tenth, or last memoir of translations before the decease of Carey on the 9th of June 1834, the entire Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments had been printed and circulated in seven languages, that is, in six Oriental tongues besides the Chinese; the New Testament had been printed in twenty-three languages more; the Pentateuch, and other parts of the Old Testament, had been also printed and circulated in several of these languages last mentioned, and portions of the Scriptures had been printed in ten others. In other words, more than *two hundred and twelve thousand volumes* of the Divine Word, in *forty* different languages, had issued from the Serampore press. The population of China has been rated as low as one hundred and fifty, and as high as three hundred and sixty-five millions; but should we reckon it at no more than two hundred millions, these languages embrace the vernacular tongues of three hundred and eighty millions of immortal beings; of whom about one hundred and forty millions are either our fellow subjects, or living under the immediate eye or influence of our rule. It is curious enough, that upon an average, we have a *distinct* language issued from the press where he was sitting, for *every year* in which Carey had been so engaged.

Thus it happened, and before the death of this indefatigable translator, that as far as the translation and printing and circulating of the Sacred Scriptures were concerned, or in reference to that object on which his heart was daily bent for forty years, there had been expended above *ninety-one thousand five hundred pounds*. Of this sum, more than sixty-five thousand pounds, in congregational collections, donations, or subscriptions, from the year 1798 to 1833 inclusive, had been furnished by the Christian public at large in Great Britain and Ireland, America, and India itself; and from the year 1809 to 1826, also inclusive, there had been voted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, twenty-six

thousand two hundred pounds, besides two thousand reams of paper, to repair, in part, the loss sustained by fire in 1812.

That an undertaking of this magnitude, to say nothing of its infinite importance, should have been accomplished at an average annual expense of less than two thousand four hundred pounds, is not the least extraordinary feature belonging to it; and to all who have paid any attention to such business, it can only be accounted for by certain memorable circumstances. The translators, Carey and Marshman, had not merely supported themselves, but translated, from first to last, without salary or reward from any man, whether abroad or at home; not forgetting the printers, whether Ward or Marshman junior, who had followed their footsteps, and also executed their part, all along, at the lowest rate. Nor would even this account for an average amount so very low. The great expenditure of these men in founts of types, cut on the spot, and in the improvement of paper made in India, impervious to the worm, to which every sheet was before exposed, is not here included.

In conclusion, therefore, and under all the circumstances, however imperfectly glanced at, we presume, that in this undertaking, as a whole, it is impossible not to recognize the hand of God, and much more so, when it is to be traced, as it has been, and must be, to the anxiety felt by *a single human spirit*—to a solitary young man *reading his English Bible*, or afterwards expounding it in an English village, for less than twenty pounds a-year, and teaching a village school to eke out his support.

Such an enterprise, so warmly supported from home, could not possibly fail to have a powerful *reflective influence* on the mother country, and more especially on the healthiest minds throughout Britain, who grounded their chief hope of permanent good on the Sacred Volume alone. To the Scriptures themselves, however, in these pages we are, of necessity, confined, and cannot be expected to notice various delightful proofs of the mind having become quite alive to *foreign* operations, as a duty imperative on British Christians. The inclination to look far beyond the limits of our own Island had shown itself, for ten years, in the formation of one institution after another, wearing a *foreign* aspect. But still the honor of an amount of UNION, and of union at home throughout, such as Britain had never witnessed, or any other nation known, was reserved for *the Bible alone, without note or comment*. We turn therefore to that movement, which marked the early years of the present century.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY had been contemplated, and spoken of, by a few individuals, for above fifteen months before any step was taken. Its origin may be viewed in one simple incident; but this incident occurring within the kingdom, it becomes more worthy of observation.

It is generally known as an established fact, that the institution grew out of the scarcity of Welsh Bibles throughout Wales. It is curious enough, that it was not the Celtic tribe which had been,

all along, so grievously neglected, which now at last engaged notice. The destitution of the native Irish, was almost like the destitution of life itself. They had then no one to speak for them, and Britain, like the hard-hearted Levite of old, had ever passed by on the other side. On the other hand, the scarcity so complained of by the Welsh, was actually the result of previous supplies. But upon inquiry respecting these, we are led back, not to any authoritative or national movement, but simply, as in other cases, to *individual* benevolent exertion.

It was in December 1802, that Mr. Thomas Charles, of Bala, happened to be in London, lamenting, as he had often done, the scarcity of Welsh Bibles throughout the country. On Tuesday, the 7th of that month, at a meeting of the Tract Society, of which the Rev. Joseph Hughes of Battersea was Secretary, Mr. Charles was present, and the subject was introduced. Mr. Hughes, a member of the same community with Carey, had been acquainted with every step of his progress from the beginning, ten years before. After a long conversation, he stood up, and suggested whether it would not be desirable to awaken the public mind towards a general dispersion of the Sacred Scriptures in all languages, or throughout the world. The proposal was warmly greeted, and at the request of all present, Mr. Hughes drew up his tract or pamphlet of thirty pages, on "The excellence of the Holy Scriptures, an argument for their more general dispersion." Of this tract, two editions were circulated throughout 1803, and, after various consultations, the result was, that on the 7th March 1804, that institution was formed, with whose title not a few are perfectly familiar in the four quarters of the globe.

In the first instance, it will be understood that it is mainly in its connection with the *English* Scriptures that we are now called to notice the operations of the British and Foreign Bible Society; while, at the same time, the reader need scarcely be apprized, that the field now opening before him, in the history of the English Bible, embraces a *far larger surface*. Before and since the formation of that Society, the printing of the Sacred Volume in our vernacular tongue has proceeded to an extent which was never foreseen, never once contemplated, and that extent has now reached a point, of which but very few persons are at all aware. This extent, indeed, may, at first, be viewed by some with astonishment, but unlike many other events, it never can be with regret; not only as having been ordered by more than human wisdom, but because, in conclusion, we shall find there is a *moral* involved, which will be found to demand the notice of the Christian community, individually and entire; and in the present day especially, more than *any* other to which it *can* be directed. The sphere occupied by the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the ENGLISH department has been delightfully large, and this has been dwelt upon in a variety of ways so frequently, that it is in danger of diminishing the rate or pace of exertion, if not of filling the whole field of vision. But as it regards the English Scriptures printed within the last



forty-four years, the field we now contemplate is far greater. Independently of whatever number of English Bibles and Testaments may have been dispersed through that one medium, we have to include those which have been printed in Scotland, and the general sale throughout the kingdom from 1800 to 1844. From these three sources we come to the following aggregate of English Bibles and New Testaments separately :—

The British and Foreign Bible Society have issued, . . . . .	9 400,000
There have been printed in Scotland, independently, <i>above</i> . . . . .	4,000,000
The general sales besides these, have been considered to be more, but cannot have been less, than . . . . .	9,000,000

or above *twenty-two millions* in round numbers! Now, wherever these volumes have gone, whether throughout England, Scotland, or Ireland, or to the British dependencies at the ends of the earth: we have here to do at first simply with the remarkable fact, and it may well serve to regulate exertion for years to come. But having once pointed it out, we are the better prepared to take up the institution referred to, as not merely an important subject of review, but as forming one index to the plain path, or the special course of *future* duty.

To those who are old enough to remember, with any interest, the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and its immediate effects, the recollection must ever prove one of the most pleasing in their past lives. Its simple or exclusive object being to circulate the Sacred Volume; “the Bible, without note or comment,” being its only motto, the effect was such as should be pondered still. Well does it deserve, and in *these* days demand *reconsideration*: for no proposal on British ground had ever gone so directly to the heart, nor to the hearts of so many, throughout the empire. Founded on a principle so simple, so intelligible, so unexceptionable, the formation of the Society produced an effect altogether unprecedented; indeed the mere announcement ran through every denomination in the kingdom, and conveyed an impulse, at once the most powerful and the most extensive under which the Christians of this country had *ever* come.

The title assumed was, in short, tantamount to this,—that the Sacred text, the Divine Record, standing by itself, as it always ought to have done from the beginning, and ought in due reverence to do, in all time to come, or, in other words, that THE BIBLE, WITHOUT NOTE OR COMMENT, was not only *all-sufficient for the people of Britain, but for every OTHER nation under heaven, or for all the world, far as the curse was found*. British Christians had seized at last, upon a simple principle, of imperative and infinite value to our common humanity, in all its dialects: and in these days, by solemn, public, and often repeated acknowledgments, *they were never to stop short of its UNIVERSAL application*.

The British and Foreign Bible Society is now, [1849, the date of this abridgment] in the 46th year of its existence and useful-

ness, having extended its blessed influences to every quarter of the known world. It has issued more than TWENTY-ONE MILLIONS of Bibles and New Testaments, and has received and expended more than three and a half millions of pounds sterling, or \$17,500,000, in publishing and distributing these copies of the Word of God.

The following is a table of languages and dialects, in which the distribution, printing, or translation of the Scriptures, in whole or in part, has been promoted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, either directly or indirectly.

Those printed in *Italics* are new translations; the rest are reprints of former versions.

Those marked (§) were printed indirectly at the expense of the Society, or in some measure assisted by it. All the rest were printed directly for the Society—with the exception of four, published by the American Bible Society, of two by the Danish, of one by the Bâle, and of one by the Netherlands Society; which are introduced here, in order to complete the View of Languages into which the Holy Scriptures have been translated. To each of these the (\*) is prefixed.

The letters *R.* and *S.* denote the Versions of the Russian Bible Society, and of the Serampore Mission, both of which have been aided in former years by large grants from the Society.

#### WESTERN EUROPE.

Versions.	What printed.	Where circulated, or for whom designed.
BRITISH ISLES.		
1 English; Authorized Version .....	} The entire Bible. ...	{ British Empire, &c.
2 Welsh .....		
3 Gaelic .....		
4 Irish; in native characters		
Ditto; in Roman ditto ..		
5 Manks .....	Ditto .....	Isle of Man.
FRANCE.		
6 French; the three versions of Martin, Osterwald, and De Sacy .....	} The entire Bible. }	{ France, Switzerland, and French colonies.
7 <i>Breton or Armorican</i> ; Old Testament translated, but not printed .....		
	} New Testament. ...	{ Province of Brittany.
8 French Basque .....		
	Ditto .....	Departments of the Pyrenees, and Province of Navarre.
SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.		
9 Spanish; the two versions of Seo and Enzinas ..	} The entire Bible. }	{ Spain generally, and Spanish colonies.
10 <i>Catalan</i> ; Pent. and Ps. not yet printed .....		
11 <i>Spanish Basque, or Eskuara</i> .....	} Gospel of St. Luke }	{ Provinces of Biscay, Guiposcoa, and Alava.
12 <i>Judæo-Spanish</i> .....		
13 Portuguese; the two versions of Pereira and Almeida .....	} The entire Bible. }	{ Spanish Jews in Turkey, &c.
	} The entire Bible. }	{ Portugal, and Portuguese colonies.

## NORTHERN EUROPE.

	Versions.	What printed.	Where circulated, or for whom designed.
14	Icelandic .....	The entire Bible. ....	Iceland.
§ 15	Swedish .....	Ditto .....	Sweden.
16	<i>Lapponèse</i> .....	Ditto .....	Russian and Swedish Lapland.
§ 17	Finnish .....	Ditto .....	Finland.
18	Danish .....	Ditto .....	Denmark and Norway.
*	<i>Faroese, or Ancient Icelandic</i> (Danish Bib. Soc.)	St. Matthew ....	Faro Islands, between Shetland and Iceland.

## CENTRAL EUROPE.

19	Dutch; States-General version .....	The entire Bible. ....	Holland and Dutch colonies.
	Do.; Luther's and Schürin's version .....	New Testament. ....	Ditto.
20	Flemish .....	The entire Bible. ....	Belgium.
21	German; Luther's version Ditto; three versions—Gosner, Van Ess, and Kistemaker .....	Ditto .....	Protestant Germany, Prussia, &c.
	German and Hebrew (in columns) .....	New Testament. ....	For Rom. Catholics in Germany.
	<i>German</i> , in Hebrew characters .....	Pent., Prophets, and Psalms. ....	For German Jews.
		New Testament. ....	
§ 22	Lithuanian .....	The entire Bible. ....	Province of Lithuania.
23	<i>Samogitian</i> .....	New Testament. ....	In three districts of Wilna.
24	Polish .....	Ditto .....	Poland, Posen, Silesia, &c.
	<i>Judæo-Polish</i> .....	Ditto .....	For Polish Jews.
25	Wendish, Upper .....	Ditto .....	Saxon Lusatia.
26	Ditto, Lower .....	Ditto .....	Prussian Lusatia.
27	Bohemian .....	The entire Bible. ....	For Tscheks of Bohemia, and Slovaks of Hungary.
28	Hungarian .....	Ditto .....	Magiars of Hungary and Transylvania.

## SOUTHERN EUROPE.

ITALY AND SWITZERLAND.			
29	Italian; two versions—Diodati and Martini ..	The entire Bible. ....	Italy.
30	Latin .....	Ditto .....	Chiefly for Ecclesiastics.
31	Romanese .....	Ditto .....	In the Grisons of Switzerland.
32	Ditto Lower, or Enghadine ..	Ditto .....	On the borders of the Tyrol.
33	<i>Piedmontese</i> .....	New Testament. ....	
	<i>Ditto</i> (with Italian) .....	Psalms .....	Piedmont.
	<i>Ditto</i> (with French) .....	Gospels .....	
34	<i>Vaudois</i> (with French) ..	St. Luke and St. John ..	For the Vaudois, or Waldenses.
GREECE AND TURKEY.			
35	Greek, Ancient .....	New Testament. ....	For Students.
§ 36	Ditto, ditto .....	The entire Bible. ....	For the Greek churches.
36	<i>Greek, Modern</i> .....	Ditto .....	For the Greek people in general.
37	<i>Albanian</i> (with Modern Greek) .....	New Testament. ....	Province of Albania, on the Adriatic.
38	<i>Turkish</i> .....	The entire Bible. ....	Turkey in general.
	<i>Ditto</i> , in Greek characters ..	Ditto .....	For Greek Christians, using the Turkish language with Greek characters.
	<i>Ditto</i> , in Armenian characters ..	New Testament. ....	For Armenian Christians, using the Turkish language with Armenian characters.
§ 39	Moldavian, or Wallachian ..	The entire Bible. ....	Moldavia, Wallachia, and part of Transylvania.
§ 40	<i>Servian, or Serbian</i> ... R.	New Testament. ....	In Servia, and some bordering Austrian States.
41	<i>Bulgarian</i> .....	Ditto .....	Turkish provinces, E. and S. of Hungary.

## RUSSIA.

	Versions.	What printed.	Where circulated, or for whom designed.
§ 42	Slavonic ancient and ecclesiastical language. <i>R.</i>	{ The entire Bible. }	{ For the purposes of the Russian Church. }
§ 43	<i>Russ, Modern . . . . . R.</i>	{ Octateuch, Ps., & New Test. . . . }	{ Russia generally. }
§ 44	Slavonic and <i>Modern Russ</i> (in columns). . . . . <i>R.</i>	{ New Testament. . }	{ Ditto. }
44	Dorpat Esthonian. . . . . <i>R.</i>	Ditto and Psalms. . . .	Southern part of Esthonia.
45	Reval Esthonian. . . . . <i>R.</i>	The entire Bible. . . .	Northern do. on Gulf of Finland.
§ 46	Lettish, or Livonian. . . . <i>R.</i>	Ditto. . . . .	Provinces of Livonia & Courland
§ 47	<i>Kardian . . . . . R.</i>	St. Matthew. . . . .	For a Finnish tribe in the government of Tver.
§ 48	<i>Zirian, or Sirenian. . . R.</i>	Ditto. . . . .	Do. in government of Vologda.
§ 49	<i>Mordvinian, or Morduin R.</i>	{ New Testament. }	{ Ditto. on the banks of the Oka and Volga in the governments of Nische-Novogorod & Kasan
§ 50	<i>Tscheremissian . . . . . R.</i>	Ditto. . . . .	For a Finnish tribe on the banks of the Volga and Kama, in the governments of Kasan and Simbersk.
§ 51	<i>Tschuwaschian. . . . . R.</i>	The Gospels. . . . .	For a Finnish tribe of the mountains in Kasan. Nische-Novogorod and Orenburgh.
§ 52	<i>Orenburgh Tartar . . . R.</i>	New Testament. . . .	For Tartars in the vicinity of Orenburgh.
§ 53	<i>Karass, or Turkish Tartar</i> (several other books of the Old Testament translated) . . . . . <i>R.</i>	{ Ditto and Psalms }	{ For Tartars in the government of Astrachan. }
§ 54	Crimean Tartar. . . . . <i>R.</i>	Genesis. . . . .	For the Caraites of the Crimea, by way of trial.

## CAUCASIAN AND BORDER COUNTRIES.

§ 55	<i>Ossilinian, (in the Russian depot). . . . . R.</i>	{ Gospels, but never circulated . . . }	{ Central regions of the Caucasus. }
§ 56	Georgian. (Kedvuli, or ecclesiastical characters) <i>R.</i>	{ New Testament. }	{ Georgia, S.W. of the Caucasus. }
§ 57	Ditto, (civil, or common characters) . . . . .	{ Ditto. . . . . }	{ }
57	Armenian, Ancient. . . . .	The entire Bible. . . .	Armenia Proper; but also prepared for the Armenians of Constantinople, Calcutta, &c.
58	<i>Ditto, Modern</i> (with Ancient in columns). . . .	{ New Testament. }	{ Around Mt. Ararat, S. of Georgia. }
59	<i>Ararat-Armenian. . . . .</i>	Ditto and Psalms. . . .	Grusinia.
60	<i>Trans-Caucasian Tartar</i>	St. Matthew. . . . .	

## SEMITIC LANGUAGES.

61	Hebrew. . . . .	Old and New Test. . .	For the Jews and for Students.
62	Arabic. . . . .	The entire Bible. . . .	For Mohammedans everywhere
63	Syriac. . . . .	Ditto. . . . .	For the Syrian church in Travancore, and parts of Syria
	Carshun. (Arabic in Syriac characters) . . . . .	{ New Testament. }	{ Mesopotamia, Aleppo, and other parts of Syria. }
	Syriac and Carshun, in parallel columns. . . . .	{ Ditto. . . . . }	{ }
	Syro-Chaldaic; (Syriac in Nestorian characters)	{ Gospels. . . . . }	{ Mosul, Djezira, Tolamisk, and country west of Kurdistan. }

## PERSIA.

	Versions.	What printed.	Where circulated, or for whom designed.
§ 64	<i>Persic</i> (H. Martyn) . . . . .	New Testament . . .	For the Mohammedans, Parsees, and Persians of India.
	<i>Ditto</i> (Archdeacon Robinson) . . . . .	{ Entire Old Testament . . . . .	
§	<i>Ditto</i> (Dr. Glen) . . . . .	<i>Ditto</i> . . . . .	Persia Proper.
	<i>Ditto</i> (Mirza Ibrahim) . . . . .	Isaiah . . . . .	
	<i>Ditto</i> (Mirza Jaffier) . . . . .	Genesis . . . . .	Affghanistan.
§ 65	<i>Push'oo</i> , or <i>Affghan</i> . . . . .	Hist. Books, and N. T.	
§ 66	<i>Beloochee</i> , or <i>Bulochee</i> . . . . .	Three Gospels . . . . .	Belochistan, south of ditto, on the Arabian Sea.

## INDIA.

§ 67	<i>Sanscrit</i> , or <i>Sungskrit</i> . S.	The entire Bible . . .	The sacred and learned language of the Brahmins throughout India.
§ 68	<i>Hindustani</i> , or <i>Urdu</i> . . . . .	New Testament . . .	
§	<i>Ditto</i> (Mr. Thomson and others) . . . . .	{ The entire Bible . . . . .	For the Mohammedans of India and others; the language be- ing generally understood in all the larger towns.
§	<i>Ditto</i> (Serampore version)	<i>Ditto</i> . . . . .	

## NORTHERN AND CENTRAL INDIA.

§ 69	<i>Bengalee</i> . . . . . S.	The entire Bible . . .	Province of Bengal.
§	<i>Ditto</i> , two versions (Ellerton and Yeates) . . . . .	{ New Testament . . . . .	
	<i>Ditto</i> (in Rom. characters)	<i>Ditto</i> . . . . .	Province of S. Bahar, now part of the province of Bengal.
	<i>Ditto</i> (with English) . . . . .	<i>Ditto</i> . . . . .	
§ 70	<i>Maghudha</i> . . . . . S.	New Testament . . .	Province of Orissa, the greater part attached to Bengal.
§ 71	<i>Uriya</i> . . . . .	The entire Bible . . .	
§ 72	<i>Hinduwee</i> , or <i>Hindoee</i> . . . . .	<i>Ditto</i> . . . . .	For Hindostan, or the upper provinces of the Bengal Presi- dency.
	<i>Ditto</i> , (called <i>Hindee</i> by <i>Ser. Trans.</i> ) both in the Nagree and Kythee characters . . . . . S.	{ <i>Ditto</i> . . . . .	
	Dialects of the Hinduwee.		A district between the prov- ince of Bundelcund, and the sources of the Nerbudda River.
§ 73	<i>Bughelcundee</i> . . . . . S.	New Testament . . .	
§ 74	<i>Bruij</i> , or <i>Brij-bhasa</i> . . . . . S.	<i>Ditto</i> . . . . .	Province of Agra.
§ 75	<i>Canooj</i> , or <i>Canyacubja</i> . . . . . S.	<i>Ditto</i> . . . . .	In the Doab of the Ganges and Jumna.
§ 76	<i>Kousulu</i> , or <i>Koshala</i> . . . . . S.	St. Matthew . . . . .	Western part of Oude.
	<i>Ditto</i> for Central India, or Rajpoot States.		
§ 77	<i>Harrotee</i> . . . . . S.	New Testament . . . . .	A province W. of Bundelcund.
§ 78	<i>Oojein</i> , or <i>Oujjuyunee</i> . . . . . S.	<i>Ditto</i> . . . . .	Province of Malwah.
§ 79	<i>Oodeypoor</i> . . . . . S.	St. Matthew . . . . .	Province of Mewar, or Oodeypoor
§ 80	<i>Marwar</i> . . . . . S.	New Testament . . .	Province of Joudpoor, or Mar- war, north of Mewar.
§ 81	<i>Juyapoor</i> . . . . . S.	St. Matthew . . . . .	Province of Joypoor, E. of Mar- war, and W. of Agra.
§ 82	<i>Bikaneera</i> . . . . . S.	New Testament . . .	Province of Bikaneer, north of Marwar.
§ 83	<i>Buttaneer</i> , or <i>Viral</i> . . . . . S.	<i>Ditto</i> . . . . .	Prov. of Buttaneer, W. of Delhi.
§ 84	<i>Sindhee</i> . . . . . S.	St. Matthew . . . . .	Prov. of Sindh, E. of the Indus.
§ 85	<i>Moultan</i> , or <i>Wuch</i> , or <i>Ooch</i> . . . . . S.	{ New Testament . . .	N. of Sindh, between the Indus, Chenaub, and Gharra Rivers.
§ 86	<i>Punjabee</i> , or <i>Sikh</i> . . . . . S.	The entire Bible . . . . .	Province of Lahore.

	Versions.	What printed.	Where circulated, or for whom designed.
§ 87	<i>Dogura</i> or <i>Jumboo</i> (Mountain Punjabee) . . . . . S.	New Testament.	Mountainous, or northern districts of Lahore.
§ 88	<i>Cashmerian</i> . . . . . S. Gorkha Dialects.	Pent., Hist. Books, and New Test.	Cashmere, north of Lahore.
§ 89	<i>Nepalèse, Khaspoora</i> , or <i>Parbutti</i> . . . . . S.	New Testament.	Kingdom of Nepaul, about Katmanhda.
§ 90	<i>Palpa</i> . . . . . S.	Ditto . . . . .	Small States north of Oude, below the Himalayas.
§ 91	<i>Kumaon</i> . . . . . S.	Ditto . . . . .	Prov. of Kumaon, W. of Palpa.
§ 92	<i>Gurwhal</i> , or <i>Schreenagur</i> S.	Ditto . . . . .	Prov. of Gurwhal, W. of Kumaon.

## SOUTHERN INDIA.

MADRAS PRESIDENCY.			
§ 93	<i>Telinga</i> or <i>Teloogoo</i> . . S.	Pent. and New Test.	Northern Circars, Cuddapah, Nellore, and greater part of Hyderabad, or Telingana.
§	<i>Ditto</i> (Vizagapatam version) . . . . .	{ N. Test. and large part of Old T. }	
§ 94	<i>Kannata</i> , or <i>Canarese</i> . .	New Testament. . .	Throughout the Mysore, also in the prov. of Canara, and as far north as the Kistna River.
§	<i>Ditto</i> (Bellary version) . .	The entire Bible. . .	
§ 95	<i>Tamul</i> , or <i>Tamil</i> . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	The Carnatic, and northern part of Ceylon.
§ 96	<i>Malayalim</i> . . . . .	Ditto . . . . .	Travancore and Malabar.
	* <i>Tulu</i> (Basle Bible Soc'y)	New Testament. . . .	Mangalore.
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.			
§ 97	<i>Kunkuna</i> . . . . . S.	Pent. and New Test.	The Concan. chiefly the S. part among the common people.
§ 98	<i>Mahratta</i> . . . . . S.	The entire Bible. . .	
§	<i>Ditto</i> (Bombay version) . .	Ditto . . . . .	The Concan. and throughout the Mahratta territory.
§ 99	<i>Gujeratte</i> . . . . . S.	New Testament. . .	
§	<i>Ditto</i> (Surat version) . . .	The entire Bible. . .	Surat, and province of Gujerat.
§ 100	<i>Cutchee</i> , or <i>Catchee</i> . . . .	{ N. T. preparing; some of it printed }	Province of Cutch; between the Gulf of Cutch and the Indus.

## CEYLON.

§ 101	<i>Pali</i> (in Burmese characters) . . . . .	New Testament.	Sacred and learned language of Ceylon, and Indo-Chinese nations.
§ 102	<i>Cingalese</i> . . . . .	The entire Bible. . .	
§ 103	<i>Indo-Portuguese</i> ; (Old Testament preparing).	{ Pent. Psalms, and New Testament }	S. part of the island, from Battycola on the E. to the R. Chilaw on the W. and in the interior. For Portuguese settlers and their descendants in Ceylon and various parts of the Indian Seas.

## INDO-CHINESE COUNTRIES.

§ 104	<i>Assamese</i> . . . . . S.	The entire Bible. . . .	Assam, subject to Bengal Presid.
§ 105	<i>Munipoora</i> . . . . . S.	New Testament. . . .	Munipoor, on south of Assam.
§ 106	<i>Khassee</i> ; (New Testament translated) . . . . .	.....	Khassu country, east of Garrow hills.
	* <i>Burmese</i> (by Dr. Judson for Am. Bible Society).	The entire Bible. . .	Burmese Empire, and Arracan.
§ 107	<i>Siamese</i> , or <i>Thay</i> ; (New Testament translated).	.....	Cossya Hills, on the borders of Siam.

## CHINESE EMPIRE.

§ 108	<i>Chinese</i> (Morrison's vers.)	The entire Bible. . .	China Proper and numerous Chinese in Indian Archipelago.
§	<i>Ditto</i> (Marshman's ditto)	Ditto . . . . .	
§ 109	<i>Manchou</i> . . . . .	New Testament. . .	Mantehuria: it is also the court language of Pekin.
§ 110	<i>Buriat</i> , or <i>Eastern Mongolian</i> . . . . .	{ The entire Bible. }	For the Buriats about Lake Baikal in Siberia, and for the Kalka tribes of Mongolia.
§ 111	<i>Calmuc</i> , or <i>Western Mongolian</i> . . . . . R.	{ New Testament. }	For Calmucs of the Don & Volga in Russia, and Eleuths, Calmucs and Soungars, of Mongolia.

## HITHER POLYNESIA.

	Versions.	What printed.	Where circulated, or for whom designed.
112	Malay, in Roman characters.....	{ The entire Bible. }	{ For the Moluccas, and Eastern part of the Archipelago.
§ 113	Ditto, in Arabic characters.....		
§ 113	<i>Malay, Low</i> .....	New Testament.....	Batavia and its neighborhood.
§ 114	<i>Javanese</i> ; (Old Test. preparing by the Netherlands Society).....	{ Ditto .....	{ Island of Java.
115	<i>Dajak</i> .....		
		Ditto .....	Borneo.

## FURTHER POLYNESIA.

*	<i>Hawaiian</i> (by Am. Soc.)	The entire Bible. ....	Sandwich Islands.
116	<i>Tahitian</i> .....	Ditto .....	Georgian and other islands in the South Seas.
117	<i>Rarotonga</i> .....	{ N. Test. and portions of the O.T. }	Hervey Islands, ditto.
§ 118	<i>Marquesan</i> .....	{ Some portions given, version preparing }	Marquesan Islands, ditto.
§ 119	<i>Tonga</i> .....	Ditto .....	Tonga Islands, ditto.
120	<i>New Zealand</i> .....	{ Pent., Josh., Ps., and New Test. }	New Zealand.
121	<i>Malagasse</i> .....	The entire Bible.....	Madagascar.
122	<i>Sumoan</i> .....	New Testament. ....	Navigator's Islands.
123	<i>Feejean</i> .....	St. Matthew & St. Mark	Feejee Islands.

## AFRICA.

124	Coptic (with the Arabic)	Psalms and Gospels..	For the Copts of Egypt.
125	Ethiopic (Ecclesiastical)	N. Test. and Psalms.	For the Church in Abyssinia.
126	<i>Amharic</i> (vernacular)...	The entire Bible. ....	Abyssinia.
127	<i>Berber</i> (Four Gospels & Genesis translated)...	{ Part of St. Luke }	The Oases of the African Deserts, from Mount Atlas to Egypt.
128	<i>Bullom</i> (with English)...	St. Matthew .....	About Sierra Leone, on W. coast.
129	<i>Mandingo</i> (Four Gospels translated) .....	{ Ditto .....	Mandingo country, south of Gambia River.
130	<i>Accra</i> .....	St. Matthew & St. John	Gold Coast, Western Africa.
131	<i>Namacqua</i> .....	St. Luke. &c. ....	N. of Orange River, S. Africa.
132	<i>Sechuana</i> .....	New Test. and Psalms	Bechuana, east of Namacqua.
133	<i>Caffre</i> .....	{ N. Test. and portions of the O.T. }	Caffraria, eastern coast of S. Africa.

## AMERICA.

## NORTH.

134	Greenlandish .....	{ N. Test. and large portion of the O.T. }	Greenland, for the Moravian Missions.
135	<i>Esquimaux</i> .....	Gen., Ps., Isa., and Test.	Labrador, ditto.
136	<i>Mohawk</i> (Pentateuch and Psalms translated)...	{ Isaiah, St. Luke, and St. John. }	Indian nations, west of the Falls of Niagara.
137	<i>Chippeway</i> , or <i>Ojibway</i> ...	St. John .....	{ For the Chippeway or Delaware Indians.
*	<i>Ditto</i> , ditto (Am. Society)	New Testament. ....	
*	<i>Delaware</i> (Am. Society).	Epistles of St. John }	{ Danish West-Indian Islands.
*	<i>Creolese</i> (Danish Society)	New Testament. ....	

## SOUTH.

138	<i>Negro Dialect of Surinam</i>	New Test. and Psalms	Surinam, Dutch Guiana.
*	<i>Negro Dialect of Curacao</i> (Netherlands Society).	{ St. Matthew .....	Island of Curaçao.
139	<i>Aimara</i> (with Spanish) ..	St. Luke .....	Bolivia.
140	<i>Mexican</i> .....	Ditto .....	Mexico.

## RECAPITULATION.

Of these 140 *Languages or Dialects*, the Distribution, Printing, or Translation of the Scriptures, in whole or in part, has been promoted by the Society,

Directly . . . .	in 72 Languages or Dialects	} Total, 140.
Indirectly . . . .	68 . . ditto . . . .	

The number of *Versions* (omitting those which are printed in different Characters only) is 162. Of these 110 are Translations never before printed.

The American Bible Society has aided in publishing, or has purchased and circulated copies of many of the versions cited above. It has also been at the sole expense of publishing the Armeno-Turkish Bible, and the Modern Syriac, the Hebrew-Spanish Old Testament, and that of the Hebrew-German. It has also published the entire Hawaiian Bible at the Sandwich Islands and the *Ojibwa* New Testament, and the Choctaw Testament, in New-York; two of the Gospels in the Sioux Dington tongue; the books of Genesis and Isaiah in Mohawk; One of the Gospels in Seneca, two in Cherokee, and one in the Grebo.

## EXPENDITURE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
During 1st Year . . . . .	619	10	2	Twenty-fourth . . . . .	86,212	9	8
Second . . . . .	1,637	17	5	Twenty-fifth . . . . .	101,132	6	11
Third . . . . .	5,053	18	3	Twenty-sixth . . . . .	81,610	13	6
Fourth . . . . .	12,206	10	3	Twenty-seventh . . . . .	83,002	10	9
Fifth . . . . .	14,565	10	7	Twenty-eighth . . . . .	98,409	10	9
Sixth . . . . .	18,543	17	1	Twenty-ninth . . . . .	88,676	1	10
Seventh . . . . .	28,302	13	7	Thirtieth . . . . .	70,404	16	7
Eighth . . . . .	32,419	19	7	Thirty-first . . . . .	84,249	13	4
Ninth . . . . .	69,496	13	8	Thirty-second . . . . .	107,483	19	7
Tenth . . . . .	81,652	1	5	Thirty-third . . . . .	103,171	5	2
Eleventh . . . . .	81,021	12	5	Thirty-fourth . . . . .	91,179	14	11
Twelfth . . . . .	103,680	18	8	Thirty-fifth . . . . .	106,509	6	4
Thirteenth . . . . .	89,230	9	9	Thirty-sixth . . . . .	110,175	8	5
Fourteenth . . . . .	71,099	1	7	Thirty-seventh . . . . .	133,934	18	9
Fifteenth . . . . .	92,237	1	4	Thirty-eighth . . . . .	90,968	9	5
Sixteenth . . . . .	123,547	12	3	Thirty-ninth . . . . .	86,964	10	6
Seventeenth . . . . .	79,560	13	6	Fortieth . . . . .	84,669	8	3
Eighteenth . . . . .	90,445	6	4	Forty-first . . . . .	85,817	15	9
Nineteenth . . . . .	77,076	0	10	Forty-second . . . . .	105,851	2	9
Twentieth . . . . .	89,493	17	8	Forty-third . . . . .	128,525	3	3
Twenty-first . . . . .	94,014	3	5	Forty-fourth . . . . .	105,042	19	1
Twenty-second . . . . .	96,014	13	7	Forty-fifth . . . . .	88,831	1	1
Twenty-third . . . . .	69,962	12	3				
Total from the commencement of the Institution . . . . .					£3,550,766	2	1

## COMPENDIUM OF BIBLE SOCIETIES, IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD, DATE OF THEIR ORGANIZATION, AND ISSUES OF BIBLES AND TESTAMENTS.

	Copies of Scriptures issued.
British and Foreign Bible Society, instituted in 1801 . . . . .	21,973,355
American Bible Society, instituted in 1816 . . . . .	6,844,821
Protestant Bible Society at Paris, instituted 1818, with 132 Auxiliaries . . . . .	219,440
French and Foreign Bible Society of Paris, instituted 1833, with Auxiliaries . . . . .	94,295
Strasburgh Bible Society, instituted 1815. (chiefly German Bibles and Testaments). . . . .	66,087
Issued from the British and Foreign Bible Society's Depot in Paris, from April, 1820, 2,089,211 copies.	
Icelandic Bible Society, instituted 1815 . . . . .	10,445
Swedish Bible Society, instituted 1808, with Auxiliaries . . . . .	564,378
The Agency at Stockholm, formed 1832 has issued 231,900 copies.	
Norwegian Bible Society, instituted 1816 . . . . .	30,995



	Copies of Scriptures issued.
The Agency at Christiania, formed 1832, has issued 26,240 copies.	
Stavanger Bible Society, instituted 1828.....	6,693
Finnish Bible Society, instituted 1812, at Abo, with many Branches.....	110,561
Danish Bible Society, instituted 1814, with Auxiliaries.....	172,551
Netherlands Bible Society, with Auxiliaries.....	274,738
The Agency at Amsterdam, appointed 1843, has issued 47,659 copies.	
Belgian and Foreign Bible Society, at Brussels, instituted 1834.....	7,623
Belgian Bible Associations, instituted 1839.....	3,903
The Agency at Brussels, appointed 1835, has issued 119,585 copies.	
Antwerp Bible Society, instituted 1834.....	439
Ghent Bible Society, instituted 1834.....	8,980
Sleswick-Holstein Bible Society, instituted 1815, with Auxiliaries.....	107,213
Eutin Bible Society, instituted 1817, for the principality of Lubeck.....	5,296
Lubeck Bible Society, instituted 1814.....	11,472
Hamburg Bible Society, instituted 1814, with branches.....	83,752
Bremen Bible Society, instituted 1815, with an Auxiliary.....	20,163
Laenburgh-Ratzeburgh Bible Society, instituted 1816.....	10,675
Rostock Bible Society, instituted 1816.....	19,154
Hanover Bible Society, instituted 1814, with Auxiliaries.....	99,229
Lippe-Detmold Bible Society, instituted 1816.....	3,569
Waldeck and Pyrmont Bible Society, instituted 1817.....	2,800
Hesse-Cassel Bible Society, instituted 1818.....	30,000
Hanau Bible Society, instituted 1818.....	3,316
Marburg Bible Society, instituted 1825.....	7,065
Frankfort Bible Society, instituted 1816.....	73,565
The Agency at Frankfort, appointed 1830, has issued 701,027 copies.	
Hesse-Darmstadt Bible Society, instituted 1817, with Auxiliaries.....	31,484
Duchy of Baden Bible Society, instituted 1820, with Auxiliaries.....	18,585
Wurtemberg Bible Society, instituted 1812, with Auxiliaries.....	464,576
Bavarian Protestant Bible Institution at Nuremberg, instituted 1821, with Auxiliaries.....	108,990
Saxon Bible Society, instituted 1814, with Auxiliaries.....	159,536
Anhalt-Bernburg Bible Society, instituted 1821.....	4,786
Anhalt-Dessau Bible Society.....	3,310
Weimar Bible Society, instituted 1821.....	3,773
Eisenach Bible Society, instituted 1818.....	4,938
Brunswick Bible Society, instituted 1815.....	700
Prussian Bible Society at Berlin, instituted 1805, with Auxiliaries.....	1,271,194
Issued to the Prussian troops since 1830.....	235,916
Basle Bible Society, instituted 1804.....	336,184
Schaffhausen Bible Society, instituted 1813.....	8,382
Zurich Bible Society, instituted 1812, with Auxiliary at Winterthur.....	14,656
St. Gall Bible Society, instituted 1813.....	34,429
Aargovian Bible Society, instituted 1815.....	13,802
Berne Bible Society.....	40,841
Neuchâtel Bible Society, instituted 1816.....	6,430
Lausanne Bible Society, instituted 1814.....	32,000
Geneva Bible Society, instituted 1814.....	36,651
Glarus Bible Society, instituted 1819.....	5,000
Coire or Chur Bible Society, instituted 1813.....	12,267
Waldenses Bible Society at Tour, instituted 1816.....	4,238
Ionian Bible Society, instituted at Corfu in 1819, with three Auxiliaries...	7,377
Russian Bible Society, Petersburg, previous to its suspension by an Imperial Ukase in 1825, had 289 Auxiliaries, and had printed the Scriptures in various languages; the circulation of which is still allowed.....	861,105
Russian Protestant Bible Society at St. Petersburg, instituted in 1826, with numerous Auxiliaries.....	132,464
Calcutta Bible Society, instituted 1811, with various Branches.....	491,567
Serampore Missionaries.....	200,000
Madras Bible Society, instituted 1820.....	462,505
Bombay Bible Society, instituted 1813.....	139,928
Colombo Bible Society, instituted 1812, with various Branches in Ceylon.	36,114
Jaffna Bible Society.....	62,625

The total of the above issue, it will be found, is over thirty-two millions of Bibles and Testaments, all distributed since the Bible Society era in 1804.

## THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

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PRIOR to 1816, various local Bible Societies existed in different parts of the United States of America, and were the means of much good. It was found, however, that having no persons exclusively devoted to the furtherance of their interests, and having generally to procure books of private booksellers, they labored under many disadvantages. It was felt, moreover, that there was much ground even in our own country which none of these local associations reached at all, and that no ample provision was made for sending the blessed Bible to the destitute abroad. A Convention was therefore called to meet in New York, and take measures for a general organization. This Convention, composed of delegates from existing Bible Societies, and other friends of the object, assembled on the 8th of May, 1816. Although Christians of almost every name, and from different sections of the Union, were brought in contact, their deliberations were conducted with the utmost harmony. On the 11th of May the constitution and the address to the public, which had been prepared by committees, were adopted and sent forth to the world. In the address issued (drawn up by the Rev. John M. Mason, D. D.,) is found the following paragraph, which will show the noble, catholic spirit which actuated those who laid the foundation of this Institution. After stating the simple, grand object in view, and the happy results anticipated, the Convention add—

“Under such impressions, and with such views, fathers, brethren, fellow-citizens, the *American Bible Society* has been formed. Local feelings, party prejudice, sectarian jealousies, are excluded by its very nature. Its members are leagued in that, and in that alone, which calls up every hallowed, and puts down every unhallowed principle—the dissemination of the Scriptures in the received versions where they exist, and in the most faithful where they may be required. In such a work, whatever is dignified, kind, venerable, true, has ample scope, while sectarian littleness and rivalries can find no avenue of admission.”

The government of the Society is intrusted by the constitution to a Board of thirty-six Managers, all laymen, one-fourth of whom go out of office each year, but are re-eligible. They hold a stated meeting on the first Thursday of every month for the transaction of business. Several standing committees are appointed by this body to mature business, namely, one for finance and the preparation of books, one to attend to their distribution, and one to have charge of travelling agencies. These committees usually meet twice each month, and lay their various recommendations before the Board on the first Thursday. In this Board are found those

connected with the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian, the Dutch Reformed, the Methodist Episcopal, the Baptist, the Congregational, and the Society of Friends. Laymen who are directors for life, by payment of \$150, and ministers who are life members by payment of \$30, are authorized to attend the meetings of the Board, and the officers of all Auxiliaries have the same privilege at the meeting of the Society. The Institution, therefore, must of necessity be managed according to the will of its constituents, and cannot be made an instrument to their injury.

When the Society was organized in 1816, it looked first to the supply of our own young, growing, destitute country. At the same time it contemplated the distribution of the Scriptures extensively ere long in foreign lands. Within the last fifteen or twenty years much has been thus accomplished, in circulating them in the West Indies, in different parts of Spanish America and Brazil, in France, Russia, Greece, Turkey, Syria, India, at several points in China, at the Sandwich Islands, and among five of the tribes of our Aborigines. A portion of these Scriptures have been printed at the Society's house, and another portion by missionaries and others abroad, from funds furnished by the Bible Society.

As this Society is composed of many religious denominations, it was taken for granted by the Board generally, that no versions would ask for patronage unless they were of a Catholic character, such as all the confederated parties could unite in using as they used in common the English Bible.

It appeared, however, some years since, that one of these united bodies had taken a different view of the case, and thought themselves at liberty to take funds from the common treasury to publish versions which inculcated their own peculiar religious sentiments.

This led the Board in 1836 to express their views on this subject by the following Resolutions:—

“By the Constitution of the American Bible Society, its Managers are, in the circulating of the Holy Scriptures, restricted to such copies as are ‘without note or comment;’ and in the English language to the ‘version in common use.’ The design of these restrictions clearly seems to have been to simplify and mark out the duties of the Society, so that all religious denominations of which it is composed might harmoniously unite in performing these duties.

“As the Managers are now called to aid extensively in circulating the sacred Scriptures in languages other than the English, they deem it their duty, in conformity with the obvious spirit of their compact, to adopt the following resolutions as the rule of their conduct in making appropriations for the circulation of the Scriptures in all *foreign tongues*:

“RESOLVED, That in appropriating money for the translating, printing, or distributing the sacred Scriptures in foreign languages,

the Managers feel at liberty to encourage only such versions as conform in the principles of their translation to the common English version, at least so far as that all the religious denominations represented in this Society can consistently use and circulate said versions in their several schools and communities.

“RESOLVED, That a copy of the above preamble and resolutions be sent to each of the Missionary Boards accustomed to receive pecuniary grants from this Society, with a request that the same may be transmitted to their respective mission stations where the Scriptures are in process of translation, and also that the said several Missionary Boards be informed that their applications for aid be accompanied with a declaration that the versions which they propose to circulate are executed in accordance with the above resolutions.”

It was not the design of the Board to dictate rules to any mission or denomination as to translations, but to state what kinds alone this Union Society could consistently patronize, to wit—such as were of a catholic character.

In 1845, the Board of Managers were led by certain allegations to make the following statement in their Report, (which will explain its object,) in relation to the first of the resolutions above given.

“Learning that some appear to have misapprehended the design of the above resolution, inferring from it that the English Bible was to be the *standard* to which new versions were in all cases to be rigidly conformed, the Managers would here state that such is not their design. They have always expected, and do still, that all new translations will be carefully made, as was that, from the original Hebrew and Greek, and yet so made, in order to be patronized by this body, that the different denominations here united can all use them, as they use in common the English Bible. They refer to that version, because, in adopting it for home distribution, it is admitted by all to be a good version, made on *catholic principles*, such as *must* be observed, from its very nature, by every Society of mixed denominations engaged in preparing and issuing books. But while the English version is thus referred to, the last part of the above resolution shows, and was designed to show, that *strict* conformity to that model is not required, provided versions be such that ‘all religious denominations represented in this Society can consistently use and circulate said versions in their several schools and communities.’ Let new versions be made with care from the originals into the tongues of our aborigines, or those of India or China; let a few words of difficult translation be *transferred*, or so *translated*, as in meaning to satisfy the different members of this Bible compact, and the Board will feel at liberty, both from the nature of their union and from the resolution cited, to grant their patronage. One new version has been aided the past year, where some of the words referred to were translated by terms satisfactory to missionaries of different creeds. It is hoped that in this way obstacles which now seem

formidable will ere long be removed, and every land be blessed, as our own so happily is, with a common Bible.<sup>b</sup>

The following table will show the number of Bibles and of Testaments issued by the American Bible Society, in each year since its organization :—

Year.	Bibles.	Tests.	Total.	Year.	Bibles.	Tests.	Total.
1	6,410	—	6,410	17	36,941	54,227	91,168
2	17,594	—	17,594	18	31,083	76,749	110,832
3	23,870	7,248	31,118	19	47,709	75,527	123,236
4	26,800	14,713	41,513	20	65,974	155,720	221,694
5	26,772	16,474	43,246	21	51,354	154,886	206,240
6	28,910	24,560	53,470	22	45,083	113,215	158,298
7	28,448	23,357	51,805	23	45,333	89,604	134,937
8	31,590	28,849	60,439	24	54,227	103,034	157,261
9	30,094	33,757	63,851	25	64,304	87,898	152,202
10	31,154	35,980	67,134	26	101,416	155,650	257,066
11	35,876	35,745	71,621	27	82,912	133,693	216,605
12	75,731	58,873	134,607	28	114,766	199,816	314,582
13	91,218	108,874	200,122	29	145,970	283,122	429,092
14	130,254	108,329	238,583	30	161,974	321,899	483,873
15	171,972	70,211	242,183	31	209,416	418,348	627,764
16	54,843	60,959	115,802	32	232,272	422,794	655,066
				33	205,307	359,419	564,726

Total . . . . . 2,510,610 Bibles,  
 3,836,530 Testaments.  
 6,347,140

The next table presents the Annual Receipts of the American Bible Society since its organization :—

Year.	Receipts.	Year.	Receipts.	Year.	Receipts.
1816	\$35,877.16	1827	\$75,879.93	1838	\$95,128.26
1817	36,564.30	1828	143,184.33	1839	97,365.09
1818	53,223.94	1829	170,067.55	1840	118,860.41
1819	41,361.97	1830	125,316.79	1841	134,357.08
1820	47,009.20	1831	107,059.00	1842	126,448.77
1821	40,682.31	1832	84,935.48	1843	154,440.08
1822	52,021.75	1833	88,600.82	1844	166,652.00
1823	42,416.95	1834	100,806.26	1845	197,367.98
1824	49,693.08	1835	104,899.45	1846	205,068.23
1825	56,115.49	1836	90,578.89	1847	254,377.18
1826	65,192.88	1837	85,676.83	1848	251,870.16

## CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE PRECEDING HISTORY.

CONSIDERED in the light of a conspicuous public undertaking, if there be anything in the *magnitude* of an object fitted to attract or interest and fix the mind, it is found here. The cause of Divine Revelation admits of no superior authority in any land ; but in ours, it has assumed an appearance visible to any, if not to every eye. As such, this cause has reached a height more than sufficient to

silence any opponent. Of infinite importance in itself, and at the same time by far the largest movement in our day, possessing all the attributes of a fixed or invincible Divine purpose, the difficulty lies in duly apprehending or grasping it. In casting our eye upon only one of these millions of volumes, every page of which is the voice of God to man, and every man is interested in its meaning, it would here be out of place to dwell upon the Scriptures themselves—upon the majesty of their style—the solemnity of their matter—their comprehensiveness—their correspondency to the spirit of man, whether as corrupt and depraved, or regenerated and renewed—on their peculiar efficacy, or obvious design. By all who duly prize them they are confessed and regarded to be the only standard of unerring wisdom—the only means of rousing effectually the human mind—containing the only ground of hope before his Maker for the burdened or wounded spirit—the unfailing source of solid comfort, peace, and joy—the only effectual medium of strength for sustaining the trials, or performing the duties of life. Nor let it ever be forgotten, that this Sacred Record, in our vernacular tongue, wherever it be found, near or afar off, at home or at the ends of the earth, enjoys this unspeakably glorious privilege—*there its divine Author is present, specially present with it!*

Whatever imperfections may be detected in the preceding pages, there is a peculiarity of character belonging to the history as a whole, of which it is not likely ever to be bereaved. This feature of distinction is now visible in a long and uninterrupted series of provable events. Whether any importance will be attached to the disclosure and proof remains to be seen; but as there was a commencement made, in spite of all human sanction at first, and an unceasing progress in superiority to all human control ever since, it seems as if there were *still* some special homage to be paid to the Sacred Volume; and more, much more, than there has ever yet been. The very imperfect and scattered notices hitherto given of the English Bible, have been too often bloated with unwarrantable assertions of a species of interference, direction, and control, which the authentic history disowns.

We have seen that the history of the Sacred Scriptures, as printed in the English language, for more than three hundred years, has a character of its own, and such a one, as even common reverence suggests, ought to be observed and studied *by itself*. Hitherto it has been considered by historians as a theme which scarcely came in their way, and when it did, it has either been loosely glanced at, or treated as a subject with which they had little or nothing to do. On the contrary, we have looked upon the first entrance, and singularly continued possession, of these Scriptures, as involving by far the highest point of national interest and responsibility, while the history itself seems to invite, or rather demand, attention and remembrance, both as to its *commencement* and its *continuance*.

Resolutely bent on the execution of his purpose, we beheld Tyndale leave his native country, never to return; and sometime

after, we saw his earliest production, the New Testament in English, arrive on these shores. We had heard the bitter foreign enemy of divine truth, in every vernacular tongue, Corhlæus, forewarning Wolsey and his Royal Master to stop every inlet, to lay an embargo on every seaport, and prevent its entrance: yet have we not observed it, coming to our ancestors across the sea, before there was any fixed form of opinion, save that of hostility, either in England or Scotland? And long before there was an Institution of any name, professing to bow to its authority? Yes, come it did, and with powerful effect; but what was its reception from many, and especially from men of authority, for more than ten years? Can any other Nation be now specified that discovered equal, or such persevering, hostility? And if in this hostility Britain stood pre-eminent, so much the more ought never to be forgotten the first presentation of the Divine Record. It is a feature in her national history, which so enhances the self-moved goodness of God, as to render all that has occurred since, worthy of the profoundest adoration. We have witnessed, very distinctly, that the most deadly opponents were men who had arrogated to themselves, exclusively and by way of eminence, the title of "the spirituality." Have we not beheld those individuals, moved with mingled terror and indignation; and united, as one man, from their Primate downwards, however vainly, to purchase, and then destroy the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour, because it was in the language of our common country? In their heartfelt alarm, have we not observed them apply to a civilian, the phoenix of his age, that he might put forth all his strength, and his power of sarcasm, in opposition? In the north as well as the south, a common sense of danger had prevailed. A general call to arms was, as it were, the order of the day. The masses, with their leaders, were banded together in hostility. But still, month after month, nay, year after year, we have seen the dreaded Book arrive, in many ways, though by channels inexplicable, and then brave every species of opposition. Authority could not command it away. Neither could skill devise an antidote, nor power banish it from the land. Terror proved itself to be impotent, and all the threatenings of vengeance were in vain. Surely this strange commencement, this early and emphatic page in the history of our own English Bible, is never to be forgotten, much less, consigned to oblivion.

The reader may have perused Foster's powerful Essay on Decision of Character, at the close of which he has said—"I am sorry, and I attribute it to defect of memory, that a greater proportion of the illustrations which I have introduced are not as conspicuous for *goodness* as for *power*." Martin Luther abroad, and John Howard at home, are there indeed not forgotten, and let them ever enjoy deservedly their own high place; but let England, at last, do justice to one of her own sons! For godness and power united, now that his history is better known, we may be permitted to hesitate, whether this country ever produced, or

even Europe at the moment, a more valuable, because influential instance of decision of character, than that of William Tyndale, who died in triumph at the stake, above nine years before Luther expired on his bed! Luther, it will be remembered, was never expatriated, never from under the kind protection of his Elector; and in his literary undertakings he ever enjoyed the benefit or assistance of scholars, at least equal to himself. He had Melancthon, Justus Jonas, and others, with whom to consult and advise. Tyndale stood alone, literally alone, whether at the outset, or at the close of his career. Generally speaking, he was destitute of every support or encouragement. "The lonely individual was placed in the alternative of becoming the victim or the antagonist of the power of the empire." He never had a patron, and when hunted by English spies, or English ambassadors, he had no Electoral authority to shield him from his Monarch's wrath, or the vengeance of his Ministers. *His* Melancthon was taken from him, and slain upon the high places in England, when he might indeed lament over him, as David did over Jonathan; yet still *he* must plough through the deep as before, or fight on—and live—and die alone! Though one of the noblest of mankind, he expired at a stake, as an outcast from all human society. The world was not his friend, nor the world's law. Leaving, however, his labors to be gathered up into the Bible of 1537, he had effectually laid the foundation of all future versions or editions of the English Scriptures; and these ten long years, from 1526 to 1536, now appear to be unquestionably among the most important, as influential, in the subsequent history of this Island.

But if these years stand distinguished by a commencement and early progress altogether irresistible; an *extended* course began, not less worthy of observation, when the BIBLE entire arrived. Tyndale and his translations, whether of the New, or of the Old Testament, had been bitterly opposed, though in vain. The hostility was distinctly and frequently expressed by the King and Cardinal, by the Vice-Gerent or Vicar-General, by Primate and Bishop, with all their underlings, by his Majesty in person, by his Privy Council as a body: but now, though the Translator be gone to his reward, his labors having been preserved, incorporated into a folio volume, and imported into his native land, it was meet that all these adverse authorities, without exception, should be signally overruled. The course thus begun was never to be abandoned. Intermeddling there was. A show of nominal Royal authority, though never of any other, might and did occur; but, substantially, all parties must either stand aloof, or be overruled, down to the present day. HENRY VIII., indeed, might waver, but not until as many Bibles had been printed, as might serve, somewhat like Joseph's corn in Egypt, during the famine. His adverse policy, too, then had but little power, nay, the capriciousness displayed was only calculated to whet curiosity. Every one can now see that a book *half* interdicted, must have been looked at with the keener avidity in private. The King talked of his power



to give and to restrain the Scriptures, but these were only vain words. He confessed his impotence before he died, and this was the *only* department in which Henry ever did so. In the reign of EDWARD VI., however friendly in his own person, as neither the Convocation or Parliament of the father had ever been permitted to banish the book entirely, so here they must not interfere at all. Divine truth having free course was glorified; and though MARY succeeded with her husband PHILIP, we have seen that neither the one nor the other were ever allowed to issue any official denunciation of the book of God. No doubt the Scriptures were then consumed, as they had been under the father of the Queen, but the great majority seem to have been preserved. Many were carried away; many were concealed, and even built up, till a better day. Besides, these few years were the season appointed for revising the translation, and once revised, the English monarch was once more to be still more signally overruled. ELIZABETH, who ruled over everything else, in every other department, must yield here, and never, throughout her long reign, speak one word to the contrary. Her own patent printer, too, shall be the instrument for supplying the people with that version of the Bible for which they called, and which they continued to read, both in England and Scotland, long after her successor, James VI., was in his grave. To the proposal of our present version that monarch had acceded, at an anomalous conference, with a few men, *before* he was recognized by Parliament as King; but though fond, even to ostentation, of proclamations, as he then never issued one respecting the Bible, and did not live to witness its general adoption, nor his son either, the same character for independence is stamped upon the version ever since in use. That version, as already noticed, only became the Bible of this island entire, at a period of all others the most impressive and significant, as to all the authority residing in poor human nature. It was when there was no king within our borders, and many other authorities were for the time extinct; but the Sovereign Disposer of all events, the Unseen Ruler, was there. King and Convocation, Lords and Commons, for the moment set aside or laid low, surely He intended that *his* hand and power should have been *then* observed, nay, and remembered, from that time forward. And, finally, to come down to our day, when so much has been done, and so much said, respecting the circulation of the Scriptures, it has not been at the bidding of any human authority whatever, whether civil, or what is called ecclesiastical. At a period when combination, or association under patronage has been all the rage, and the highest that could possibly be procured has been aimed at, as a great affair; still, of the Bible Society, out of four Sovereigns in succession, on the throne, not one of them has been a member, nor has any Primate, or Prince of the Blood, ever presided at its annual meeting. It has been a movement of the people, as the people, irrespective of all their divisions; and yet, on the whole, God has been accomplishing far more by men separately than by men com-

bined : more in the customary course of his kind Providence than by what has been called the Bible Society.

With regard to legislation, it is true, that as Britain has been charged with excess of interference, in almost everything, successive attempts we have witnessed, even here ; and there have been patents for printing, but still, all along, the integrity of the history of the English Bible has been most singularly preserved, and the distinct line of an overruling Providence has been quite visible, from first to last. In holding on, throughout its entire course, ever independent of all associated bodies, as such, even the *history* of our Sacred Volume comes clothed with a prerogative, or sovereign authority, above everything else, in the shape of religious history.

Irrespective of all reference to internal evidence in the Scriptures, we point simply to the providential history of the book itself. It has been kept distinct, or, as it were, above, yet among, this people, for more than three hundred years ; and never was the highest favor which God has bestowed so long, more conspicuous and abundant, than at the present moment. If, at such a time, there should be any, or too many who seem to be wholly engrossed, whether by ecclesiastical self-righteousness, or mere party spirit ; still, it is altogether in vain for any community, as such, within the shores of Britain, to talk of its superior importance here. All other questions, are absolutely local, and subordinate. All communities offer to the eye but a section of the people, or an inferior circle. Every one of them is here not only spoken to direct, but all alike are here providentially over-arched. Not one, without exception, can rise and lay claim to the glory of that *bow in the clouds*.

Changes in sublunary things, there have been many ; divisions and sub-divisions as to its meaning, but never has it been permitted to fall under the power, much less into the keeping of any one circle. Never has it been allowed to become the badge, or the partizan of a single party. Not one could ever address another in the style of the Venetians to the Roman Pontiff, and say — *that Book is ours*. An historical event, therefore, extending over three countries, with immediate reference to our vernacular Bible, may certainly be presumed to carried *some* significance beyond the external fact. But if so, that cannot be anything of trivial moment, which speaks to all alike, and for so long a period. It is true, only one simple principle may be all that is involved, though it must be one worthy of this high and long-continued course of procedure. After all this then, some, if not every intelligent observer, may now be disposed to pause a little, having verified this anomaly in our national history. The boon bestowed he has long felt to the *Britain's best hope*, though never before presented exactly in this light ; and if the peace and tranquillity of his country has been supposed to depend upon the harmony and stability of the Institutions within her shores, he may begin to apprehend that season, if not past, may be passing

away. But again he turns to the highest gift bestowed on all alike. In its history it now appears as if it had been uninterruptedly calling upon every circle, without exception, to look up for superior light; or in waiting for its own peculiar place in the wide community below—waiting for a supremacy to which it has been all along entitled.

Why then should not such a long and patient suspension of this Sacred Record, held beyond the grasp, or above the head of a whole community still divided in opinion, not now lead to a more thoughtful consideration of that place which Infinite Wisdom seems to be determined it shall one day occupy? This might prove to be an *end* worthy of the long *way* to it; since, in the sufficiency and explicitness of the Holy Scriptures, the sovereignty of God is alike involved. Beyond all question, a writing *is* capable of being so complete, that it needs no addition, and shall this completeness be any longer denied even to the Divine Record? One man in this country, it is granted, has long and frequently been lauded as immortal, simply because of his having said, that “the Bible, and the Bible alone, was his religion.” But from his lips, as well as from thousands who have quoted him, what has this been more than a mere saying? Or more than a proof that even thousands may be governed, in speculation, by a theory, which in practice they reject? It is quite possible that *here* may have lain the real secret of our Sacred Volume having been so long locked up, in what is called a Patent. Perhaps we have not been trusted with it, and are not to be, till we are able duly to estimate its character and value as a perfect standard of faith and practice.

It has indeed been frequently said, that the Christians of Britain can never be one people, till they become a people of only one Book. But unquestionably, if they do insist upon having two centre-points in a circle, all the lines drawn from both, must of necessity cross each other. And so it ever must be till the day when, as one man, they contend for the Sacred Scriptures as the common centre against *all* antiquity.

We are now, however, able to account historically for the majestic height, or the magnitude of this cause. That Sovereign Book, in addition to the supreme authority of its contents, has become visibly the Sovereign also, even in point of number and dispersion; an event, which may never have been sufficiently regarded, as containing in itself some distinct and very significant meaning to all who read this version, whether at home or abroad.

Three hundred years ago, in many parts of Europe, but particularly in this country, both in England and Scotland, the high and keen dispute was, whether what they called the *Church*, or the *Sacred Scriptures* were uppermost, or which was to be regarded as supreme in point of authority. For ages preceding, it had seemed to be the former. At least, a body, usurping that name, had long wantonly reigned over them; and the use they made of that daring assumption is well known. It brought on that night

of pitchy darkness which so long brooded over Europe. They had taken away the key of knowledge, and substituted other keys. They had not only closed or contemned the Sacred Volume; they denied to the people at large the use or even the possession of it. But the time to favor Zion, the set time, was come. The Almighty vindicated his own cause in this our native land, by way of eminence; and after a peculiar manner, by the power of his *own word*, rescued it out of the hands of those, the profane rulers of darkness. This was His *first* note of interpretation, which, for illustration's sake, we ventured to compare to the key-note in music; and it really seems to vibrate in the ear now, as distinctly as it did in August 1537.

Now, in this kingdom, where so much has been said about the Church, ever since, perhaps more than in all the world besides, at present it becomes worthy of universal observation, that God, by his high providence, has all along, never permitted his Word, in a single instance, to fall into, much less under, the power of any Church, so called, of whatever form, or whatever name. The supreme authority of the Scriptures he has visibly demonstrated, before the eyes of the nation at large, by carrying them, in point of numbers and dispersion, far, very far above the capacity, and beyond the narrow bounds, of any Church so named, or of any single community within our shores. The supremacy of the Divine Word, though still far from being understood even on British ground, a watchful Providence has not left to expositors to spell out or explain. God has been his own interpreter, and he has made it plain. This is one great lesson, which the Sovereign Ruler has been reading to this kingdom entire, for more than three hundred years.

Hence it is, at the present most eventful crisis, whatever may betide the country as a whole, or whatever may await any of its more limited interests, that His own cause stands out before us, healthy and strong, and in vigorous operation; far more vigorous than at any previous period, and by far the highest undertaking of our day. Forming, therefore, as it does, such a commanding providential event, or a voice so significant and so loud; there may be impending danger to all subordinate interests throughout the land, in disregarding it any longer, or in its not occupying that high place in the national mind to which it is entitled.

We need not to be informed, that, under the influence of the present low estimation in which some appear to hold the Scriptures themselves, they may reply—"But what is all this array at the best, save an *array of means*?" It is even so, though we might first say; but look again and consider; it is *such* an array, and of *such* means! After perusing such a history of the past, let us have a care how we estimate the divine provision for millions. Substitute or exchange all these volumes for men, right-hearted, and what are styled able *men*, and then point out the difference. What would *they* be, though full in view, but an array of means? Or before God, only so many ciphers, without an unit,

or the root of numbers before them?" "*For who is Paul, or who Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to each of us? I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase—These things, brethren, I have applied to myself and to Apollos for your sakes; that ye might learn in us, not to esteem any one, any teacher, above what hath been written.*" No, everything is beautiful in its own time and place. The minister of truth is never to be undervalued; but the Word of God is the sword of the Spirit, and that is a sword, which is only to be wielded with effect, by the arm of conscious weakness. In both instances, whether of the Sacred Volume, or the man of God, the life-giving Spirit is *all in all*.

The facts here gathered respecting the operations of the American Bible Society, are incorporated from the latest reports of that Institution, and perhaps we cannot bring this work to a close more appropriately than by copying the closing passages from its report for 1849, exhibiting the greatness of the work in which the society is engaged in the United States of America, and in foreign lands.

Every successive year, says the report, affords accumulating testimony to the importance of Bible distribution, and that too, systematical, thorough, and repeated. A population equal to that required for the admission of ten new States to the Union, is added to our population every year; and to keep this multitude supplied with the Bible is a work of mighty magnitude and of infinite interest.

We are struck with grateful astonishment at the desire among the destitute for the bread of Life, and the eagerness with which it is received. This is manifested in all parts of our own country, in Spanish America, in Europe especially, in Syria and India. God in his providence and in his grace has gone before us, not only to prepare the way for the free course of his Word, but to awaken in the hearts of men a desire to have the Bible. The wonderful facilities of communication with distant parts of the world have made the nations more familiar with each other; and this has naturally induced the people of those nations where the Bible is not diffused, to identify the superior liberty and happiness of other nations with their enjoyment of this book. The rights of man as well as the duties, are taught in the Bible, and hence the people, galled by the yoke of tyranny and superstition, hail the entrance of a book that proclaims deliverance to them that are bound. In Roman Catholic and Pagan communities, the people are willing and anxious to receive and search the Scriptures, rarely refusing them, unless at the dictation of the priesthood; and in many cases, even this power has not been sufficient to restrain the inquirer from seeking and finding the precious truth of God. What power the diffusion of the Bible has exerted among those nations which have been struggling for freedom during the last year, we do not know, but we are sure that the *seed is the Word*—the seed of liberty, of order, of virtue, of life and salvation: we are sure that the entrance of this Word giveth light to Papal and Pagan minds, and

that everywhere and always, the Bible is dangerous to every form of despotism on the human soul.

In this wide-spread desire for the Bible, and grateful eagerness in its reception, we find both our encouragement and our responsibility. If the destitute are anxious to have the Word of God, we not only may, but we must give it. No longer are we hindered by the resistance of popery, or infidelity, or heathenism: the human family is waiting for the law of God, and it is in the power of our hands to spread its knowledge abroad among the nations of the earth.

We are also painfully and deeply impressed with the truth, that while a benighted, suffering, dying world is ready to receive the Word of Life, and must, or perish, there is a mournful want of sympathy on the part of those who have it, with those who have it not. Professing to love the Bible, and to value it more than rubies—drawing from it as from a fountain of living water, the principles on which we found our civil and religious institutions—tracing to its influence all that is sacred and endearing in the social and domestic relations of life—and above and beyond all, rejoicing in it as the source and strength of our hopes of heaven through Jesus Christ our Lord—we are, notwithstanding, comparatively indifferent to its diffusion. We know that when we give the Bible, we give all these unspeakably precious and priceless blessings. We know that giving it does not impoverish us, nor withholding enrich us. But how small is our *donation* compared with our estimate of the work, with our value of the book, with our actual ability to give! With means of printing and publishing almost without limit, with facilities for distribution that will convey the Word to the ends of the earth, with resources of wealth commensurate with the call that is made, the Bible cause is thrust aside with a miserable pittance from many of its countless friends. Humbling and painful as the fact must appear, it is true that of those who embrace the Bible as the word and will of their God and Saviour, read it, and pray over it daily, go to it for counsel in doubt, for strength in weakness, for consolation in sorrow, and expect its support in death, multitudes have not, during the past year, given a line of it to those on whose eyes its light has never shone!

Still, we believe there is a deepening and advancing interest in this specific cause. Its fundamental relations to the world's conversion are more generally understood, and more sacredly felt. To spread the Bible is to fill the world with the knowledge of the Lord. Those who are often saying, "O how I love thy law," will admit the obligation, and rejoice in the opportunity to give it to the destitute. Long has Zion been praying, "O send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me," and now she will hear the voice that saith to her, "Arise, shine, for thy light has come."

The religion of the Bible is the only religion that can become universal. Other forms, of varied names and natures, are dead or dying: this only is living, growing, strengthening with age,

and stretching its arms to gather the world in its bosom. This only unites all good men in its support. This only has God for its author, and his Word as the pledge of its perpetuity and success. It has pleased Him to give unto us his lively oracles, that we may give them to those who are sitting in great darkness. Accepting the trust, with gratitude recognizing the obligation, and confessing that when we shall have given the Bible to the world, we shall yet be infinite debtors to him who has honored us in entrusting such a work to our hands, we would hear the voice of Providence and the Spirit, and publish abroad the word of our God. Already the tidings have come to us of the triumph of the truth in the midst of heathen lands, "so mightily grew the word of the Lord and prevailed," where the Shasters and the Koran have hitherto held dominion over the minds of men. Now the Bible is glorified among them even as it is among us; and in persevering faith we trust the day is not far off, when it may be said of the voice of the Most High in his printed word, "The mighty God, even JEHOVAH, hath spoken, and called the earth, from the rising of the sun, unto the going down thereof."

# CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF

## ENGLISH BIBLES AND NEW TESTAMENTS,

WITH CERTAIN

PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND INDIVIDUAL PROPRIETORS IN POSSESSION OF COPIES.

In the following pages *Ty.* denotes the translation of Tyndale—*Co.* that of Coverdale—*Ma.* that of Rogers, *alias* Matthew, or that of Tyndale's, left for publication—*Cr.* denotes Cranmer's—*Tu.* that of Tavernor's—*Ge.* the Genevan version—*Bps.* that of the Bishops, and *Tb.* that of Laurence Tomson.

### HENRY THE EIGHTH.

FIFTY-FOUR EDITIONS, VIZ., THIRTY-NINE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, AND FIFTEEN OF THE BIBLE.

*Printed in twenty-two years, or from 1525 to the 28th January, 1547.*

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR.
MATTHEW and MARK—printed "as written by the Evangelists," with marginal notes, stitched together and separately.	—	Hamburg	1524
1. T. The New Test. with glosses and a prologue,—only one fragment remains, and that not discovered till 1831. Now in the Library of the <i>Right Hon. Thomas Grenville.</i>	P. Quentall Ty. P. Schoeffer	Cologne Worms	4o. 1525
2. T. The New Test. wanting only the title, and the only copy in this state now known. Bequeathed, with many other volumes, by Dr. And. Gifford, to the <i>Bristol Museum.</i>	Ty. P. Schoeffer	Worms	18o. —
3. T. The New Test., the first surrep. ed., of which no copy has yet been properly identified in any collection.	Ty. Endhoven	Antwerp	1526
4. T. The New Test., the second surreptitious edition.	Ty. Ruremund	Antwerp	1527
5. T. The New Test., the third surreptitious edition.	Ty. —	Antwerp	1528-9
6. T. The New Test., supposed reprint by Tyndale himself, with his prologue to the Romans.	Ty. Hans Luft	Marburg?	1530
GENESIS, DEUTERONOMY, in separate books.	Ty. Hans Luft	Marburg	—
PENTATEUCH, with a general preface, and a second edition of Genesis, dated 17th Jan. 1530, <i>i. e.</i> 1531. A perfect copy in the <i>Grenville Lib. Imp. British Mus. Bristol Mus.</i>	Various Ty. printers	Different places	1531
7. T. "The New Test. as it was written," &c., altered by Geo. Joye, with only the Vul-			



	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR.
	gate before him, dated "M.CCCCC.XXXIII., in August." The only copy certainly known to exist is in the <i>Grenville Lib.</i>	Ty. Widowe of Christoffel of Endhouse.	Antwerp	160. 1534
8. T.	The New Test. dylygently corrected and compared with the Greke, by Willyam Tindale,—fynished in MD.XXXIII., in Nov. <i>British Museum. St. Paul's. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Marten Emperowr	Antwerp	120. —
9. T.	Unique copy on vellum. "Anna Regina Angliæ." Simply the sacred text. <i>British Museum.</i>	Ty. Emperowr	Antwerp	120. —
	JONAH with a prologue.			
10. T.	New Test. anno MD.XXXIII. surrept. p. 415. <i>E. of Pembroke.</i>	Ty. G. H. ?	Antwerp	120. —
11. T.	New Test. anno MD.XXXIII. sur. p. 415. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. — ?	Antwerp	120. —
12. T.	New Test. dated on the back 1534, p. 415. <i>Bristol Museum.</i>	Ty. — ?	Antwerp	40. —
	PENTATEUCH, corrected. <i>St. Paul's. Bristol Museum.</i>	Ty. —	Marburg	120. —
13. T.	New Test. from Tyndale's corrected ed. p. 455. <i>Bodleian Lib.</i>	Ty. — ?	Antwerp	120. 1535
14. T.	"The New Testament dylygently corrected,"—peculiar orthography, p. 455-456. Perfect. <i>Camb. Un. Lib. Imp. Ex. Col. Ox.</i>	Ty. — ?	Antwerp ?	120. —
15. T.	The Newe Test.—but imperfect—date wanting. Cotton's list.	Ty. —	—	fol. —
	1. B. BIBLIA. The Bible, that is, the holy Scripture of the Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to English. <i>Earl of Leicester's</i> —title 1535. <i>Bodleian. British Museum. Cambridge University Library. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq. Earl of Jersey's</i> , dated 1536.	Co. —	Not Zurich Frankfort? Cologne? Lubec?	fol. 1535
16. T.	"The Newe Testament yet once again corrected." Fine copy. Duke of Newcastle's, 1676, <i>Earl Spencer. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. —	Antwerp	120. 1536
17. T.	The Newe Testament, in many points similar, but quite distinct. The second title is MD.XXXVI. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. —	Antwerp	120. —
18. T.	The Newe Testament, also similar, but evidently on collation a different edition—same year. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. —	Antwerp	120. —
19. T.	The Newe Test., quite distinct from the three last. <i>Bristol Museum.</i>	Ty. —	Antwerp	120. —
20. T.	"The Newe Testament, yet once agayne corrected by William Tyndale. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Vosterman ?	Antwerp	40. —
21. T.	"The Newe Testament yet once agayne corrected,"—longer paper and distinct edition. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Vosterman ?	Antwerp	40. —
22. T.	"The Newe Testament yet"—a block in the cut of the Apostle Paul, preceding the Epistles, is only one distinguishing mark of these three editions. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Vosterman ?	Antwerp	40. —
23. T.	New Test., by W. Tindale. A thick pocket vol., smaller than any of the preceding—a fragment possessed by G. Offor, <i>Esq.</i>	Ty. —	Antwerp ?	120. —

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR.
24. T.	"THE NEWE TEST. yet once agayne corrected by W. Tyndale," &c. This is from the last corrected edit., and the first Sacred Volume printed on English ground. <i>Bodleian Lib. John Fenwick, Esq.</i>	T. Berthelet Ty. Printer to the King.	London	fol. 1536
25. T.	The Newe Testament, with Tyndale's prologue to the Romans only, but Coverdale's version. The first edition separate from the Bible? <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Co. ———	Antwerp?	12o. ———
2. B.	"The Byble that is, the Holye Scripture of the Olde and New Testamente, faythfully translated in Englysh, and newly ouersene and correcte, MV.XXXVII." Dedicated "to Henry VIII. and his Queen Jane."—"Myles Couerdale unto Christen reader." Correcting p. 565. <i>Earl Spencer. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Co. J. Nycolson	Southwarke	4o. ———
3. B.	"The Byble, that is, the oulde and newe Testamet, faithfully Traunslated into English, and newly ouerseen and corrected, MD.XXXVII." Dedicated as before, and both "Sett forth with the Kynge's most gracious license. <i>Bristol Museum. Lincoln Cathedral. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Co. J. Nycolson	Southwarke	fol. 1537
4. B.	"THE BIBLE, WHICH IS THE HOLY SCRIPTURE, IN WHICH ARE CONTAYNED THE OLDE AND NEWE TESTAMENT, TRULY AND PURELY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLYSH. By Thomas Matthew." Dedicated to Henry VIII. "Set forth with the Kinge's most gracious license." The basis of all subsequent editions. <i>British Mus. Lambeth Lib. Bodleian. British Mus. Earl of Pembroke. On yellow paper, Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Grafton Ty. and Ma. Whitchurch	Antwerp? Lubec? Humboro?	fol. ———
26. T.	In Latin after Erasmus, and in English after Matthew, "under the King's most gracious license." <i>Royal Institution. Exeter Coll. Oxon.</i>	Ma. Redman	London	4o. 1538
27. T.	New Test. of Coverdale, but with all Tyndale's prologues, by Crom or Cromer. <i>Bristol Museum. St. Paul's Library,</i>	Co. M. Cromer	Antwerp	12o. ———
28. T.	"of our Sauoure Jesu Christe,—in to Englysshe." <i>Library of the late Duke of Sussex. Mr. G. Mason.</i>	Ma. Treveris	Southwark	4o. ———
29. T.	"The newe Testament, both Latin and Englyshe, after the vulgar texte, by Myles Couerdale." <i>Bodleian. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Co. Nicolson	Southwarke	4o. ———
30. T.	"The newe testament both in Latine and Englyshe"—"Faythfullye translated by Johan Hollybushe. <i>St. Paul's. Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson.</i>	Co. Nicolson	Southwarke	4o. ———
31. T.	"The New Testament both in Latin and English,"—title red and black. Dedicated to Lord Crumwell, by Couerdale. <i>St. Paul's. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Co. Regnault	Paris	8o. ———
32. T.	"The New Testament"—with a true concordance in the Margent—printed in the yeare of our Lorde MCCCCXXXVIII. <i>Herbert, p. 1549.</i>	Co. ———	London?	16o. ———

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR
33. T. The Paris edit. with Ded. and new title. <i>C. C. College, Oxford.</i>	Co. ———	London?	8o. 1539
34. T. "of our sauour Jesu Chryst—for Thomas Berthelet, p. 82. <i>St. Paul's Lib.</i>	Ta. T. Petyt	London	4o. ———
35. T. "after the Greeke Exemplar"—for T. Berthelet. <i>Herbert, p. 553, 1550.</i>	Ta. T. Petyt	London	8o. ———
36. T. Rep. of 1538, very incor. <i>Herbert, p. 1549, 1550.</i>	Co. Cromer	Antwerp	8o. ———
5. B. "The Byble"—an undertaking of Crumwell's, with Coverdale as corrector of the press. <i>British Museum. St. Paul's. Lambeth Library. Bristol Museum.</i> Perfect copy.	Ma. Grafton and Whitechurch	Paris and London	fol. ———
6. B. "The most sacred Bible," by Taverner. <i>British Mus. St. Paul's. Bristol Mus. Cambridge Un. Lib. Balliol Col. Oxon. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ta. J. Byddell	London	fol. ———
7. B. "The most sacred Bible," by Taverner. But no third edit. by Nicolson, as stated by Herbert and Dibdin. See Bible, No. ——— <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ta. J. Byddell	London	4o. ———
8. B. "The Byble in Englyshe"—"Fynished in Apryll mccccxli." The first of Cranmer's. Vellum. <i>British Museum.</i> Perfect copy. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Edward Whyt-churche.	London	fol. 1540
9. B. "The Byble in Englyshe"—"Fynished in Apryll, ANNO MCCCCXLI." Reprint of 1539, correcting p. 131. <i>British Museum. Emman. Coll. Camb. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ma. Petyt and Redman	London	fol. 1540
10. B. "The Byble in Englyshe"—"Fynished in July, anno mccccxli." The second of Cranmer's, a perfect copy. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Richard Grafton	London	fol. ———
11. B. The Bible, in five parts or volumes—nowhere complete	Ma. Redman	London	16o. ———
37. T. The Newe Testament in English, as in Cranmer, though said to be from the Latin of Erasmus. <i>Lambeth Library.</i> On yellow paper, in the <i>Bodleian.</i>	Cr. Grafton and Whitechurch	London	4o. ———
38. T. The Newe Testament of Taverner's version. See Ames, 499, Cotton's List p. 7. Introduction to Luke omitted. <i>Bodleian</i>	Ta. ———	London	4o. ———
12. B. "The Byble in Englyshe,"—"Fynished in Nouember, Anno mccccxli, not pub. till 1541. Overseen and perused at Henry's command by Tunstal and Heath. <i>Edin. Univ. Lib.</i>	Edward Tu. Whitechurch	London	fol. 1541
13. B. "The Byble in Englysh,"—"Fynished the xxviii daye of Maye, ANNO DOMINI MDXLI. Third of Cranmer. perfect copy— <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Edwarde Whitechurch	London	fol. ———
14. B. "The Byble in Englyshe,"—"Fynished in Nouember, anno mccccxlii," the second with Tunstal and Heath's names on the title, and Cranmer's prologue in both edits. perfect copy— <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Tu. Richard Grafton	London	fol. ———
15. B. "The Byble in Englyshe. An. do. MDXL. — Fynished in December mccccxlii. A domino factum est istud. This is the Lordes doynge." perfect— <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Richard Grafton	London	fol. ———

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	PLACE.	YEAR.
39. T. The New Test., with wood-cuts in the Gospels, Acts and Revelations. Harleian Cat. No. 428, imperf.			
<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Van Loe?	Antwerp	32o. 1544

## EDWARD THE SIXTH.

FORTY-NINE EDITIONS, VIZ., THIRTY-FIVE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND  
FOURTEEN OF THE BIBLE.

*Issued in the course of six years and a half, or from 29th Jan., 1547, to 6th July, 1553.*

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
40. T. The Newe Testament according to Cranmer's edits. Dated "the ix day of October MDXLVI."		
<i>Bristol Museum.</i>	Cr. R. Grafton	12o. 1546
41. T. The Newe Testament in Englishe (Matthew) and Latin, according to Erasmus—a reprint of edit. 1538. <i>St. Paul's.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ma. W. Powell
42. T. "The new Testament in Englyshe,"—of Cranmer's version, known by a noted omission in the text of Rev. i. 9, 20. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Cr. E. Whitechurch	8o. —
43. T. The New Testament,—the English of his edit. last year. <i>Lambeth</i>	Ma. W. Powell	4o. 1548
44. T. "The newe Testamente in Englyssh, according to the translation of the great Byble." "Londini.—Ex officina Johann Herfordiae, Anno Domini MDxlyiii."	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. J. Herford
45. T. "The New Testament of our Saviour Christ, after the best copie of William Tindale's Translation," with the notes of Matthew and others. <i>Eton College.</i>	Ty. Day and Seres	16o. —
46. T. The New Testament, similar to the last. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ty. Day and Seres	4o. —
47. T. "The Newe Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ." 35 lines in a page. Perfect copy, Sussex sale £50. Imperfect.— <i>Chr. Anderson.</i>	Ty. R. Jugge	24o. —
48. T. "The newe Testament of the last translation by William Tyndale, with prologes and Annotations in the Margent." 31 lines in a page. Herbert. p. 556. <i>Lincoln College, Oxford.</i>	Ty. T. Petit	4o. —
49. T. "The Newe Testament in Englishe and in Latin. Novvm Testamentvm Anglice et Latine, Anno Dni 1548." <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. W. Powell	4o. —
50. T. The newe Testament of the last Translation by William Tyndale. Printed for Thomas Berthelet, without date. <i>Herbert, p. 556.</i>	Ty. T. Petit	16o. —
51. T. "The new Testamente by William Tindale, with the Annotations of Thomas Matthew." In black letter, with wood-cuts. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Ty. —	8o. —
52. T. The Newe Testament, a rare edit. imperf. "Vvillia Tindal vnto the Chrystyan Reader," with wood-cuts in Revelations. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Day and Seres?	18o. —
53. T. The New Testament, with Erasmus' paraphrase, vol. i. <i>Bodleian. New College, Oxon.</i>	<i>Bristol Museum.</i>	var. Whitchurch
—————, the same,—the Epistles, vol. ii. <i>Sion College. New College, Oxon.</i>	<i>Bristol Museum.</i>	var. Whitchurch
54. T. "The New Testament of our Saviour Christ—after the best Copie of William Tindale's trans. with notes of Matthew's." <i>Bristol Mus.</i>	Ty. Jhon Day	16o. —
55. T. The Newe Testament by William Tyndale. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ty. W. Seres	8o. —

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
56. T.	"The new Testamente of our Sauyoure Christ, set forth by Willyam Tyndale. with the anna- tacion of T. Matthew," 23 of Maye. <i>British Museum. Bristol Museum.</i>	Ty. Wm. Copland	8o. 1549
57. T.	"The newe Testament of the last translacon. By Wylliam Tyndale." Colophon dated also 1548. This is <i>not</i> Coverdale's Translation, as stated in Herbert, p. 761. <i>Bristol Museum.</i>		
58. T.	"The newe Testament, by Miles Coverdale, and conferred with the translacon of Willyam Tyndale." Wood-cuts. <i>Lambeth Library.</i>	Ty. Wm. Tylle	4o. —
59. T.	"The Newe Testament," as in 1547, but the Latin here in Roman type. "Imprinted MCCCCXLIX. God save the Kynge. <i>St. Paul's.</i> <i>Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Co. R. Wolfe	12o. —
60. T.	"The Newe Testament of oure Saueour Jesus Christ, by M. Wil. Tindall." an earlier foreign print, though now only put forth. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ma. W. Powell	4o. —
61. T.	The New Test. similar to the Bible following. <i>Lambeth and Cotton Lists.</i>	Ty. Day and Seres	12o. —
62. T.	"The Newe Testamente," similar to Bible fol- lowing. <i>Lounde's List.</i>	Cr. Cawood	4o. —
16. B.	"The Byble, that is to say all the holy Scripture," <i>not</i> Taverner's, but very slightly varied from Matthews, by Ed. Beke. Ded. to Ed. VI. "17 day August." <i>Bodleian.</i> <i>Cambridge University Library. Lambeth.</i>	Ty. Day and Seres	fol. —
17. B.	"The Byble, which is all the Holy Script- ure,"—reprint of Matthews 1537, but very faulty in composition,—" <i>finyshed the laste</i> <i>daye of Octobre."</i> <i>St. Paul's. Exeter Col.</i> <i>Oxon. Lambeth. Bristol Museum.</i>	Ma. Day and Seres	fol. —
18. B.	"The Byble in Englishe, after the trans- lacion appoynted to bee read in the church- es," dated the 29th day of December MDXLIX. <i>Bodleian. Exeter Coll. Oxon.</i> yellow paper. <i>Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Hyll and Ma. Reynaldes	fol. —
19. B.	The Byble, after Cranmer's version. <i>Lambeth and Cotton List.</i>	Cr. Whitchurch	fol. —
20. B.	The Byble in Englishe, a reprint of 1541. Being a joint concern, some titles have "Grafton and Whitchurch." <i>Bristol Museum.</i>	Cr. Grafton	4o. —
21. B.	in five vols. dated 1549, 1550, 1551. "Printed in sundry partes for these pore— that they which ar not able to bie the hole, may bie a part." This copy wants only the first volume. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ta. Day and Seres	12o. —
63. T.	The Newe Testament, "Imprinted the xii. Daye of January. ANNO DO. MCCCCCL. At worceter by Jhon Oswen," Cum gratia, &c. <i>Balliol College, Oxon. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Oswen	4o. 1550
64. T.	"The New Testament of our Sauour Christ,— after the best Copie of William Tindale's Trans- lation—the vi. day of February." <i>All Souls</i> <i>College, Oxon. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Day and Seres	12o. —
65. T.	"The Newe Testament,—by Miles Couerdale, conferred with the translacon of Willyam Tyn- dale," dated "ANNO 1550, in June." <i>Lambeth Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Co. R. Wolfe	12o. —

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
66. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauour Iesus Christ." Should have a port. of Edw. VI. A full page 34 lines. <i>St. Paul's Library.</i> A copy imperfect. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. R. Jugge	24o. 1550
67. T.	"The newe Testament faythfully translated by Miles Coverdal, anno. 1550." First so "Imprynted at Zurich, by Christoffel Froschouer"—by unaccountable mistake for William Tyndale. <i>British Museum, Zurich Library, Bristol Museum, Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. Froschouer	18o. —
68. T.	"The new Testament in Englishe after the greeke translation," &c. Red and black title, "in officina Thomæ Gaultier pro I. C." i. e. for John Cawood. "Pridie Kalendas Decembris anno MDL." <i>Lambeth, Bodleian, Bristol Museum, Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr.? Gualtier	8o. —
22. B.	"The Bible in Englishe—the translacion that is appointed to be rede in the churches." <i>St. Paul's Library, Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Whytchurche	4o. —
23. B.	"The whole Byble,—by Mayst. Thomas Mathewe!" First so "Imprinted in Zurych by Chrystoffier frosehower"—finished "the xvi daye in the moneth of August." by strange mistake for Coverdale. The correct London title, "Prynted for Andrew Hester. <i>British Mus. Bodleian, St. Paul's, Bristol Museum, Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Froshouer Co. and A. Hester	4o. —
69. T.	The New Testament with Erasmus' paraphrase, i. volume. <i>Sion College, All Souls College, Oron.</i>	var. Whitechurch	fol. 1551
70. T.	The Newe Testament, by William Tyndale. <i>Bristol Museum.</i>	Ty. Day and Seres	12o. —
71. T.	"The Newe Testament, with certayne Notes folowyng the chapters." Preface by Tyndale, and margin references, MDLI. <i>St. Paul's Lib.</i>	Ty. J. Daye	fol. —
24. B.	"The Byble, that is to saye all the holy Scripture,"—Printed by Nicolas Hyll, vi. May MDLI. and for eight "honest menne." Besides the issues here identified, there are other copies in the <i>British Museum, St. Paul's, Lambeth, Trinity College and All Souls College, Oxford, Christ's Church, Canterbury.</i>	Ma. Jo. Wyghte Ma. Wm. Bonham Ma. Th. Petyt Ma. T. Raynalde Ma. R. Kele Ma. J. Walley Ma. Ab. Veale Ma. Ro. Toye	fol. — fol. — fol. — fol. — fol. — fol. — fol. — fol. —
25. B.	"The Byble, that is to say al the holy Scripture." Revised by Becke. Mostly Taverner's, with the New Testament of Tyndale, dated XXIII. of Maye MDLI. <i>British Museum, Lambeth Library, St. Paul's, Bodleian, Bristol Museum, Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ta. Jhon Day Ty.	fol. —
72. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauour Jesu Christe." Port. of Edw. and large wood-cuts, with a license, dated 10 June, forbidding others to print. <i>British Museum, Lambeth, St. Paul's, Wudham C., Oron, Bristol Museum, Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. R. Jugge	4o. 1552
73. T.	The Newe Test. in Englyshe,—sep. copies of the following Bible,— 26. B. The Byble, &c. "London, by Nycholas Hyll, for Abraham Veale, anno. MDLII." Has been ascribed to Nicolson of Southwark by mistake. See Dibdin's Ames. vol. iii., p. 57. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Nich. Hyll Cr. Nich. Hyll	4o. — 4o. —

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
74. T. "The newe Testament of oure Sauour Jesus Christe." This and the edition of 1552 fixed by the King to be sold for 22d = 2s. now. <i>British Museum. St. Paul's. Bristol Museum.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. R. Jugge	4o. 1553
27. B. "The byble in English—the translacio —to be read in churches. MDLIII." <i>St. Paul's. Worcester Col., Oxon. Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Whytchurche	fol. —
28. B. "The whole Byble." by Coverdale,—a new issue of the Zurich edition, with new title. <i>St. Paul's. Balliol College and Exeter College, Oxon. Bristol Museum.</i>	Froschover Co. Ri. Jugge	4o. —
29. B. "The Bible in Englishhe, according to the translacion of the great Byble." Very small skeleton Saxon letter. Some copies have Grafton and Whitechurch. <i>St. Paul's Library. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Grafton	4o. —

### QUEEN MARY.

ONE EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, PRINTED ABROAD.

*Under this reign of five years and four months, from July 19, 1553 to Nov. 17, 1558.*

75. "The Nevve Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." 10 June. The translation of William Whittingham in exile at Geneva. <i>British Museum. Lambeth Lib. Bodleian. Bristol Mus. Balliol College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson.</i>	Geneva by Conrad Badius	18o. 1557
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### QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-TWO EDITIONS, VIZ., FORTY-EIGHT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND NINETY-FOUR OF THE BIBLE.

*Printed during forty-four years and four months, from 17th November 1558 to 24th March, 1603.*

30. B. "The Bible and Holy Scriptvres." The first Genevan, the first in Roman letter, and first Bible in verses, 10th April, 1560. Ded. to the Queen, and addressed to "the brethren of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND." <i>Lambeth. Balliol College, Oxon. Rev. Dr. Cotton. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. Rou. Hall	4o. 1560
76. T. The New Testament—the same version. No printer's name. <i>Lambeth.</i>	Ge. Geneva	16o. —
77. T. "The newe Testament, Faythfully translated out of the Greke." Dedicated to Edward VI. forbidding all others to print, and by his former privilege still! <i>All Souls. Oxon. Lambeth. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. R. Jugge	12o. 1561
78. T. "The Newe Testament" same version, but perfectly distinct dated edition. Both books perhaps kept up in safety during Mary's reign. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. R. Jugge	12o. —
79. T. The New Test. without license—fined 8s. See Herb. 883. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Cr. R. Harrison	4o. —
31. B. "The Bible." Second Genevan. Dedicated as before, but dated 10th April 1561. The New Test. in 1561, the first title 1562, Bodley's edition, Roman. <i>Brazen Nose College, Oxford. Geo. Offor, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. No name	fol. —

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
32. B.	"The Bible," in small black letter. "Imprinted at London, in Povvles Churcheyarde, by Jhon Cawoode. Prynter to the Quenes Maiestie, Anno MDLXI. Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis." <i>British Museum. Lambeth. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. J. Cawoode	4o. 1561
33. B.	"The bible in Englishc—apointed to be read in churches." Imprinted at London, in white crosse strete, by Richarde Harrison, Anno Domi. 1.5.6.2."— <i>Roman. Bristol Museum. Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Harrison	fol. 1562
80. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauour," in red and black. Still forbidding others to print. <i>Balliol College, Oxford. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. R. Jugge	4o. 1566
34. B.	The Byble in Englyshe—"At Roven, ( <i>Rouen</i> .) at the coste and charges of Richard Carmarden." by Hamillon. <i>British Museum. Bodleian. Lambeth. Worcester College, Oxford. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Hamillon	fol. —
35. B.	The Bible "In officina R. Grafton." The first edit. in one vol. 8vo. and the last he printed, probably sent to Ireland. <i>Herbert, p. 538.</i>	Cr. R. Grafton	8o. —
36. B.	"The Bible," third edit. printed at Geneva, by John Crispin. See Herbert's Ames, p. 1624.	Ge. J. Crispin	4o. 1568
81. T.	The Newe Test., printed to sell separately. <i>Bodleian. Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Ge. J. Crispin	4o. —
37. B.	"The. holie. Bible. conteynynge the olde Testament and the newe." The first edit. of Parker's, with 143 cuts and engravings. <i>British Museum. Bodleian. Bristol Mus. St. Paul's. Cambridge University Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	fol. —
38. B.	The Bible, by R. Jugge and J. Cawood. <i>Trinity College, Cambridge. All Souls College, Oxon.</i>	Cr. Jo. Cawood	4o. —
39. B.	"The Bible in Englyshe. Imprinted—Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis." <i>Lambeth. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Cawood	4o. 1569
40. B.	The Bible,—another edit. It may be distinguished by "THE NEVVE TESTament in english."—"Cum priuilegio." <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Cawood	4o. —
41. B.	"The Bible." Entirely distinct edition, though the same year. Like an effort to uphold Cranmer's version. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Cr. Cawood	4o. —
42. B.	"The holi Bible." Portrait of Elizabeth, and the archbishop below, preaching. See Strype's Annals and Lewis, p. 254. In two columns, the verses intermingled with the text. <i>Late Duke of Sussex Library. T. Thorpe, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	4o. —
43. B.	"The Bible and Holy Scriptvres conteyned."—"At Geneva, printed by John Crispin, MDLXIX." The New Testament is MDLXVIII.— <i>Roman. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. Crispin	4o. —
44. B.	The very same book as the last, though styled <i>second</i> edition. It was, however, a second or fresh issue this year.— <i>Roman. Bodleian. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. Crispin	4o. 1570



	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
45. B.	"The Holie Bible,"—second edition in quarto of the Bishops' version. Once in Herbert's collection, but at present we know not where.	Bps. R. Jugge	4o. 1570
82. T.	The New Testament, very similar to Nos. 77, 78, but a different edit., evident from the woodcuts in the Revelation, and other marks,—black letter. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ty. R. Jugge	12o. —
83. T.	The New Testament,—title wanting,—extremely small black letter,—not paged. The letter-press measures two inches by three and a quarter. Printed in 1570 or 1571. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	24o. 1571
46. B.	"The Holie Bible. Second folio edit., with only 30 cuts and engravings, many ornamental initials, wildly taken from Ovid's <i>Metamorphoses</i> ! A double version of the Psalms. <i>British Mus. Bodleian. Exeter College, Oron. Bristol Mus. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	fol. 1572
47. B.	"The Holie Bible." The third in quarto. A splendid copy, bound in five volumes, is in <i>Lambeth Library.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	4o. 1573
48. B.	"The Holy Byble, conteynynge the olde Testament and the newe. Set forth by auctoritie," i. e. of the bishops. The third folio, with cuts, dated "the fifth of July 1574." <i>Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	fol. 1574
84. T.	"The Newe Testament," Genevan version, with Epistle of Calvin, as in the edit. of 1557. Imprinted at London, by Tho. Vautroullier, for Christopher Barkar. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. Vautroullier	12o. 1575
85. T.	"The Newe Testament," the same, in quarto. <i>Herbert, p. 1057.</i>	Ge. Vautroullier	4o. —
49. B.	"The Holy Byble, conteynynge," &c. "Set forth by auctoritie," i. e., of the bishops. 1575. Thin paper, and not well printed, as if he needed capital. Hence the next edition. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	4o. —
50. B.	"The holy Byble, conteynynge, &c. Set forth by auctoritie," as before, "finished the xxiiii. day of Nouember." For five others, besides himself. <i>Earl Spencer.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	fol. —
	The same, but titled, "Imprinted at London, by RICHARD KELE." <i>The Bodleian.</i>		
	The same, ——— "Imprinted at London, LUCAS HARRISON." <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>		
	The same, ——— "Imprinted at London, by JOHN WALLEY." <i>King's Coll. Camb.</i>		
	The same, ——— "Imprinted at London, by JOHN JUDSON." <i>Mr. Herbert.</i>		
	The same, ——— "Imprinted at London, by WILLIAM NORTON." <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>		
51. B.	"The Bible." Genevan. The first printed on English ground, and by Tho. Vautroullier, for Christopher Barkar. <i>Bristol Mus.</i>	Ge. Vautroullier	4o. —
52. B.	"The Bible," of the same version, for the same, in small size.	Ge. Vautroullier	fol. —
86. T.	The New Test. of the Bishops' version.—no date. <i>St. Paul's Library.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	18o 1576
87. T.	"The Nevv Testament," the first edition said to be from Beza, but simply a revision of the Genevan version, with Notes by Beza, Camearius, &c., by Laurence Tomson, under secre-		

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
	tary to Sir Francis Walsingham, differing in some parts from subsequent edits. <i>Dr. Cotton. Sion College. Wadham Col. Oxon. Lea Wilson, Esq. Chr. Anderson.</i>	To. C. Barker	8o. 1576
53. B.	"The Bible." The text in long primer, Roman, the arguments in Italic letter. "Imprinted at London by Christopher Barker—Cum privilegio. In the late <i>Sussex Library. The Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. —
54. B.	"The Holy Byble, conteynynge." In a very small type, very well printed, and on a thick fine paper, running title Roman, contents in Italic. Not Crammer's, as has been stated. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	4o. —
55. B.	The Bible. Geneva version, neatly printed, in long primer Roman and Italic arguments. <i>Herbert p. 1077. Cotton's List.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4o. —
88. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christe." Small quarto. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	4o. 1577
89. T.	"The Nevv Testament of ovr Lord." Tomson's version. <i>G. Offor, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. C. Barker	8o. —
56. B.	"The Bible. That is, the Holy Scriptures contained," &c. Dedicated and Addressed to "the Brethren" &c. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Oriel College, Oxford. William Pickering, Esq.</i> The last is the copy presented to Q. Eliz., once in the <i>Sussex Lib.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. —
57. B.	"The Holie Bible," the last printed by him, in large 8vo. <i>St. Paul's Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. R. Jugge	8o. —
90. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauour.—Cum privilegio— <i>solum</i> ," between the privilege of Jugge, and the patent of Barker. Not in 1600, as in Herbert, nor 1565, as in Cotton. <i>Cambridge Univ. Lib.</i>	Bps. R. Watkins	4o. —
91. T.	"The Nevve Testament of our Sauour," in black and red, same version. Rich, Jugge, now deceased. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. Vautroullier	12o. —
92. T.	"The Newe Testament of ovr Lorde." Extremely small type, by Barker, now printer to the Queen. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	24o. 1578
58. B.	"The Bible." Two versions of the Psalms. Gen. and the Bps'. Ded. to Eliz. and the address <i>now</i> "to the diligent and Christian reader." The verses by Greshop, in many editions, here first appeared.—"Here is the spring where waters flowe." <i>British Museum. Bodleian. Lambeth Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. —
59. B.	"The Holy Bible, conteynynge," &c. "Imprinted—by the assignement of Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes Majestie, 1578." <i>Merton College. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. C. Barker	fol. —
93. T.	"The Newe Testament." The Bishops' version. <i>Earl Spencer.</i>	Bps. C. Barker	16o. 1579
60. B.	"The Bible," with double Psalms again. "Imprinted at London, by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Majestie." <i>The Zurich Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4o. —
61. B.	"The Bible." Entirely different edit. The New Test. and last leaf are dated 1580, besides other distinctions. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4o. —
62. B.	"The Bible and Holy Scriptvres, contained," &c. The first Bible printed in Scot-		

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
	<i>land. Roman letter. Finished at press in July this year. Earl of Morton. Advocate's Library, Edinburgh. Earl Spencer. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bassenden and Arbutnot	fol. 1579
94. T.	"The Newe Testament." Tomson's revision. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. C. Barker	8o. 1580
95. T.	"The Newe Testament." The same version. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. C. Barker	24o. —
63. B.	"The Bible," with Dedication, and the address "To the Christian Reader." Large paper. <i>Lea Wilson Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4o. —
64. B.	The Bible, no Dedication, and a distinct edit. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4o. —
65. B.	"The Bible." The Genevan version. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. —
96. T.	The Newe Testament of our Sauour Jesus Christ." A clean black letter. <i>Italic contents, notes in Roman. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. C. Barker	12o. 1581
97. T.	"The Newe Testament," of Tomson's revis. <i>Herbert. Cotton's List.</i>	To. C. Barker	12o. —
66. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4o. —
67. B.	"The Bible," of the same version. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. —
68. B.	"The Bible," of the same, bound in four vols. <i>Earl Spencer.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	8o. —
98. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." Tomson's revision. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq. Earl of Bridgewater.</i>	To. C. Barker	8o. 1582
69. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version with the customary Dedication to Queen Elizabeth, and once more still—"To the brethren of England, Scotland, and Ireland." <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. —
70. B.	"The Bible." The Genevan version. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4o. —
71. B.	"The Bible." The same version. <i>Ge. C. Barker</i>	Ge. C. Barker	8o. —
99. T.	"The Newe Testament." Tomson's revision, best edition, with the royal arms, large 4o. <i>Exeter College, Orford. Rev. Dr. Cotton's is yellow paper. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. C. Barker	4o. 1583
100. T.	"The Newe Testament of our Sauour. In the late <i>Sussex Library.</i>	Bps. Bynneman	4o. —
101. T.	"The Newe Testament." Tomson's revis. 1. 4o. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. C. Barker	4o. —
102. T.	The New Testament. Genevan version. <i>Herbert. Cotton's List.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	12o. —
103. T.	The New Testament. Tomson's revision. <i>St. Paul's Library.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	32o. —
72. B.	Portion, entitled "the third part of the Bible." <i>St. Paul's Library.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	16o. —
73. B.	"The Bible and Holy Scripture," in red and black, splendidly printed in large folio, margin nearly three inches broad, and paper emulating vellum. <i>Bodleian. Lambeth. St. John's College, Oxon. Pembroke College, Oxon. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	fol. —
74. B.	"The Bible and Holy Scripture." The same version. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4o. —
75. B.	"The Holy Bible, containing the Olde Testament and the Newe," in a fine new black letter: contents in <i>Roman.</i> Frequently mistaken for the Genevan version. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. C. Barker	fol. 1584
76. B.	"The Holy Bible." This and the last		

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
	edition contain the Psalms of Cranmer's version, "to be sung or said in churches," <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. C. Barker	4o. 1584
77. B.	"The Holy Bible." This and the last edition, " <i>a bigger and a less</i> ," printed by order of Whitgift, as the translation "authorized by the Synod of Bishops." <i>Lambeth. Sion College. Bris'ol Mus. Earl Spencer. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. C. Barker	fol. 1585
78. B.	"The Bible and Holy Scripture." Genevan version. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4o. —
104. T.	The New Testament. Tomson's revision. <i>Cotton's List. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. C. Barker	12o. 1586
79. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version. <i>Exeter College, Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4o. —
80. B.	"The Bible." Same version. <i>King of Wurtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	8o. —
81. B.	"The Bible." Same. <i>Roman.</i> With Tomson's New Testament. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. C. Barker	4o. 1587
82. B.	"The Holy Bible." Black and red title, the first "Imprinted by the Deputies of Christopher Barker," or G. Bishop and R. Newbery. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. D. of Barker	fol. 1588
83. B.	"The Bible." Genevan. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
105. T.	"The New Testament." The first printed at <i>Cambridge</i> ; and by John Legate, son-in-law of C. Barker, and printer to the University, from 2d Nov. 1588. <i>Cotton's List. Mr. T. Bradley.</i>	Ge. J. Legate	24o. 1589
106. T.	The New Testament. Genevan version. <i>Lambeth Library.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	12o. —
107. T.	The New Testament, the Bishops' and Rhemish version, in columns, by W. Fulke. <i>Christ's Church College, Oxon. Bristol Museum.</i>	Bps. D. of Barker	fol. —
84. B.	"The Bible." The Genevan version. <i>Lounde's List.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	fol. —
85. B.	"The Bible." The same version. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
86. B.	"The Bible." Same version, distinct edit. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
108. T.	"The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." Roman pearl type, at <i>Cambridge</i> again. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. J. Legate	48o. 1590
109. T.	The New Testament. Genevan, in 8vo. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	8o. —
87. B.	"The Bible." On yellow paper. Imperfect. <i>Sussex Library.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
110. T.	The New Testament. Genevan version. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	12o. 1591
88. B.	"The Holy Bible." Large folio. <i>Sion College. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Bps. D. of Barker	fol. —
89. B.	"The Bible: that is, the Holy Scriptures — Anno do. 1591, Maij. 29." The first Bible known to have been printed at <i>Cambridge</i> , and in a beautiful <i>Roman</i> letter. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. J. Legate	8o. —
90. B.	"The Bible," of the Genevan version, with Tomson's revision of New Testament. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	fol. 1592
91. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version throughout. There is said to be a copy of this at <i>Stuttgart. King of Wurtemberg.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
111. T.	The New Testament of the same version. <i>Rev. Dr. Lee.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. 1593

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
112. T.	The New Testament.	<i>Cotton's List.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	24o. 1593
92. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version.	<i>Rev. Dr. Lee.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
93. B.	"The Bible." Gen. ver.	<i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	8o. —
113. T.	The New Testament. Same version.	<i>Brazen Nose College, Oxford.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4o. 1594
94. B.	"The Bible." Same version.	<i>Cotton's List.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
114. T.	The New Testament.	<i>Library of the late Granville Sharp, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	8o. 1595
95. B.	"The Holie Bible." <i>British Museum.</i>	<i>Lambeth Library. St. John's College, Oxford.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Bps. D. of Barker	fol. —
96. B.	"The Bible." <i>Lambeth. Dalliol Col., Oxford.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	fol. —
97. B.	The Bible, with Tomson's revision.	<i>Roman letter. Brazen Nose College, Oxford.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
115. T.	"The Newe Testament," of Tomson's revision.	<i>Lambeth. Bristol Museum.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> To. D. of Barker	4o. 1596
116. T.	The New Testament. Same version. Printed abroad.	<i>Cotton's List.</i> To. Holland?	fol. —
98. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version.	<i>St. Paul's Library. Bristol Museum.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
117. T.	The Newe Testament. Tomson's revision.	<i>Roman letter. Pembroke College, Oxford.</i> To. D. of Barker	4o. 1597
118. T.	The Newe Testament, of the same version.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> To. D. of Barker	12o. —
99. B.	"The Bible," printed at Middleburgh.	<i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i> Ge. Schilders	8o. —
100. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision of N. T., but even this has the Ded. and address—"To the brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c."	<i>British Museum.</i> <i>All Souls, Oxon.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	fol. —
101. B.	"The Bible." Gen. ver. entire.	<i>Roman type.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
	The Bible, printed by R. Field, son-in-law and successor of Vautrouillier, in <i>Cotton's List</i> , was the "Biblia Sacra."		
119. T.	The New Testament. Printed by John Windet, for the assignees of Richard Day.	<i>Sir John Hawkins.</i> <i>Cotton's List.</i> Ge.? J. Windet	24o. 1598
120. T.	The Newe Test. Genevan version.	<i>Cotton's List.</i> <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
102. B.	"The Holy Bible." <i>Harleian Lib., No. 184.</i> <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Bps. D. of Barker	fol. —
103. B.	"The Bible." Genevan ver.	<i>Roman letter.</i> <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
104. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision of the New Test.	<i>Pembroke College, Oxford.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
105. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version.	<i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	8o. —
106. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version.	<i>Bodleian. Lambeth.</i> <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4o. 1599
107. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision of New Testament. This edition may be distinguished by a black line round the page.	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> <i>Chr. Anderson.</i> Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
108. B.	Six other distinct edit. exist. dated, i.e.	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
109. B.	Undated, 1599, though printed above	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
110. B.	thirty years later! The Colophon of one	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
111. B.	— " <i>Amsterdam</i> , for <i>Thomas Crafoorth</i> ,	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. 1599
112. B.	1633," with our History, solve the	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
113. B.	mystery. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. D. of Barker	4o. —
114. B.	"The Bible," as before, without date, place, or printer's name. Figure of a goose on the title of the psalms. Supposed from the <i>Dort</i> press. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. Dort	4o. 1600?
115. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version. C. Barker, now dead, after printing by deputies for twelve years. His son's name first appears.		
	<i>King of Wurtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
121. T.	The New Testament. The Bishops' and Rhemish versions, by W. Fulke. <i>Lincoln, Worcester, Queen's Coll. Oxon. Bristol Museum.</i>	Bps. R. Barker	fol. 1601
116. B.	The Genevan version, with Tomson's revision of New Testament.		
	<i>King of Wurtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
117. B.	The Genevan version entire, black letter.	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
118. B.	"The Bible," of the Genevan version.		
	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	8o. —
119. B.	"The Bible," of the same version, "Imprinted by Isaac Canin, at the expenses of the aires of Henrie Charteris and Andrew Hart in Edinburgh." <i>Rev. Dr. Lee.</i>	I. Canin Ge. at Dort	8o. —
122. T.	The New Testament. Genevan version.		
	<i>Cotton's List.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. 1602
123. T.	The New Testament, of Tomson's revision.		
	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. R. Barker	8o. —
120. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision. <i>Roman type.</i>		
	<i>Bodleian. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	fol. —
121. B.	"The Bible." In <i>Roman type</i> . Genevan version.		
	<i>King of Wurtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
122. B.	"The Bible," of the same version.		
	<i>King of Wurtemberg.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	8o. —
123. B.	"The Holy Bible." <i>Christ's Church Col. Trinity Col. Worcester Col. Queen's Col. Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq. Bodleian.</i>		
	This last has MS. corrections in reference to the intended revision of the Sacred text, forming our present version.	Bps. R. Barker	fol. —

## KING JAMES.

THIRTY-TWO EDITIONS, VIZ., EIGHT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT AND TWENTY-FOUR OF THE BIBLE.

*Printed from 1603 to the year of our present version, 1611.*

124. T. "The New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ." Tomson's revision. "At Dort, printed by Isaac Canin, 1603."
- Duke of Wurtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.* To. J. Canin 12o. 1630
- N. B.—The New Test. by Simon (Strafford) Stafford, in the Cotton List, seems to be the British or *Welsh* New Testament, corrected by Morgan, Bishop of St. Asaph.
124. B. "The Bible." Genevan. *Cotton's List. Tho. Harris, Esq. Lea Wilson, Esq.* Ge. R. Barker 4o. —

	DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
125. B.	The same, with Tomson's revision of New Testament. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. 1630
126. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version, entire. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
127. B.	"The Bible." The same, in Roman letter. <i>Canterbury Library. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	8o. —
125. T.	The New Test. of Tyndale, as by Jugge, with port. of Edward VI. printed by the assignee of Robert Barker. <i>St. Paul's Library.</i>	Bps. D. of Barker	12o. 1605
128. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version. <i>King of Wurtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
129. B.	"The Holy Bible." The Bishops' version. <i>Late Sussex Library.</i>	Bps. R. Barker	fol. 1606
130. B.	"The Bible." The Genevan version. <i>Late Sussex Library.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	fol. —
131. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version. <i>King of Wurtemberg. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
132. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
133. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version, entire. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	8o. —
134. B.	"The Bible." Roman type. Tomson's revision of New Test. <i>Oriel College, Oxford. Sion College. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	fol. 1607
135. B.	"The Bible." The Genevan, entire. <i>Cotton's List. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
136. B.	"The Bible." Genevan. Distinct edit. <i>Geo. Offor, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
137. B.	"The Bible." Genevan version. <i>Balliol College, Oxford.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	8o. —
126. T.	The New Testament. Bishops' version. <i>Cotton's List.</i>	Bps. R. Barker	8o. 1608
127. T.	The New Testament. Genevan version. <i>Rev. Dr. Lee.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	12o. —
138. B.	The Bible. The Genevan. <i>Balliol College, Oxford. Bristol Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
139. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision of the New Testament. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
140. B.	"The Bible," of the Genevan, entire. <i>Roman. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	8o. —
128. T.	The New Testament, Genevan, this year, but dated also at the end 1610. <i>Cotton's List. Earl of Bridgewater.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. 1609
129. T.	The New Testament. Tomson's revision. <i>King of Wurtemberg.</i>	To. R. Barker	8o. —
141. B.	"The Bible." Roman letter, with Tomson's revision of New Testament. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —
130. T.	The New Testament. Tomson's revision. <i>British Museum. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	To. R. Barker	12o. 1610
142. B.	"The Bible. That is, the Holy Scriptures. At Edinburgh, Printed by Andro Hart, and are to be sold at his Buith, on the North side of the gate, a little beneath the Crosse." <i>Roman. Queen's Col. Oxford.</i>		
131. T.	The New Test. of this edit. sold separately? <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. A. Hart	fol. 1610
143. B.	"The Bible," with Tomson's revision. <i>Geo. Chalmers, Esq.</i>	Ge. A. Hart	fol. —
144. B.	"The Bible." Roman type, but the same version. <i>Earl of Bridgewater. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	fol. —
	<i>All Soul's Col. Oxford. Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	4o. —

DESCRIPTION.	PRINTER.	YEAR.
145. B. "The Bible," of the Genevan, entire. <i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i>	Ge. R. Barker	8o. 1610
146. B. "The Bible." The Genevan, with Tomson's revision of the New Testament. <i>Bodleian. Lambeth. Sion College. All Soul's College, Orford.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. R. Barker.	fol. 1611
147. B. "The Bible." The Genevan version, entire. <i>British Museum. Lambeth.</i>	<i>Lea Wilson, Esq.</i> Ge. R. Barker	4o. —

IN the preceding List, it may have been observed, there are no questionable books, and yet in the course of eighty-six years, or up to the period in which our present Version was first published, there had been 278 editions of Bibles and New Testaments separately. This gives an average of more than *three* editions annually. Could, however, all the editions, particularly of Tyndale's New Testament, be verified, of which, to a certainty, a number exist, still unascertained, we are now fully persuaded that the average would, at the least, amount to *four* editions every year. All the volumes preceding the year 1560, must be contemplated as one would so many ancient Warriors, after a long and severe conflict. Even their mutilated remains are to be venerated, after having in their own day and generation, proved so many witnesses for the truth; but having sustained the loss of their title page, or colophon, they could not be called up to the present muster. Though, therefore, we have, with some research, brought about an hundred more into the field than ever were before, their number may yet be increased.

An average, however, is not the only view which should be taken of the *entire* period. Each reign is considered by the historian as having a character of its own. Thus, in the reign of *Henry*, from 1525 to 1541, after which he began to frown, the average of publication was fully three editions annually. Before ever he listened, or before he was overruled, of the New Testament there had been at least 24 editions! During the long reign of *Elizabeth*, the average was about the same, or above three issues annually. The brightest period was that of *Edward VI.*, when there were about eight editions for every year he reigned.

We have ascertained a larger number of the Bishops' Version than has ever before been mentioned, or 32 distinct issues. But it may now be observed, that instead of *thirty* editions in folio, quarto, and octavo, of the Genevan Version, printed from 1560 to 1616, as *LEWIS* reported, and *NEWCOME*, with many others, have repeated down to this day, we may now very safely assert that by that year there had been at least *one hundred and fifty* editions of Bibles and New Testaments, of which the reader has the proof before him of one hundred and twenty-nine editions, even by the year 1611.

The Bible of Parker, or the Bishops' Version, was never again printed after that year, though of the New Testament there were editions by Barker in 1614, 1615, 1617, and 1618. But the Genevan Bible still continued to be issued, and by the King's printer, as well as at Edinburgh and Amsterdam. Thus, besides four editions of the New Testament, we have the Genevan version in 4to. reprinted in 1613 both at London and Edinburgh. Again at London, in 1614, and two editions in 1615. Again in folio, and by Barker still, in 1616. In quarto, at Amsterdam, in 1633, and six other editions, all antedated, as if in London, and in 1599. Again in folio, at Amsterdam, 1640, and two editions in 1644. In 1649 the *present* Version was printed with the *Genevan* notes by way of pushing it into favor, but about this period it prevailed, and took the place it has occupied ever since.

#### THE FIRST EDITION OF OUR PRESENT VERSION.

- B. "The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New: Newly Translated out of the Originall tongues: and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised, by his Maiesties speciaall Comandement. Appointed to be read in churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. Anno Dom, 1611."—N. B. It has been said that the British Museum has two editions of this year; but this is a mistake. The *title* of 1611 has been affixed to the editions of 1613, 1617, 1634, and even 1640, to make apparently five copies of the first, but there certainly was no second edition in 1611.
- T. "The New Testament of our Lord and Sauour Jesvs Christ. Newly translated," &c. Our present version in the same year, very rare. An. 1611. 12mo.



## THE TRANSLATORS TO THE READER.

"We are so far off from condemning any of their labours that traveled before us in this kind, either in this land, or beyond sea, either in King Henry's time—or Queen Elizabeth's—that we acknowledge them to have been raised up of God, for the building and furnishing of His Church, and they deserve to be had of us, and of posterity in everlasting remembrance."

Of the preceding volumes, the Reader may now trace above two hundred editions as having been translations of men who had fled beyond sea, remaining in exile from their country, and the rest to those who were resident in this land.

"Therefore, blessed be they, and honoured be their name, that brake the ice, and gave the onset upon that which helpeth forward to the saving of souls! Now, what can be more available thereto, than to deliver God's book unto God's people in a tongue which they understand."

"Truly, good Christian Reader, we never thought from the beginning, that we should need to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good, but to make a good one better; or out of many good ones, one principal good one, not justly to be accepted against; that hath been our endeavour, that our mark. To that purpose there were many chosen, that were greater in other men's eyes than their own, and that sought the truth, rather than their own praise."

It is well that these translators so expressed themselves, as they could not consistently have spoken otherwise. For whatever were the instructions given to them, such was their adherence to the language of the former Versions, that, very happily, the translation is not in their own style. It is not the language of their own preface, nor of the reign of James I. The style they found in their prototypes, the diction and phraseology they adopted from their predecessors in translation.

THE END.



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